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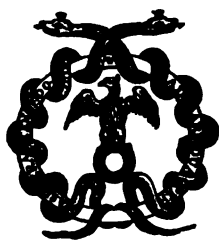


CHARICLES

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE PRIVATE LIFE
OF THE ANCIENT GREEKS

WITH NOTES AND EXCURSUSES

*FROM THE GERMAN OF
PROFESSOR BECKER*



A NEW EDITION COLLATED AND ENLARGED

LONDON
JOHN W. PARKER AND SON
WEST STRAND
1854

221. c. 54.

α βραχὺ πολλάκις καὶ ῥῆμα καὶ παιδιὰ τις ἐμφασιν ἤθουε
ἐποίησε μᾶλλον ἢ μάχαι μυριόνεκροι—PLUTARCH.



ADVERTISEMENT TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN preparing the Translation of Becker's *Charicles* for a new Edition, the whole has undergone a minute and careful comparison with the German Text. Numerous emendations have been introduced in order to attain greater fidelity in translation, as well as increased conciseness and elegance of expression. At the same time insertion has been given to many of those subsidiary discussions which were omitted in the former Edition of the translation.

In the first Edition the Author's citations of Greek and Latin writers were, for the most part, left out; these passages, whenever deemed intrinsically important, have now been carefully incorporated with the Text.

These changes, it is believed, will much enhance the value of the work to the English reader; and though the bulk of the book has been thus materially increased, the price has nevertheless been reduced.

The convenience of the Classical student has, moreover, been consulted by a strict adherence to uniformity in the mode of citing ancient writers; and the references to certain works frequently quoted, such as Böckh's *Public Economy of Athens*, Müller's *History of the Dorians*, and the Author's *Gallus*, have been made to the latest Editions of their English translations, instead of to the German originals.

I. T.

CHEAM,
March 15, 1854.





AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE author has been encouraged in offering this work to the public by the favourable reception which his work on Roman manners has met with, and which served to convince him that an illustration of that portion of antique life was by no means unacceptable. Less has hitherto been done, in this respect, for Greece than for Rome. The earlier philologists either ignored this department of Grecian Antiquities, or merely made occasional allusions to it; while they drew parallels between the features of Grecian and of Roman life, or identified them, in a most unwarrantable manner. The Italians, for instance, who seem to have felt themselves especially called, by the mementos of early grandeur and magnificence around them, and by the classic atmosphere which they inhaled, to an investigation of antiquity, have, above all others—perhaps from a proud contempt of everything not Roman—either utterly disregarded Greek customs, or handled them after a very desultory and faulty method. In the collections of Gronovius and Grævius, and of their successors, Sallengre and Polen, we are usually presented with an undigested and confused medley of passages, quoted without any regard either to the context, the period referred to, or the value of the author, and these are often brought forward in support of the most marvellous hypotheses. Exceptions, it is true, must be made in favour of a few great names, such as Casaubon, Salmasius, and perhaps Meur-

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

at the results of the investigations of these writers
ely scattered about in commentaries, so that the
would only be repaid for the labour of wading
them by obtaining a number of insulated notices,
acquiring any systematic information on the sub-
careful perusal of the Greek authors shews,
r, that all that these commentators have gleaned
n much the same relation to what they have over-
as does the paltry produce of a sand-washing to
l of an exhaustless gold-mine.

ter times, several acute investigators have laboured
eld of Attic law and polity, and these researches
asionally thrown light on the relations of private
ut no comprehensive work, illustrative of the
y occurrences of Grecian life, has, as yet, been
ken, for neither Nitzsch's Description of the Greeks,
tor's compilation, deserve to be mentioned in the

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

vii

vate life. The comprehensiveness of the plan of the former work prevents, however, the introduction of the necessary detail. In Böttiger's *Kleine Schriften* many of the points in question are discussed, and many of his observations, those for instance on the Grecian Dress, are very valuable. Some of his enquiries are, however, absurdly frivolous; for instance, his investigations as to the use of pocket-handkerchiefs by the Grecian ladies. Jacobs' works, *Die Erziehung der Hellenen zur Sittlichkeit*, and his *Beiträge zur Gesch. d. weibl. Geschlechts*, are of a more serious tendency, and are written in a remarkably clever and attractive manner. Yet neither of these productions can be considered as anything more than enthusiastic apologies for certain flagrant vices rife among the Hellenes. He who undertakes faithfully to describe the character of a people, ought not, while he gives prominence to its nobler features, to place a screen before the blemishes that deform it. An excellent essay, which estimates, on impartial principles, the religious and moral development of the Greeks, Limburg Brower's *Histoire de la Civilisation morale et religieuse des Grecs*, only reached the author while this treatise was in the press; he rejoices to find that with respect to the darker vices of the Greek people he has himself arrived at nearly the same results as this learned and unbiased writer.

The author of *Charicles*, discarding the incomplete labours of his predecessors, has uniformly gone to the fountain-head, and has carefully perused, with reference to his present object, the whole range of Greek literature down to the time of Aristotle. Of the succeeding writers down to the fourth century, he has gone through the most important, more especially Theophrastus, Strabo, Plutarch,

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

thenæus, Pausanias, Ælian, Diogenes Laertius, Eusebius, Hieronymus, Irenæus, Justin Martyr, Eusebius, Libanius, Maximus Tyrius, and Philo-
also the Erotic writers, Alciphron, Artemidorus, as well as the grammarians, Pollux, Harpoc-
ridas, Hesychius, Photius, Phrynichus, Timæus, and other Scholiasts. The later Roman his-
tory has also been consulted, though in a more cursory manner. There is not one of these writers from whom
any thing of greater or less value have not been derived. Particular regard has been paid to every minute intimation
of the better period, than to the most explicit statements of the grammarians, which are often founded
on the well-known passages of classic writers, or are
in accordance with the customs of a later age. The
speeches of the orators have proved by far the most valuable
source of information, for by them Greek manners are

has always been laid on the name of the writer, than on the date, or the recognised antiquity of the production. Everybody knows that the speech against Neæra, that of Andocides against Alcibiades, certain dialogues of Plato, the second book of Aristotle's *Œconomics*, the *Apophthegmata Laconica* attributed to Plutarch, and many other treatises, are spurious or doubtful; but they have stood from time immemorial among the works of those writers whose names they bear.

The mass of materials being so overwhelming, it is very possible that some omissions may have occurred, but it is hoped that nothing has been neglected which might have been decisive on any of the mooted questions.

In addition to these literary stores, much information has been derived from extant works of art; and the rich collection of illustrated archæological works in the university library of Leipsic has proved of the greatest service. These materials, it is true, do not throw so much light on Grecian as on Roman customs, for no buried town has been discovered, with its baths, houses, and household furniture; nevertheless the Greek specimens extant, especially the painted vases, are, so far as they go, of a very high value, inasmuch as they belong to an early period, which is not the case with those of Italy.

In a work descriptive of state antiquities the form here adopted would have been unsuitable, because unsystematic. But the case is different in an attempt to illustrate the checkered and numberless phases of private life, which do not admit of any very strict classification. The Scenes had to be written with inconceivable care and caution, in order to combine the scattered traits, and give

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

the picture, and all imaginative licence on the writer had to be rigidly suppressed. But the only way of accomplishing the prescribed object by the composition of *Adversaria in modum* which seems, of all methods, the least happy and most repulsive. Mere pedantic disquisitions on manners and customs would have been like anatomical dissections wherein we can trace, to their minutest details, the bones, muscles, nerves, and blood-vessels; though they form no idea, from these dismembered and disjointed parts, of the human body as a whole. The vignettes, then, are intended to give this *tout ensemble*, this general view of Greek life; and if the writer has in any measure been successful, he thinks that a desirable object has been achieved, since nothing of the kind is to be found in the writings of antiquity.

in which public life had begun to fall into the background, while the egotistic spirit of the age gave a greater prominence to individual interests. The consequence has been, that whereas the Roman scenes wore more of a tragic aspect, these are couched rather in the tone of comedy, in the Greek sense of the word. It does not, moreover, appear necessary that an excessive σκυθρωπασμός should be essential in conducting every scientific inquiry; on the contrary, it would seem that in the treatment of many phases of antiquity a certain tone of irony is more appropriate.

The rest of the arrangement is similar to that of *Gallus*: but it is hoped that the explanations contained in the Notes and Excursuses will be found more comprehensive and elaborate.

The Classical authorities which bear out the assertions here put forward, have, for the most part, been cited in extenso; for this seemingly cumbrous procedure is the only one which can be really satisfactory to the student. In every case the recognized and most recent editions have been employed, and the greatest care has been taken to secure accuracy in the references and citations.

That Attic customs have been those chiefly portrayed, can be no matter of surprise. Greece being divided into many small states, each of which had its own peculiarities in customs and manner of life, all these nuances ought of course to be noticed in a general picture of Greek life. But there is, unfortunately, a great deficiency of original materials for such a work. Little is known except in reference to Athens and Sparta; and in the latter state, with her bizarre institutions, all individuality

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

erly destroyed, and such an undue and unnatural
ce is given to her political strength and the re-
he people as a whole, that she must be considered
omaly in the social condition of Greece; and thus
of life which was there prevalent can by no means
as representative of that generally established.
e, therefore, so varied and comprehensive in its
and so abundantly illustrated by contemporary
, must serve as the norma for the rest of Greece,
usages of other states can only be considered in
ative point of view. Doric customs have, more-
n already investigated by Manso, Müller, and
o that the author has generally contented himself
eing those points in which their conclusions seem
nifestly erroneous.

has occasionally failed in arriving at the truth,
lead in mitigation that in most cases he has

CONTENTS.

	Page
Advertisement to the Second Edition	iii
Author's Preface	v

CHARICLES.

SCENE THE FIRST.

THE FRIENDS OF YOUTH	1
Excursus. Education	217

SCENE THE SECOND.

CORINTH	22
Excursus. The Hetææ	241

SCENE THE THIRD.

THE ANCESTRAL ABODE	43
Excursus I. The Grecian House	251
II. Bookselling and Libraries	272

SCENE THE FOURTH.

THE TRAPEZITÆ	61
Excursus. The Markets and Commerce	277

CONTENTS.

SCENE THE FIFTH.

	Page
HABITS OF YOUTH	74
The Gymnasia	293

SCENE THE SIXTH.

BANQUET	89
I. The Meals	310
I. The Symposia	333
I. The Games	348

SCENE THE SEVENTH.

TRITON	109
The Slaves	356

CONTENTS.

xv

SCENE THE ELEVENTH.

	Page
THE RING	194
Excursus I. The Dress	413
II. The Shoes	445
III. Hair and Beard	453

SCENE THE TWELFTH.

THE WEDDING DAY	209
Excursus. The Women	462

Index	499
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CHARICLES.

SCENE THE FIRST.

THE FRIENDS OF YOUTH.

NOT far from the ruins of Mycenæ, those primæval witnessess of the grandeur of the earliest Grecian princes, which, stupendous even in their downfall, have endured for upwards of three thousand years, is seen a narrow defile, winding northwards between precipitous walls of rock, and leading to the hill whereon Cleonæ, probably, whilome stood, and which, though insignificant in size, is famous from the eulogy of Homer¹. This confined way was anciently the main road from Argos to Corinth, and passable for carriages²;

¹ The topographical portion of this book, though of minor importance, was one of considerable difficulty. In the absence of personal acquaintance with the region described, the author has carefully perused all the most important works on the subject. Besides the accounts of Strabo and Pausanias, the following books have been consulted. Gell's *Itinerary of the Morea*; Dodwell's *Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece*; Leake's *Travels in the Morea*; Pouqueville's *Voyage dans la Grèce*; and the *Expédition de Morée*. For the position of Cleonæ, see Strabo, viii. 6, 19: Κλεωναὶ δ' εἰσι πόλισμα ἐπὶ τῇ ὁδῷ κείμενον τῇ ἐξ Ἀργουεῖ εἰς Κόρινθον ἐπὶ λόφον περιρικουμένου πανταχόθεν καὶ τετειχισμένου καλῶς ὥστ' οἰκεῖται εἰρησθαὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ εὐκτιμένας Κλεωνάς. Leake says that there

is still a hamlet of four or five houses called Clenas (Κλέναις), although Curtési, a larger village, is usually supposed to occupy the site of the ancient town.

² Two roads formerly led from Cleonæ to Argos. Paus. ii. 15, 1: ἐκ Κλεωνῶν δὲ εἰσιν ἐς Ἀργος ὁδοὶ δύο. ἡ μὲν ἀνδράσιν εὐζώνοις, καὶ ἐστὶν ἐπίτομος. ἡ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ καλομένου Τρητοῦ, στενὴ μὲν καὶ αὐτὴ περιεχόντων ὁρῶν, ὀχήμασι δὲ ἐστὶν ὅμως ἐπιτηδειότερα. One of them was named Κοντοπορία. Athen. ii. p. 43: διὰ τῆς Κοντοπορίας καλομένης, κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόρειαν προσβαίνουσιν εἶναι κρήνην νᾶμα ἀνείσσαν χιόνος ψυχρότερον. The name is also mentioned by Polyb. xvi. 16, 4, 5; and its direction from Corinth said to be ἐγγιστα πρὸς δύσεϊς χειμερινὰς. But whether by this is to be un-

... a mountainous chain severed and into
directions. Over the western heights
Temple of Jupiter serve to mark the for
; whilst two leagues southward of My
Argos still survives in its modern transfi
was in the last month of the 111th Olym
1, whose years could scarcely have exce
Ephebus, was proceeding along this road.
ed on a dark-coloured steed⁶, bearing no

the carriage-road mentioned
ias, or the foot-path, is still
ined. Müller, in his *Dori-*
79, declares for the former ;
the contrary (iii. 328), thinks
likely that the shorter road,
ow leads by Aion Oros, is
nd there is some weight in
s three reasons for this opi-
. that Ptolemæos found the
ig on the height (κατὰ τὴν
ν), an expression which would
mit the carriage-road. And
(p. 208) says of the Κορρο-
This was probably not the
sh passed through Νεμεσος.

dation, qu'on a quelques
y voyager à cheval.'

⁴ Pausan. *supra*: ἐν
δρεσι τὸ σπήλαιον ἐστὶ δ
λέοντος. Cf. Dodwell, p.
p. 329.

⁵ *Expédition de Mo*
'Distance totale, 2 heures

⁶ In the heroic age ca
frequently used for hor
In the historic period p
went on foot, and carr.

is true, to mark him of celebrated blood, but of a strength and mettle not unworthy of the noble form that bestrode him. The rider lacked not breadth of chest and shoulders, but his frame was rather slim and supple, than thick-set and muscular. His slightly tanned neck rose proudly and freely, but in the animation of his blue eye was blended a languishing expression, betokening him one that longed to love and to be loved. Beneath the broad brim of his dark travelling cap crowded an abundance of light-coloured locks, while a delicate down besprinkled his cheeks and chin. His whole appearance, his noble carriage and finely-chiselled profile, bespoke a youth of good descent and careful nurture⁷.

A single slave, apparently scarce ten years senior to his master, was his only attendant, and strode along manfully in the wake of the steed; though the drops of sweat that ran down his forehead, shewed that the bundle on his shoulders containing the coverlet for the night, and other appliances necessary for a journey, was no light burden for a hot sunny day in the month of *Skirophorion*⁸.

p. 467. In Xenophon's *Sympos.* 9, 7, some of the guests even arrive at Callias' house on horseback, or perhaps, as Schneider supposes, order their steeds to be brought for the journey home. In writing the foregoing description, Lucian, *Asia.* § 1, and Appul. *Metam.* i. p. 12, have been kept in view.

⁷ An almost verbal imitation of Cybele's description of Theagenes. Heliod. *Æthiop.* vii. 10: εὐρύς τις ἦν τὰ στέρνα καὶ τοῦτο ὤμων, καὶ τὸν αὐχένα ὄρθιον καὶ ἐλεύθερον ὑπὲρ τοῦτο ἄλλους αἶρων, καὶ εἰς κορυφὴν τοῦτο ἅπαντας ὑπερέχων, γλαυκῶν τὸ βλέμμα καὶ ἐπέραστον ἄμα καὶ γοργὸν προσβλέπων, ὃ καταβόστρον χόσι πᾶντι ἐκείνους, τὴν παρειὰν δρῶσι ξανθῇ τῇ λούλῳ περιστέφων.

⁸ Every one of respectable condition was accompanied out of doors by one or more slaves; (see Excursus on *The Slaves*;) so also on a journey slaves attended, to carry the sleeping-apparatus, στρώματα, and the other baggage. Aristoph. *Av.* 615:

οὕτω μὲν εἰσίσωμεν. ἄγε δὲ, Κανθία,
καὶ Μανόδωρε, λαμβάνετε τὰ στρώματα.

Cf. *Ran.* 12. Xenoph. *Memor.* iii. 13, 6, is very explicit: Ἄλλου δὲ λέγοντος, ὡς παρτάθη μακρὰν ὁδὸν πορευθεῖς, ἤρετο αὐτὸν, εἰ καὶ φορτίον ἔφερε. Μὰ Δί', οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφη, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἱμάτιον. Μόνος δ' ἐπορεύου, ἔφη, ἢ καὶ ἀκόλουθός σοι ἡκολούθει; Ἥκολούθει, ἔφη. Πότερον, ἔφη, κενός, ἢ φέρων τι; Φέρων, νῆ Δί', ἔφη, τὰ τε στρώματα καὶ τὰ ἄλλα σκεύη. The pack or receptacle for these things

... and the nakedness of the rocks was picturesquely clothed with branches of is, and tufts of the yellow-blossomed s; drew up, and turning to his slave, said 'high is the sun!' 'The fourth hour is n,' replied the other. 'Let us stop here hard to find a more inviting spot for meal. The projecting rocks will shield us from rays of the sun; while these moss-grown rocks are placed purposely for the repose of the wanderer, which bubbles from the rock up you see us a refreshing draught.' With these words he from his horse, rubbed the foam and froth

ed στρωματόδεσμον: Plato, *ibid.* 175; Æschin. *de Falsa Leg.* ηκολούθουν δ' αὐτῷ ἄνθρωποι στρωματόδεσμα φέροντες, ἐν δὲ τῇ τούτων ὡς αὐτὸς ἔφη, ἡ ἐνῆν ἀργυρίου. It was also called στρωματεύς, Poll. *l.* 137. Pollux seems not to have seen their use to the journey. The ornament borne by the slaves was some-

καὶ θεραπόντων ἡκολούθει· εἰ

⁹ These are the plant which really grow in this Pouqueville, p. 148: 'lequel coulent la rivière et la source de Rito au milieu d'épais de myrtes, de lauriers d'arbustes.' The holly, *Ilex*, Linn., Græcè *πρό-*

neck and back with a handful of leaves, and then turned him loose to enjoy himself among the tall grass, at which in passing, he had already nibbled hastily¹⁰. Meanwhile Manes had lost no time in depositing his bundle, and drew from it bread, Sicilian cheese, and dried figs, with some fresh ones gathered on the road; not to mention leeks and onions collected in the same manner, and set apart by him for his private use¹¹. A small skin full of Mendæan wine—a present from their host at Argos—and a silver drinking-cup¹², completed the preparations for the frugal breakfast, the best relish for which was their morning's exercise.

Manes soon clambered up to the eminence, where the spring spouted forth abundantly from the rock, and brought the earthen vessel filled with water, whose coolness proved an admirable freshener to the wine, already somewhat flat from the warmth of the day.

The youth had concluded his repast, and was reposing

¹⁰ Vid. Appul. *Metam.* i. p. 13.

¹¹ There is no doubt that Grecian hospitality allowed the wayfarer to eat of the fruit growing by the road-side. Plato, *Leg.* viii. p. 845: *ἐὰν δὲ ξένος ἐπιδημήσας ὀπίρας ἐπιθυμῇ φαγεῖν, διαπορευόμενος τὰς ὁδοὺς, τῆς μὲν γενναίας (ὀπίρας, γενναίων σταφυλῶν ἢ σύκων) ἀπτίσθω, ἐὰν βούληται, μεθ' ἐνὸς ἀκολούθου, χωρὶς τιμῆς, ξένια δεχόμενος· τῆς δὲ ἀγροίκου λεγομένης καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὁ νόμος εἰργάτω μὴ κοινωνεῖν ἡμῖν τοὺς ξένους.* The distinction between *ὀπίρα γενναία*, and *ἀγροίκος*, is explained by the context. He evidently means certain sorts of grapes; for instance, those not used for must, but for the table. Afterwards, speaking of apples, pears, pomegranates, &c., he says: *ξένῳ δὲ, καθάπερ ὀπίρας, ἐξίστω καὶ τῶν τοιούτων μέτοχον εἶναι.*

Leeks and onions were very much esteemed, especially by the lower orders. See Plutarch, *Symp.* iv. 4, 3: *τὸ μὲν γὰρ Ὀμηρικὸν ἐκείνο, κρόμμον ποτοῦ ὄψον, ναύταις καὶ κωπηλάταις μᾶλλον ἢ βασιλεῦσιν ἐπιτρέπειον ἦν.* See also Excursus on *The Meals*.

¹² As with the Germans, so among the Greeks, in every family not quite indigent were to be found some little articles of silver-plate, such as cups, and so forth, serving partly for sacrifices, partly for the table. See Cic. *Verr.* iv. 21. Drinking vessels are frequently mentioned, and they were also carried on a journey. An instance occurs in Demosth. in *Timoth.* p. 1193. The *κύμβιον* (*Id.* in *Euerg.* 1156), which belonged to the freed-man was doubtless of silver, else the plunderers would never have so maltreated the woman in order to obtain it.

ete course of training in the *Gymna*
r beauty of his features corresponded w
etry of his person. That lively eye l
row, which was encircled by a wreath of
yed an acute understanding, and keen pc
ion; while the well-turned mouth, besic
ssion of shrewdness, bespoke much good l
olence. His form might be well likened t
es in the flush of incipient manhood.
r surprised nor annoyed at finding the re
occupied, for he walked up, and with a fri
greeted the first comer, who returned it w
dity, and invited the other to a share of t
t. For a few moments the stranger
htfully the features of the stripling. Some
t reminiscence of a similar face, seen of yor
ally to dawn upon his mind. 'We seem
ame goal,' was his answer, as he presently
clasp of his *chlamys*, and proceeded to a
tion. 'I have observed the footmarks
; you are on your way to Cleonæ.' 'I
l the other, 'by Cleonæ to Corinth' 'I-

The offer was gratefully accepted, and Manes soon returned with the sparkling beverage. 'May every drop in this goblet,' said the youth, as he presented it to the stranger, 'become a never-failing fountain of hearty good-will between us. You possess, in a wonderful degree, the gift of winning a man's confidence; though but a moment since we were perfect strangers, I already feel marvellously drawn towards you: I hope we shall be friends.' 'Zeus Philios grant it be so,' replied the other as he received the cup and emptied it. His look again rested on the stripling, whose features he seemed to scan attentively. 'Peradventure, however, we are not quite such strangers to each other as you think,' continued he; 'and this is not perhaps the first time that we have partaken of the same salt¹³. At all events we are compatriots, for though your speech has somewhat of a foreign accent, there is no mistaking the Athenian; so I shall have to put only half the question of the Homeric heroes:

Who art thou, and whence among men? Where dwellest thou,
where dwell thy parents?

'Doubtless,' rejoined with a smile the person to whom this query was addressed, 'doubtless, I can lay claim to the name of an Athenian burgher; but it is no wonder if, after six years absence, I do not speak the dialect of my native city with such purity as you. But to answer the other portion of the question; my name is Charicles, son of Charinos; a family of some distinction, even though it cannot trace its descent either from Hercules or Hermes¹⁴. But I am the sole surviving

¹³ Ἄλλων κοινανεῖν was a proverbial expression for δημοτρώγεον γεύεσθαι. Lucian, *Asin.* 1.

¹⁴ The desire of having a long ancestral tree, and of claiming descent if possible from some god or hero, need not excite our wonder in the

case of the Greeks, who assigned to the whole human race a divine origin of no very remote date; while the genealogies of the heroic age afforded abundant materials on which the heralds of a later time might exercise their ingenuity. When also, so strict a line of demarcation existed

than imitate Telemachus, and hope for what was the cause of so lengthened an absence? Now-a-days Attic burghers migrate to the richer plains of Asia¹⁵. Mayhap was one of those whose motto is, "There fare best¹⁶." Or did he fancy that he was able to finish your education abroad? I am afraid that this may prove a reproach to you where the great boast of an exemplary man is to have avoided all unnecessary journeyings¹⁷. I applied Charicles. 'It was no such motive

strangers and citizens, and families enjoyed ancient privilege of ancestry might naturally be pitied, though it was often pitied by sensible men. See Aristophanes, 48, where the words, *εγκαλέουσι τοῦ Μεγακλέους*, allude no doubt to Alcibiades who boasted his descent on his side from Ajax, while his sister-in-law, daughter of Menelaus, belonged to the race of the king. The orator Andocides

¹⁵ This had happened Helos pleads in his father's defence. *εἰ δ' ἐν Αἰνῷ χωροφίλῳ ἀποστερῶν γε τῶν ἐλπίων οὐδενός, οὐδ' ἐπὶ πολίτης γεγενημένος, ὁρῶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν καὶ οἰκοῦντας ἐν τοῖς πολεμίοις, καὶ δίκας ἀπὸ ὑμῶν δικάζομένους.* Anti-Herod. p. 744. Nobody was to be deterred from so doing (Plato, Crito).

duced my father to change his abode; no one could have been more anxious than he to give his son a genuine

πλείσταις πόλεσιν, ἅτε οὐδαμῶς εὐνοημέναι, οὐδὲν διαφέρει φύρεσθαι δεχομένους τε αὐτοῖς ξένους, καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἐπικυμαῖζοντας πόλεις, ὅταν ἐπιθυμήσῃ τις ἀποδημίας ὅπῃ οὖν καὶ ὅποτε, εἴτε νέος, εἴτε καὶ πρεσβύτερος ᾖν. *Leg.* xii. p. 950. He disapproves of the liberty being conceded to every one of travelling when and where he would: Πρῶτον μὲν νεωτέρῳ ἐτῶν τετταράκοις καὶ μὴ ἐξίστω ἀποδημῆν μηδαμῇ μηδαμῶς. ὅτι δὲ ἰδίᾳ μηδενὶ δημοσίᾳ δ' ἔστω κήρυξις ἢ πρεσβείαις, ἢ καὶ τισὶ θεωροῖς. p. 951. No such prohibitive law actually existed anywhere; though the words ταῖς πλείσταις πόλεσι may indicate that certain restrictions were occasionally enforced. Most Athenians had to make frequent journeys on business, but travelling into other countries, merely for pleasure, and with no important object, was another matter; and it was the duty of a good burgher not to indulge in such absence. So in Plato, *Crito*, 52, Socrates says: καὶ οὐτ' ἐπὶ θεωρίαν ποίησιν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέλθεις, ὅτι μὴ ἔπαξ εἰς Ἴσθμόν, οὔτε ἄλλοις οὐδαμῶς, εἰ μὴ ποὶ στρατευσόμενος. οὔτε ἄλλῃν ποιεῖσιν ἀποδημίαν ποίησιν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι, οὐδ' ἐπιθυμία σε ἄλλης πόλεως, οὐδ' ἄλλων νόμων ἔλαβεν εἰδέναι· ἀλλὰ ἡμεῖς σοι ἱκανοὶ ἤμεν καὶ ἡμετέρα πόλιν. How far any control was exercised in the matter is hard to say; yet it seems certain that passports were required for a journey abroad. Thus in *Aves*, 1212, Peisthetæros asks Iris on her entering the new state, σφραγίδ' ἔχεις παρὰ τῶν πελαργῶν; 'I'P. τί τὸ κακόν; II. οὐκ ἔλαβες; 'I'P. ὑγαίνεις μὲν; II. οὐδὲ σφύβουλον ἐνέβαλεν ἡνιόχου οὐδαί σοι παρὶν;

on which the Scholiast remarks, οἶον σύμβολον ἐπὶ τῷ συγχωρηθῆναι παρελθεῖν. Cf. *Plant. Capt.* ii. 3, 90, where Roman customs are by no means necessarily intended. Another remarkable passage, *Trin.* iii. 3, 66, almost seems to hint at some sort of police for the surveillance of persons arriving. The σφραγίς of Aristophanes is nothing but the passport accredited with the state-seal, or the seal itself. See Böckh's *Publ. Econ.* p. 207. A fact of great interest we gather from Strabo, who tells us, (ix. 3, 1), that the Ozols had the evening-star engraved on their state-seal: ἔχουσί τε ἐπὶ τῇ δημοσίᾳ σφραγίδι τὸν ἑσπερον ἀστέρα ἐγκεχαράγμενον. The σύμβολον is not quite the same, being any object given a person as his credentials or token of recommendation. So a line quoted from Euripides by Eustath. *ad Iliad.* vi. 169:

ξένους τε πέμπειν σύμβολ', οἱ δὲ δόσουσι σ' εἶδ.

The purpose and nature of these σύμβολα is more clear from Lysias *de Bonis Aristoph.* 628, ὅτι ἔλαβε σύμβολον παρὰ βασιλέως τοῦ μεγάλου φιάλης μὲν χρυσῆς. And again p. 629, πολλῶν γὰρ ἀγαθῶν καὶ ἄλλων χρημάτων εὐπορήσεις διὰ τὸ σύμβολον ἐν πάσῃ τῇ ἡμετέρῃ. The same kind of accrediting was usual in private transactions, though here the σύμβολον was merely an impression of the signet-ring. *Plant. Pseud.* i. 1, 53:

En causa miles hic reliquit symbolum,
Expressam in cera ex anulo suam imaginem,
Ut qui huc afferret ejus similem symbolum,
Cum eo simul me mitteret.

Cf. *id.* ii. 2, 52; *Bacchid.* ii. 3, 29; and Plutarch, *Artax.* 18. Of this description, too, are the σύμβολα mentioned in Poll. ix. 71, which are similar to the

respectable female of the middle class, who
 other indigent circumstances; and all my
 over, both male and female, were subjected
 ny, to ascertain whether they were thorough
 speech and habits. Even now, I recall to
 ire, how the aged Manto, while the other
 lay at the loom around my mother, won
 winter's evening with pleasant stories. I
 ill some time after, that I perceived the
 en these sensible tales and legends, and
 -stories, of which nurses and waiting-
 y so fond. Then again, my pedagogue!
 sure, a cross old fellow, who was rather
 t times, if I chanced to use my left hand
 right at meals, or sat with one leg across
 on my way to school, I peradventure lifted
 from the dirt in the street just to have a
 swallow, that was being greeted joyful
 nger of spring¹⁹. But after all, he did

<i>hospitales</i> ; and so also those to in an Athenian inscription, in honour of Strato of Sidon.	have nothing to do with treaties which are also
--	--

because he was full of notions about Old-Attic subordination and decorum.'

'Your father must have been a man of great wealth,' remarked the other, 'or he would scarce have paid more attention to these touches of Attic refinement than to a slave's general usefulness.' 'He was far from rich,' answered Charicles, 'and, besides, he had expended considerable sums on Trierarchies, Choregies, and other patriotic contributions; but in every thing connected with my education he spared no outlay; and I can well remember how wroth he once was with a friend, for advising him to send me to the cheaper school of Elpias at the *Thesscion*²⁰, instead of to Hermippos, of whose reputation as a teacher, at that time, you have doubtless heard.'

The youth smiled, and said, 'He is not unknown to me; but then, how came it that your father left Athens, and kept you so long away from it?' It was no voluntary act on his part,' rejoined the other; 'but an unlucky concatenation of events, of which some worthless sycophants took advantage, to effect his exile. You, surely, recollect the consternation at Athens, after the luckless battle of Chæronea?'

'Recollect it! Never will the terror of that day, on which the unhappy tidings arrived, fade from my memory. Even now I see in fancy the people rushing hurriedly through the streets to the assembly;—free-born dames standing at their doors, almost forgetful of decorum, amid their painful anxiety; and tremblingly questioning the

bial exclamation of joy, ὦρα νέα, χελιδών. Thus in Aristoph. *Equit.* 419, σκίψασθε, παῖδες. οὐχ ἔρως; ὦρα νέα, χελιδών, and the comic lament of Mnesilochus, *Theophrast.* 1:

Ὁ Ζεῦ, χελιδὼν ἔρα τότε φανίσσεται.

Our own proverb, too, 'One swallow does not make a summer,' was identically current among the Greeks. Aris-

tot. *Ethic. Nic.* l. 6, μία γὰρ χελιδὼν ἔρα οὐ ποιεῖ. So also the glee-kite, ἱκτινός, which returned still earlier, was saluted with joy. *Aves*, 712. And *ib.* 500, we have προκυλινδῆσθαι τοῖς ἱκτινοῖς. Cf. Schol. on the passage.

²⁰ The school mentioned Demosth. *de Corona*, 270, where Æschines and his father performed menial offices. Cf. Apollon. and Liban. *Vit. Æschin.*

reinstating the infamous in the social pro-
had forfeited²¹.

'Your description is a faithful one,' con-

'Though but a boy, scarcely more than
time, and troubling myself little about peo-
ple speak to the depression that universal
there were few families, methinks, who
fully alive than ours to the horrors in
1. My father had taken ship only a few
dreadful tidings came²². He had advanced
to a Lycian merchant, to trade with wheat
to Crete, and return to Athens with
Sicilian corn²³; the proper period for the
year had elapsed some time, when my father
ship had run into Epidaurus, and the freight
increased, not only for the safety of his capital,
own, lest he should be accused of lending
to traffic²⁴, he seized the opportunity, though

Word for word from Lycurg. in
p. 165.

Lycurgus says, τὸ γεγονός πάθος
ἐφ' ἀποσπασθέντος. It would
be the same as

ῥιόν ὁμοίως δ' εἰς τὴν ἰ-
σχυρὴν...καὶ μετὰ τι-
θεν ἢ βολεῖ, καὶ δ'
προσπληρομένη ἑαυτὴ
κοντα παρὸν..."

time, of embarking in a vessel bound for that port, being determined to call his fraudulent debtor to a personal account. He succeeded in finding him, and extracted a promise of payment immediately on the cargo being sold: the excitement of the journey had, however, made him worse, and he was so powerfully affected at the account of the misfortunes of Athens, which, soon after, arrived at Epidaurus, that he fell violently sick, and could not leave the place. The rascally Lycian profited by his illness, and with the unsold portion of his cargo, set sail for Athens, where circumstances gave him a prospect of obtaining a better market; and where my father, only half convalescent, found him on his return. The city had recovered from its panic, there being no immediate calamity in view, as Philip had conducted himself with moderation; this was, however, only the signal for all sorts of nefarious intriguing against all who might seem in any way to have been connected with these disasters.' 'I can guess the upshot,' exclaimed the stranger. 'Your father was doubtless accused of deserting his country in the moment of danger, contrary to the express decree of the people²⁵.'

'Just so. Nobody would have ever dreamt of preferring such a charge, had not the vile Lycian, in order to escape from his liabilities, and avoid the two-fold accusation, bribed two notorious sycophants. At first my father treated their threatened accusation with contempt;—but when he met here and there a growing coldness among his acquaintance, and learnt that two powerful demagogues, his personal foes, were about to appear against him, he began to consider the danger of staking his life on a moment of passionate excitement; he bethought him of the untimely fate of Lysicles and others²⁶, and of the

the purpose of buying corn destined for foreign ports. See Böckh, *ibid.* p. 85, and Demosth. in *Lacrit.* 941.

²⁵ He was condemned to death on the accusation of Lycurgus. See the fine passage of the oration, preserved in Diod. Sic. xvi. 88.

²⁶ Lycurg. in *L. eocr.* p. 147.

Instead of embarking openly by day
 ence of a crowd of leave-taking friends, v
 l of night through the small gate, towa
 re the ship was waiting for us, and on b
 slaves had already placed the baggage¹
 d for Trœzene, but as severe epidemic d
 prevailing there²⁸, we departed and went
 le five years at Syracuse. It was but a
 that news reached my father that his frie
 led in establishing his innocence, and proci
 for his return ; but the intelligence arrive
 next day was the last he had to live. My
 a few months previously, and so I am ret
 of tearful regret, and yet of yearning a
 after all, nothing can replace one's father
 above all towns beside, is Athens ; thougl
 wont to assert that it was full of attrac
 or, but replete with dangers to its own inh

The flight of Leocrates has
 l as the type here, with but few
 es. συσκευασμένοι δ' εἶχε μετὰ
 δικτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν λήμβον κατακό-
 τῆς νεώε ἤδη περὶ τὴν ἀκτὴν
 ἴσως· καὶ πάλιν ἄλλοι

²⁸ Isocr. *Ægin.* 1:
 what similar account
 tunes of a family, an
 χωρίον (Τροιζήνα) ἐπ
 δεσ εἶναι. Epidemic

‘His remark was a just one,’ said the other. ‘What the pupil is to the eye, that is Athenæ to Hellas. But its people are volatile and fickle; as easily inspired with any noble thought, as they are hurried away into acts of injustice and atrocity;—now moved even to tears by the tragic end of an Œdipus, or the woes of unhappy Trojan women,—now hastening from thence, to entangle the house of a fellow-citizen in a web of malicious trickery, and plunge it into ruin and despair; a spoiled child, full of vanity and humours; basking in the sunshine of a former age, the spots of which are hidden by the light of noble deeds; pluming itself on the empty name of pure Hellenic blood, and on having been the first to recognize law and justice, while it yet fosters in its bosom a most venomous brood of worthless sycophants, and subjects every law to the caprice of the moment; with the name of freedom for ever in its mouth, yet threatening every careless word that may not please the people’s humour with death or banishment. And then again its character presents a most pleasing union of the grave and gay. Blithe and glad-some is the life of the Athenian, who is ever contented, provided he has something to wrangle about or laugh at. He is equally capable of appreciating the grandest creations of the tragic stage, and the most farcical caricatures of comedy; he enjoys alike the society of the most staid philosopher, and of the flightiest *hetæra*. Penurious is he at home, and mean at the table of the money-changer, but most lavish when he wishes to cut a grand figure in a *choregia*, or pass for an admirer of *vertu*³⁰.’

τῇν Ἑλλάδα διαφέρειν ἐνοικῆσαι δὲ
ἀσφαλῇ μηκέτι εἶναι.

³⁰ When Aristotle was asked his opinion of Athens—τίς ἐστιν ἡ τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις; he answered, παγκάλῃ. ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐτῇ

ἐγγὺς ἐστ’ ἐγγὺς γράσκει, οὐκ ὅς ἐστι σίκαρ.

Ælian, *Var. Hist.* iii. 36. This witty

application of Homer’s line has the same point as the simile of Isocrates, and in both we read the voice of antiquity, which, though extolling the renown of Athens, complains no less loudly of the want of personal security there; which is to be ascribed partly to the form of the government, partly to the idiosyncrasy of the Athenian people. The words of Philo, ii.

των Ἀθηναίων παραλλάτ-
are a just tribute to the intel-
ual and mercantile supremacy of
ns. And Athenæus, i. p. 20, com-
ing various cities, says: Ἀλεξαν-
ν μὲν τὴν χρυσῆν, Ἀντισοχέων δὲ
αλὴν, Νικομηδέων δὲ τὴν περι-
7, προσέτι δὲ

μικροτάτην πόλεω πασῶν, ὅπως
Ζεὺς ἀναφαίνει,

θήνας λέγω. Cf. Alciph. *Epist.*
ἑλὴν ἐν ταῖς Ἀθήναις τὴν Ἑλ-
ἑλὴν τὴν Ἰονίαν. But besides
ernal splendour, Athens might
f being a genuine patron of
and art, a very temple of the
and a school for all Greece.
yd. ii. 41; and Isocr. *Paneg.*
σοῦτον ἀπολέλοιπεν ἡ πόλις
οὐ τὸ φρονεῖν καὶ λέγειν τοὺς
ἐνθρόπων, ὥστ' οἱ ταύτης
τῶν ἄλλων διδάσκαλοι γέγον-
ut the vanity of the inhabi-
so assiduously fostered by
rs and demagogues, that
nt contempt of other states
among them. Even De-
betrays this weakness, *de*
r. p. 218; and Isocr. *de*

the notion αὐτό;
variously interpret
meant that the pe-
indigenous, neither
pelled from anywh
migrated of their o
χώραν δεῖ οἱ αὐτοὶ
ii. 36. Leabon. *Pro*
more explicit: οἱ
Ἑλληνας ἐκ τῆς
μεταστάτες οἰκοῦσ
ἐξελάσαντες ἐτέροι
λαθόντες ὑφ' ἐτέροι
δύο φέρεσθε κανχήμ
γὰρ ἐξηλάθητε τῆς
ὑπὸ οὐδαμῶν ἀνθρώπ
σαντες ἐτέρους αὐτοὶ
also considered them
i. e. earth-born, in ti
of the word. So Democ
1390: οὐ γὰρ μόνον εἰ
καὶ τῶν ἀνω προγόν
ἀνευρεθῆναι ἐκάστη τῇ
ἀλλ' εἰς ὅλην κοινῇ τῇ
πατρίδα, ἥς αὐτόχθον
ται εἶναι. μόνοι γὰρ π
πων ἐξ ἡσπερ ἐφυσαν, τ
καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῶν πα
Plato, *Menes.* p. 237:

than my mere name, tell me yours also: I seem to have an indistinct notion that we have met in days of yore.'

'Charicles!' exclaimed the youth, as he walked up and looked straight into the other's face. 'I knew you at our very first salute; but you have no recollection of me, I see.

ἐρήμην καταλαβόντες, οὐδ' ἐκ πολλῶν ἔθνων μιγάδες συλλεγίντες, ἀλλ' οὕτω καλῶς καὶ γνησίως γεγόμεναι, ὥστ' ἐξ ἧσπερ ἐφυμέναι, ταύτην ἔχοντες ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διατελοῦμεν, ἀτόχθοντες ὄντες. Antisthenes (Diog. Laert. vi. 1) ridiculed the immense value attached to this distinction, and classed them with snails: ἔλεγε μὲν εἶναι κοχλίων καὶ ἀττελέβων εὐγενεστέρους. In proportion as the Athenians loved to be flattered about their ancient renown, so they could not endure to hear reproof or any unpleasant truths; and thus in a state that plumed itself on being freest of the free, freedom of speech was fettered by the caprice of the public. This intolerance is animadverted on by Isocrates, *de Pace*, 5: ἐγὼ οἶδα μὲν, ὅτι πρόσαντί ἐστιν ἀντατιοῦσθαι ταῖς ὑπετέραις διανοαῖς, καὶ ὅτι, δημοκρατίας οὐσῃ, οὐκ ἐστὶ παρήρησία, πλὴν ἐνθάδε μὲν τοῖς ἀφρορεστέτοις καὶ μὴδὲν ὑμῶν φροντίζουσιν, ἐν δὲ τῷ θεάτρῳ τοῖς κωμοδιδασκαλοῖς. ...πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἐπιπλήττοντας καὶ ρουθετοῦντας ὑμᾶς οὕτω διατίθεσθαι δυσκόλως, ὥσπερ τοὺς κακὸν τι τὴν πόλιν ἐργαζομένους. Again Aristot. *de Republ.* v. 10: καὶ γὰρ ἡ δημοκρατία ἡ τελευταία τυραννὶς ἐστὶν and he adds: καὶ γὰρ ὁ δῆμος εἶναι βούλεται μόναρχος. διὸ καὶ ὁ κόλαξ παρ' ἀμφοτέροις ἐντιμος. Cf. Plutarch, *Demosth.* 26; and Aristoph. *Equis.* passim. And what was this δῆμος? Euthydemus replies, τοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει τῶν πολιτῶν, (Xenoph. *Memor.* iv. 2, 37), which

is a better definition than those of the philosophers. Aristot. *de Rep.* vi. 2. See Hermann's *Gr. Staatsalt.* for a capital estimate of the character of the δῆμος. The inordinate taste for litigation was a special trait of the Athenian public. See the apposite remark, Lucian, *Icaromen.* 16: τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους γεωργοῦντας ἐπέβλεπον. καὶ ὁ Φολιξ δὲ ἐνεκορεύετο, καὶ ὁ Κίλιξ ἐλήστευε, καὶ ὁ Λάκων ἐμαστιγοῦτο, καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἐδικάζετο. So also Xenoph. *de Republ. Athen.* 3, 2, and *Aves*, 40:

'Ἀθηναῖοι δ' αἰεὶ

ἐπὶ τῶν δικῶν ἔδουσι πάντα τὸν βίον.

The character of the people, as shewn in the Market, the Gymnasium, and the Theatre, will be discussed hereafter. The preceding estimate of the Athenian character will scarcely appear too severe to an unprejudiced student of the orators. See Dio Chrysos. *Or.* xiii. p. 427, and xxxi. p. 574. The distinction drawn between the Ἀττικοὶ and Ἀθηναῖοι, (Dionysius. *Stat. Græc.* p. 9), will not hold at all; there are a hundred instances to prove the mixture of excellent and despicable qualities in the Athenian character. What Pliny relates of Parrhasios is much to the point: 'Pinxit et Demon Atheniensium, argumento quoque ingenioso. Debat namque varium, iracundum, injustum, inconstantem, eundem exorabilem, clementem, misericordem, gloriosum, excelsum, humilem, ferocem fugacemque et omnia pariter ostendere.' *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 10, 36.

...the scripping, as he
seized his friend by the hand. 'Yes! it
feelings were more truthful than my me
from the first that we must have one
how could I have forgotten you? How ha
ful of the thousand acts of kindness which
ference to all others! How you used to
k carriages carved by your own hand; a
whirring cockchafers, and fastened a thi
ir legs; and afterwards, how you being y
ciphering, would teach me all the little an
ence; so that even the stern pedagogue too
i, and was pleased to see us in company, not
ir being my senior by a year or two, and the
ad's coat usually made all the difference with
ten it? Oh! no. But your beard so d
friend. And who could ever recognise in
me, embrowned by the sun, the pale, weak
ool-days! Moreover, we have not met for
w came it, by the bye, that you left Hermi
urry?

'Of that presently,' replied Ctesiphon.
day: let us two be at it.'

the bridle of his charger, which Manes had again bitted, drew it over his head, and thus led him along, walking side by side with Ctesiphon, who beguiled the way with the recital of his fortunes during the last eight years.

The father of Ctesiphon³³ was an Athenian citizen, well to do in the world; and having only one son surviving from a former marriage, he took for a second wife his brother's daughter. The offspring of this alliance were Ctesiphon, and a younger sister. The father, who was engaged in large mercantile transactions with distant countries, had occasion to go to the Pontus and Chersonesus. Before quitting Athens, he resolved, in case anything should befall him on his journey, to entrust his will to his brother, who was bound to his children by a double tie; and, at the same time, he committed to his custody, partly in cash, partly in bonds and mortgage deeds, a fortune of more than fifteen talents. He never returned. The faithless guardian concealed his death till he had got hold of the papers which the deceased had left under seal. He then broke the sad news, disposed of the widow in marriage, though not with all the dowry that had been intended for her, and undertook the education of Ctesiphon, who was not eight years old, and of his younger sister, as well as the maintenance of their elder step-brother. When the latter had attained his twentieth year, and was declared of age, the uncle summoned them all three, asserted that their father had only left a property of twenty *minæ* in silver and thirty gold *staters*, that he had himself expended a sum far exceeding this on their education and nurture, and it was quite out of his power to take any further charge of them. 'You are a man now,' so he addressed the eldest, 'it is your business to care for your brother and sister.' With this he turned the unfortunate orphans out of their father's own house—which he himself now occupied—badly clothed,

³³ The history of Ctesiphon's youth is taken from a classical model. Lysias, *adv. Diogenem*, p. 894—903.

school, in the capacity of assisting that the boy he had adopted ought to do nothing to their support, he made him perform as, for which his birth had certainly not deserv'd. Ctesiphon's intelligent manner and obliging behaviour made him many a friend among the boys who came to school. On the death of one of them, an only son, a rich burgher, who had conceived a predilection for Ctesiphon, then fourteen, adopted him as his successor. 'My factor also is now dead,' said Ctesiphon to his father, 'and I have just been to Argos to receive my share of the estate, which is to be left to me as part of my inheritance, which though not very considerable, still affords me the means of living in the simple fashion that I love. Luckily I prefer the longer road, which is more shady, to the shorter foot-path, and so have been the first to welcome you to your fatherland. But tell me where you will come to meet me at Cleonæ, on your way from Sicily.' 'Our ship,' answered Charicles, 'put in at Thauri. I resolved to go the rest of the journey by land, and took the route by Argos, because the passage over the mountains to Corinth would have been too tedious to my horse.' 'I will meet you at the house of my friend, the philosopher, who lives at Cleonæ, and will be glad to see you there.'

In the course of this colloquy the friends had arrived in the plain, which was overlooked by the town of Cleonæ, its houses built on a slope, and rising terrace-fashion one above another³⁵. There they rested for a brief while, and then continued their journey to Corinth.

regular *ὑποθήματα*, and hence (Lucian, *Asin.* 16) the metamorphosed one is called *δευτερότερον*.

ancient terrace-walls of the third style of masonry, rising one above another, on which the houses and streets were situated." Comp. Leake, *Travels in the Morea*, iii. p. 325.

³⁵ Dodwell, *Class. Tour*, ii. p. 206:
"On the side of the hill are six

grew from a little wood of cypress
and themselves in sight of the mighty cit-
y seas, which, while it lay on the high-
thern and northern Greece¹, connected
ible haven the eastern and the western wo

Not many *stadia* off, the proud Acropolis
em, hiding the chief part of the city by its st-
pe, although detached houses and villas might
ching down to the plain on the south. To
road, and on the verge of the wood, was
in, encompassed with stone-seats which
nderer to repose. A number of young fe-
h their dress girt up high, were just then
ir earthen *hydria* at the crystal stream th-
ee jets from amidst festoons of flowers, scul-
ll as the youths holding them—in marble rel-

Not far from this charming spot the friends
siphon, who intended to put up at the hospit-
an acquaintance, turned to the left, maki-
yonian gate; while Charicles pursued the r-
er threading plantations of olive and pomeg-
the *Craneion*. Having no friends or acquaint-
ver in the city, he purposed looking for or

houses, in which the traveller can purchase a good reception and entertainment. His friend at Argos had mentioned to him the house of one Sotades, who was reputed to be a tolerably reasonable man, and very solicitous for his guests' comfort; and our young hero not being averse to pleasure and gaiety, was glad to hear that the female portion of the household was as free from restraint in its intercourse with the other sex, as it was personally attractive. Nay, it was even asserted, that they had long been initiated by brilliant torch-light into the mysteries of Aphrodite³: and report said that their mother was not the person to reject a well-filled hand, that sued for the favours of her daughters, though, outwardly, they avoided the appearance of regular *hetærae*⁴. It is true that Ctesiphon had cautioned the inexperienced Charicles, and

³ Comp. the expression, Lucian, *Navig.* 11: *Μῶν ἐρωτικὸν τί ἐστιν; οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῦτο ἀμύητοις ἡμῖν ἐξαγορεύσεις, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ λαμπρῇ τῇ δαδί καὶ αὐτοῖς τεταλεσμένοις.*

⁴ In a set of pictures illustrative of Greek customs, it was quite impossible to leave out the *hetærae*, who gave such a peculiar colouring to Grecian levity, and exercised so potent a sway over the life of the younger members of the community. Abundant materials for such a sketch exist, for the Greeks made no secret of matters of this kind; the difficulty has rather been not to sacrifice the vividness of the picture of the ordinary intercourse with these women, to the demands of our modern sense of propriety. But without describing the enormities that characterise the *symposia* where these *hetærae* were present, it seemed desirable to enter a good deal into details. All the features of the picture, even to the minutest details, are taken, almost

without exception, from the classics; especially from the speech against *Neæra*, and from that of Lysias on the murder of *Erastosthenes*; besides Lucian's *Toxaris*, *Asinus*, and *Dialogi Meretricii*; as well as from Appuleius, Heliodorus, and the comedians. The narrative given by Demosth. in *Neæra*. p. 1366, forms the outline of the story, and the details are supplied from Lysias and elsewhere. The passage in Demosthenes is as follows: 'Ἐπαίνεται γὰρ τὸν Ἀνδρίον ἐραστὴν ὄντα Νεαίρας ταυτησί παλαιὸν καὶ πολλὰ ἀνηλωκότα εἰς αὐτήν, καὶ καταγόμενον παρὰ τούτοις, ὅποτε ἐκιδημήσειεν Ἀθήναζε διὰ τὴν φιλίαν τῆς Νεαίρας, ἐπιβουλεύσας ὁ Στέφανος οὐτοσί, μεταπεμψάμενος εἰς ἀγρόν, ὡς θύων, λαμβάνει μοιχὸν ἐπὶ τῇ θυγατρὶ τῆς Νεαίρας ταυτησί, καὶ εἰς φόβον καταστήσας πράττεται μνᾶς τριάκοντα· καὶ λαβὼν ἐγγυητὰς τούτων Ἀριστόμαχόν τε τὸν θεσμοθετήσαντα, καὶ Ναυσίφιλον τὸν Ναυσίικου τοῦ ἄρξαντος υἱόν, ἀφίησιν, ὡς ἀποδώσουσι αὐτῷ τὸ ἀργύριον.

and down ship and freight in the clutches
ταρᾶς.

But Charicles had firmly assured his m
ould not stay at Corinth more than three
suppose that in so short a sojourn, he w
tithe of the two thousand *drachmæ* that
m. It was in the best possible spirits t
directed his steps to the *Craneion*, in t
high Sotades lived.

The place that went by this name⁶ was
most frequented point of Corinth. Here was
the grove, in which lay the shrine of Belle
the temple of Aphrodite Melanis⁷, the godde
twice more than a thousand *hierodulæ* minis
asures of the countless stream of strangers⁸

⁶ Strabo, viii. 6, 20: Οὐ παντὸς
ἀπὸ τοῦ Κόρινθον ἔσθ' ὁ πλοῦς.

⁸ The oldest mention of the Κρά-
νιον or Κράνιον, and perhaps the
one, previous to the destruction of
Corinth, occurs in Xenoph. *Hist. Gr.*
i. 4. Diog. Laert. vi. 77, calls it a
nasium: ἐν τῷ Κρανείῳ τῷ πρὸ
Κορίνθου γυμνασίῳ, and Suidas
Κράνιον· θυσιᾶν

⁷ Pausanias, *supra*
λεροφόντου τί ἐστ.
Ἀφροδίτης ναὸς Με-
cerning Aphrodite Me-
san. viii. 6, 2. Whether
temple in which were
hierodulæ, is nowhere
but it would seem not
Excursus on *The Hel*

of wealth, doubtless, to the temple and city, but to the easily-inveigled sailor, of more certain destruction than the whirlpool of the all-engulphing Charybdia. On the monument of Lais hard by, stood, like a warning-sign, the lioness, holding in her claws the captive ram, an easily intelligible symbol of her life⁹. What a strange chance was it, that, at no very distant period, this identical spot should be selected for the burial-place of Diogenes of Sinope; just as though this example of unnatural abstinence was intended as a contrast to the memorial of wanton licentiousness. The vicinity of the *hetærae*¹⁰, and the pleasantness of the place, drew hither, daily, a vast number of residents and strangers, and by a natural consequence, abundance of hawkers, who exposed their goods for sale. Damsels with bread and cakes, others with chaplets and *tanias*, boys with baskets full of fruit, plied their trade, offering their wares to the loungers¹¹.

If people congregated here merely for pleasure and amusement, such was not the case in the street leading from the harbour of Cenchrea, which presented a most animated scene of business and traffic. Man and beast were everlastingly busied in transporting the contents of the vessels to the town or to the harbour of Lechæon, or from thence to the eastern harbour. In one place might be seen numberless beasts of burden carrying Byzantine corn to the city; waggons meeting each other, some conveying

οὐδὲ πώποτε γνήσια ἐνόμισε, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὴν ταύτην μητέρα ἐν τούτοις τοῖς χρόνοις ἔλαβεν. Hence seaports generally, the Piræus for instance, abounded with πόρνοι and πόρνοι. Cf. Terent. *Phorm.* iv. 1; and Plaut. *Epid.* iv. 1, 13.

⁹ Pansan. *supra*: Τάφος Δαΐδος, ᾧ δὴ λείαινα ἐπὶ θημά ἐστι κριὸν ἔχουσα ἐν τοῖς προτέροις ποσίν.

¹⁰ Dio Chrysos. *Or.* viii. p. 276, says of Diogenes of Sinope: μετέβη

CHAR.

εἰς Κόρινθον κάκει διῆγεν, οὔτε οἰκίαν μισθωσάμενος, οὔτε παρὰ ξένῳ τινὶ καταγόμενος, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ Κρανίῳ θυραυλῶν. ἑώρα γὰρ ὅτι πλείστοι ἄνθρωποι ἐκεῖ συνίσαι διὰ τοὺς λιμένας καὶ τὰς ἐταίρας.

¹¹ Alciph. *Epist.* iii. 60: 'Ὅτε γὰρ ἐλούσαντο οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ μεσοῦσα ἡμέρα ἦν, στρωμύλους ἱερασάμην καὶ εὐφυνεῖς νεανίσκους οὐ περὶ τὰς οἰκίας, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὸ Κράνειον εἰλουμένους, καὶ οὐ μάλιστα ταῖς ἀρτοπώλισι καὶ ὀπωροκαπήλοις ἔθες ἀναστροφήν.

not to mention the variety of costly products, which the innumerable chests and bale choicest aromatics from the scented plains, the costly web of the forests of Ind, its ivory and shells; gorgeous tapestries, the toilsome products of ingenuity, the wool of Milesian flocks, the silver wrought by maidens of Cos,—all found their emporium of an hemisphere.

Charicles, in pleased surprise, strode through the city, which presented a phenomenon to which he had never been accustomed. During the six years of his absence, the Athenian life had been nearly effaced from his mind. The Sicilian towns which he had seen, where the wild beast made his lair there, the streets were not unfrequently the scene of the

Works of art, such as images of the gods, were exported in great quantities, not merely on order, but on speculation, as is evident from the story of Apollonios, who met a great load of them in the Piræus. *Ἰσίου δὲ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου, τίς ὁ λόγος; θεῶν, εἰφῆ, ἀγάλματα ἀπάγε*

οὔτω πολλὴν καὶ βαθεῖαν ὕλην, ὥστε τοὺς ἱπποκατανέμεσθαι, τῶν ἱπποχλόῃ κατακειμένων. αἱ δὲ λείπει πλὴν παντελῶς ὅλοι ἐγένοντο μεσταὶ καὶ στείνοι ἐν δὲ τοῖς προαστείοις τείνου πολλὰ δένδρα.

Syracuse itself, which Timoleon had found so desolate that horses pastured on the tall grass which overgrew the market-place, had recovered but little of its former animation. But here was a scene to which the busy hum of the Piræus, or the liveliness of the Athenian *agora*, could alone afford a comparison. He asked a boy, who offered him fruit for sale, if he could shew him Sotades' domicile. 'Oh, you mean the father of the pretty Melissa and Stephanion?' replied the urchin. 'He lives no great way off,' added he, and forthwith he offered his services as a guide, and at Charicles' bidding, tripped gaily along before him.

The house of Sotades was not a common inn¹⁴ that

θεῖον ἀποκεκρέφθαι, τοῦ μὲν ἡρώων, τοῦ δὲ θεῶν. καὶ ὅτι καθ' ἡμέραν τὰ τοῦ ῥήτορος τούτου πρόβατα ἴσθην εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν ἐμβάλλει καὶ κατανέμεται περὶ τὸ βουλευτήριον.

¹⁴ As has been shewn in *Gallus*, 2nd Ed. p. 353, it is erroneous to suppose that there were no inns among the ancients, or that their use was confined to the lowest class of travellers. Of course there was nothing of the kind in the Homeric age. People on a journey, in those days, found a hospitable reception in the house of a stranger, and thus arose ties of friendship which even extended to their posterity. This beautiful custom even reaches down to the historic era. Herod. vi. 35, Οὔτοις ὁ Μιλτιάδης (ὁ Κυνεῖλου, Ἀθηναῖος) κατήμενος ἐν τοῖσι προθύροισι τοῖσι ἐώντοῦ, ὁρέωντοῦσι Δολόγῳ παρίοντες, ἱσθῆτα ἔχοντας οὐκ ἐγχωρήν καὶ αἰχμαῖ, προσεβίσατο· καὶ σφι προσελθοῦσι ἐπηγγεῖλατο καταγωγὴν καὶ ξείνια· and a law of Charondas prescribes, ξένον πάντα τὸν ἐν τῇ ἱαντοῦ πατρίδι σεβόμενον, καὶ κατὰ τοῦ οἴκου νόμον, εὐφῆμει καὶ οἰκίῳ προσδέχεσθαι καὶ ἀποστέλλειν, μεμνημένους Διὶ Ζεῦσι,

ὡς παρὰ πᾶσιν ἰδρυμένου κοινοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὄντος ἐπισκόπου φιλοξενίας τε καὶ κακοξενίας. Stob. Tit. xlv. 40. See *Ælian*, *Var. Hist.* iv. 1. But when intercourse grew more frequent, and towns like Corinth and Athens were overflowing with strangers, it is natural to suppose that the want of inns became felt. At the great Grecian festivals, for instance, the majority of the strangers could have no other house to lodge at but an auberge. Wealthy individuals, even at a later period, were very hospitable to strangers; so Xenoph. *Æcon.* 2, 5: ἔπειτα ξένους προσήκει σοι πολλοὺς δέχεσθαι, καὶ τούτους μεγαλοπρεπῶς. See also Plato, *Protag.* p. 315, where the house of Callias is crammed with guests, but these were some of them friends, some bidden guests, and others persons of distinction. Other persons had to put up at an inn, πανδοκεῖον, καταγωγίον, κατὰ λυσιν. See Plato, *Leg.* xii. p. 952. At festivals, however, places of shelter were provided in the vicinity of the temples at the public expense. Schol. to Pind. *Olym.* xi. 55: τὸ γὰρ ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καταγωγίοις διέληντο. Cf. *Ælian*, *Var. Hist.* iv. 9. It does not appear whether these καταγωγία

er Nicippe—who commonly went by the sion—had formerly been the Amalthea, subsistence¹⁶. Sotades, however, pretend

ed, erected on such occasions, anything besides shelter. It was usual for travellers to provide cessaries of the journey for themselves, and many probably lived in their own tents. See Alcib. 12. There was a arrangement at the temple of Artemis at Cnidos: ἦν δ' ὑπὸ ταῖς κλισίαις ὕλαις ἰλαραὶ κλισίαι ἐνεστιᾶσθαι θέλουσι, εἰς ἐν ἀστικῶν σπανίως ἐπεφοί- ντες· ἀθρόος δ' ὁ πολιτικός πανηγύριζεν, ὥντως ἀφροδι- τος. Lucian, Amor. 12. The important building of the kind was erected near the Heræon, the site of Platæa, after its destruction by the Spartans: ἐπικοδόμη- δε τῷ Ἡραίῳ καταγώγιον ἐν ποδῶν, πανταχῇ κύκλῳ αἱ ἔχον κάτωθεν καὶ ἄνωθεν. iii. 68. But these public

being the case. Thus the dōra from Athens to Philip: where in inns, πανδοκεῖα de Falsa Leg. p. 272: οὐ συσσιτεῖν, ὅτ' ἐξήμερον ἐπὶ ῥαν πρεσβείαν, ἤθελεν, οἱ δδοῖς, ὅπου δυνατὸν ἦν, πανδοκεῖον καταλύειν. Cf. de san. tuend. 15; de vitii de esu carn. 5; Liban. Or. 3. So Dionysos enquires as to on the road to Hades: Rhaps. 114. As with the (Gallus, p. 356,) so among the the trade of the innkeeper was highly contemptible, first, entertainment for gain is a variance with the duties of the and, secondly, because of the and extortion of these people. Plato, Leg. xi. p. 918: πάντῃ τὴν καπηλείαν καὶ ἐμπε- πανδοκίαν γένη διαβίαν—

strangers, to be ignorant of the course of life which his daughters followed, and the cue of the mother, who played her part to admiration, was to take advantage of his apparent strictness, and so to pursue her plans to greater advantage¹⁷.

Under the boy's guidance, Charicles soon reached the house, which looked rather insignificant outside, but was situate near the Cenchrean gate, in one of the busiest spots, where there was a strong muster of taverns and various retail shops.

The vicinity of the *Craneion* and the street leading to the harbour, brought numbers of people to the spot; and here the garlick-chewing sailor, as well as the beau, reeking of perfume—the one at the price of a couple of oboles, which was perhaps half his day's earnings¹⁸, the other making light of a handful of silver—were accustomed to indulge themselves, each after his own peculiar fashion.

Charicles rewarded his guide with a few coppers¹⁹, and

very well have received the sobriquet *Αιγίδιον*. See Excursus on *The Hetera*.

¹⁷ It was so with Nicarete and her seven girls. Demosth. in *Near.* p. 1361. προσειπούσα αὐτὰς ὀνόματι θυγατέρας, ἵν' ὥς μεγίστους μισθοὺς πρέττειτο τοῖς βουλομένοις πλησιάζειν αὐταῖς, ὥς ἐλευθέραις οὖσαις. *Nemra* made a similar use of her marriage with *Stephanos*. *Ib.* p. 1359.

¹⁸ What were the wages per diem for common labour, cannot be accurately stated. *Lucian, Tim.* 6, mentions four oboles, and this certainly refers to his own time. See Böckh's *Publ. Econ. of Athens*, p. 117. So again, *Epist. Saturn.* 21, we read, ὀνειροπολεῖν, εἰ πόθεν ὀβολοὶ τέσσαρες γένοιτο, ὥς ἔχοιμεν ἔρτων γούν ἢ ἀλφίτων ἐμπεπλησμένοι καθεύδω. The daily pay of a rower is

fixed elsewhere (*de Electro*, 3) at two oboles only. εἰ δὲ ἦν τι τοιοῦτον, οἷαι ἡμᾶς δυοῖν ὀβολοῖν ἕνεκα ἐρέττειν ἂν ἢ ἔλκειν τὰ πλοῖα πρὸς ἐναντίον τὸ ὕδωρ, οἷς ἐξῆν πλουτεῖν.

¹⁹ For some services, however, much more pay, in comparison, was demanded. See Böckh's observations on *Aristoph. Ran.* 173, in his *Publ. Econ. of Athens*, p. 117. Fees and gratuities were demanded on the most frivolous pretences. So *Lucian, de Merc. Cond.* 14: εὐθὺς οὖν πρόσεισι παραγγέλλοντες, ἤκειν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, οὐκ ἀνομιλητοὶ οἰκέτης, ὃν χρη πρότερον ἴλεων ποιήσασθαι, παραβύσαντα ἐς τὴν χεῖρα, ὥς μὴ ἀδέξιος εἶναι δοκῇ, τοῦλάχιστον πέντε δραχμᾶς· ὁ δὲ δακτυλίσματος καὶ ἄπαγε, παρὰ σοῦ δ' ἐγώ; καὶ Ἡράκλεις, μὴ γένοιτο, ἐπεικῶν, τέλει ἐπέισθη. Akin to these douceurs were the

ing complacently on the stately charger a
g heavily-laden slave, and then said hal
is not a house of call for every chance stran
might have done better at the adjacent inn.
sters whose beauty brings suitors enough ali
ny doors, and it is a delicate matter to recei
like you into my somewhat confined domic
that standing, as you have been sent to me by r
gos, you shall be welcome; no attention
l to make you and your horse comfortab
; he opened the door, called a slave to take th
id Charicles enter, he and Manes following;
he man's brusque tone, and whole appearan
eated a particularly pleasant impression on th
n air of disorder visible in the entrance-h
calculated to raise the inmates in his estimati
corner lay fragments of broken wine-stoups,
relics of withered garlands²⁰; while from the
ed a buzz of heterogeneous voices, with, n
the stave of a song. One might have fancied t
proceeded from a drinking party; but thi
as the master of the house had but just ent

In point of fact, the latter seemed half perplexed, half angry at it, and hurried his guest up a flight of stairs to the upper story, where he assigned him a pleasant apartment, such as Charicles had scarcely expected to find in the house. 'I hope this will suit you,' was his host's remark. 'But you have travelled some distance,' he continued, 'and your wearied limbs must need refreshment'²¹. Go, Pægnion,' said he to a lad of some fifteen years old, 'bring oil, strigils, and linen-cloths, and shew the stranger to the nearest bath'²². Take care also that his evening meal be not deficient in wine and solids.' Hereupon he took his leave, and the boy soon arriving with the needful apparatus, led Charicles to the bath, on returning from which he found supper ready, though he soon dispensed with Pægnion's services, as rest and sleep were what he most needed.

But the tranquil god would not sink upon his heavy eye-lids so soon as he desired. Indistinct cries and wild laughter ever and anon penetrated to his chamber from below. It was now night, and yet Charicles heard stormy knockings at the outer door, and swarms of *Comastæ* rushing noisily in. He fancied he could distinctly catch the name of Stephanion. Was not that the very name by which the boy had called one of the daughters? The domestic discipline here, thought he, must be rather more lax than my friend at Argos was aware of.

But on the other hand, the father's harsh, nay almost repulsive manner, hardly tallied with his supposition: persons of his supposed class behaved in a manner quite the reverse,

²¹ With the ancients the chief antidote to fatigue was the bath. So Aristoph. *Ranæ*, 1279, where Dionysos says:

ἔγω μὲν οὖν ἐς τὸ βαλανεῖον βούλομαι.
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν γὰρ τὸ τοῦτο βουβανεύω.

And again, Aristot. *Probl.* i. 39, p. 863: δὲ τί τοῦτο μὲν θερμονὲς κόπουνε λουτρῷ ἰᾶσθαι δεῖ, τοῦτ' δὲ χειμερινόνε

δλείμματι; Also Lucian, *Lexiph.* 2: χαίρω δὲ μετὰ κάματον ἀπολούμενος and Athen. i. p. 24: ἴσασι δὲ καὶ λουτρὰ δὲ κη πόων παντοῖα.

²² Lucian, *Asin.* 2: εἴτα πέμπε αὐτὸν εἰς βαλανεῖον οὐχὶ γὰρ μετρίαν ἐλήλυθεν ὁδόν and more at large, Appul. *Metam.* i. p. 72.

ous about introducing my daughters to strangers in some-
how, your eyes betokened so much modesty, such earnestness, and so much wisdom in your lips, that I am certain I shall have nothing to say to you.'

The stripling accepted the courtesy with a smile, and a light seemed to break over the character of the youth whose chief object was evidently to shun society. This made the youth all the more curiously he had never waited for the breakfast hour with such impatience.

At last the oft-consulted *gnomon*²² proclaimed that the guest had arrived when the hospitable inmates were expecting the stranger's presence.

The damsels were indeed beautiful. Stephanie, with her raven locks, falling in rich luxuriance down her neck, the full black orbs beneath the finely arched eyebrows, that ripe *embonpoint* so manifest through the thickness of her dress, were qualities that brought to mind the ideal of a Hera: but her attitude was nothing to Charicles, who was lost in the contemplation of Melissa, her younger sister.

limbs, that was irresistibly bewitching. So careful and proper was their toilet that Charicles began to waver in his preconceived opinion; yet the easy familiarity with which Melissa seated herself between him and her mother, and their free way of partaking of the wine²⁴, and joining in the conversation, little accorded with the reserve of Grecian virgins.

Indeed they seemed gradually to lay aside their disguise. Melissa's glances, and all her movements, became anything but correct, and when in the temporary absence of Sotades, Charicles handed her the goblet, she carefully applied her lips to the very place that his had touched²⁵. The youth, burning with passion, caught the vessel from her hand, and did the same, upon which the damsel leaned lovingly towards him, and the clasp that fastened the chiton over her shoulder became loosened, as if by accident, at the same moment. Unable to restrain himself, he imprinted a hasty kiss on her dazzling shoulder, and the gentle slap with which she punished his presumption, shewed that it was not considered an insult. Sotades here returned, and breakfast ended. Melissa's eyes seemed to say, 'I hope we shall meet again,' and Charicles took his leave completely enthralled. He needed no further enticement: breakfast had been the trap; and he was now helplessly ensnared²⁶.

²⁴ Xenoph. *de Rep. Lac.* 1, 3: οἶνον γε μὴν ἢ πάνπαν ἀπεχομένους ἢ ὕδαρι χρωμένους διάγουσιν.

²⁵ This was a silent declaration of love, or a sign of mutual understanding. Ovid, *Amor.* i. 4, 31; Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* 12: καὶ πινὼν ἂν ἐκείνη μὲν ὑπέδειξεν τὸ ποτήριον, ἀποδιδότι δὲ τῷ παιδί πρὸς τὸ οὕτως ἐκείνην, εἰ μὴ Πυραλλίς αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ἂν ἄλλω ἐγγχείαι. Achill. Tat. ii. 9: φρονόσι δὲ ὁ Σάτυρος ἡμῖν καὶ τι ποιεῖ ἐρωτικόν. Διαλλάσσει γὰρ

τὰ ἐκπώματα καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν τῇ κόρῃ προστίθεισι, τὸ δὲ ἐκείνης ἐμοί. καὶ ἐγγέων ἀμφοτέροις καὶ ἐγκερασάμενος ὥρεγεν. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπιτηρήσας τὸ μέρος τοῦ ἐκπώματος εἶθα τὸ χεῖλος ἢ κόρη πίνουσα προσέθιγεν ἐναρμολογούμενος ἐπινον ἀποστολιμαῖον τοῦτο φίλημα ποιῶν καὶ ἅμα κατεφίλοντο τὸ ἐκπώμα.

²⁶ See the striking comparison, *Plant. Asin.* i. 3, 63:

...anceps ego,
Esca est meretrix, lectus illex est, amatores
aves.

... some money: ...

'replied he. 'It won't be difficult,' continu
 'I love the beautiful Melissa; try to procu
 ew to-night.' 'What sort of a notion is
 got about the daughter of a respectable fa
 !' interrupted Charicles; 'I know the e
 your respectability will reach. Don't assu
 ent; it suits you ill. But no more of that.
 Melissa, and ten drachmæ are your reward.
 en drachmæ?' repeated the slave,—'no, it v
 a herself won't object, I dare say: she has b
 herself ever since she saw you. She wee
 repeating your name; she can't live witho
 I believe that you have mixed some love-po
 p.' 'Well, and why won't it do?' asked Ch
 nother won't mind, surely?' 'She is not so
 as all that,' replied the menial; 'and wi
 s narrow means, I take it, some four or fi
 will go far towards persuading her to open
 or of the parthenon. But isn't Sotades at
 ou see how jealously he guards his dau
 there's the rub,' said Charicles with a k
 'but perhaps Nicias—'

what you're about.' Pægnion departed, assuring Charicles that the project should not fail by any fault of his; but that nevertheless he thought it would be hardly feasible.

It was scarce dawn, when Charicles sprang from his couch. His sleep had not been sound, and towards morning he fancied he had heard a noise, as if the inner and outer doors were opened²⁷. The thought that a favoured lover was creeping off, disturbed him. Pægnion made his appearance before long, and his self-satisfied air announced good news. He informed Charicles that his master proposed going to Sicyon to-day on business, and would be obliged by the loan of his horse. He would only be absent two nights, and Charicles of course did not intend leaving Corinth before then. Charicles fancied he saw through the meaning of the journey, and felt relieved at getting rid of so great an impediment to his wishes on such easy terms. He therefore immediately assented.

Pægnion brought nothing fresh from Melissa, and on being interrogated about the opening of doors in the night, alleged as the reason, that the light²⁸ had become extinguished, and a female slave had, towards morning, gone to fetch one from a neighbour's²⁹.

Charicles persuaded himself into the belief that this was true.

Sotades had set off, noon was long passed, and Chari-

²⁷ *Lysias, de Cede Erat.* p. 20: ἀναμνησκόμενοι, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐψόφει ἡ μέταυλος θύρα καὶ ἡ αὔλειος. Consult the Excursus on *The House*.

²⁸ The use of a night-light was not general, although not uncommon. Mention of it occurs in *Aristoph. Eccles.* 8; *Lucian, Catapl.* 27; *Plut. Pelop.* 11; and on the other hand, in *Nub.* 18; *Theoph. Char.* 18; and *Theocr.* xxiv. 48, it is not lit till wanted.

²⁹ *Lysias, de Cede Erat.* p. 15: ἐρωμένου δέ μου, τί αἱ θύραι νύκτωρ ψοφοῖεν, ἐφασκε τὸν λύχνον ἀποσβεσθῆναι τὸν παρὰ τῷ παιδίῳ, εἰτα ἐκ τῶν γειτόνων ἀνάψασθαι. ἐσιώπων ἐγὼ, καὶ ταῦτα οὕτως ἔχειν ἡγούμην. Neighbours did not scruple to beg a light, even at night. So *Xenoph. Mem.* ii. 2, 12: οὐκοῦν καὶ τῷ γείτονι βούλει σὺ ἀρέσκειν, ἵνα σοὶ καὶ πῦρ ἐναύη, ὅταν τούτου δέῃ. Other small services were willingly rendered. See *Theophr. Char.* 10; *Aristoph. Eccles.* 446.

ne, which was one of such very common occurrences to and fro in great impatience, when approached. The news he brought was favorable, and succeeded in talking the mother over, and patiently expecting him; and as soon as he left the house, he would lead the youth where the Muses, the inseparable deities of joy, would receive him³⁰. 'Only don't forget,' he added to the mother the mina of silver, when she opened and bethink you of my services also.'

In the hospitable house where Ctesiphon lived, six young men, including himself and his friends, had just met for a *symposion*, and unguents were rubbed round, and wine mingled. The lively conversation betokened them all to be men of the highest education, and well acquainted with the Corinthian beauties. 'You'll have to stay longer,' said Ctesiphon to his host. 'The same company hither has lent his horse to the house-keeper, and Sotades—such is his name—will stay for two days.' 'Sotades?' exclaimed the others. 'You don't know Sotades?'

know the man then! he went to-day on a journey to Sicyon.' 'Impossible!' cried the second; 'I spied him but a short while ago, stealing along in the dusk of the evening towards the Isthmian gate; I knew him well, spite of his pains to muffle himself up. And, strange enough, just afterwards I met a slave of his, who, now I think of it, was leading a fine-looking horse.' 'All is not right,' said the first, starting up. 'Stephanion sent me a message to-day, pleading sickness as an excuse for her not being able to receive me this evening. I hope that the girl who is my property for....' 'Don't disturb yourself,' said Ctesiphon; 'my friend loves her sister Melissa.' 'In that case, some danger, doubtless, threatens him. This Sotades is the most rascally of pimps, and it would not be the first time that he had allured a stranger, and then accused him of being the seducer of his daughters³¹.' 'Well, then,' cried Ctesiphon's host, 'the best thing for us to do, is to make all speed to Sotades' house, and see if we can't prevent a knave's trick.' This proposal met with universal approbation, particularly as Glaucos wished to assure himself personally about Stephanion's indisposition, while the rest of the party reckoned on having an amusing scene in an hetæra-house. 'But they will never let us in,' interposed one of the guests. 'Oh! be easy on that score,' said Glaucos; 'I have the key of the garden-door, which leads directly to the women's apartments. Nicippe herself let me have it for a couple of gold staters, so long as Stephanion is mine. And even suppose the bolt inside were shot forward, I can take the whole door off its hinges³². But let us be quick. We shall, I hope, soon return to our cups.'

³¹ This is the history of Stephanos and Epænetos. See note 4; and Demosth. in *Næcr.* 1366 and 1359.

³² This is the back-door of the house, usually called *θύρα κηφαία*.

See Excursus on *The House*. That a fastened door could thus be opened, appears from Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* xii.: *τὴν αὐλοῦν εὖρον ἀποκεκλεισμένην ἐπιμελῶν μέσαι γὰρ νύκτες ἦσαν. οὐκ ἔκοψα δ' οὖν, ἀλλ' ἐπάραι*

... from the town, were at
all distance, and he felt rather uneasy at th
e. But they presently disappeared into a ne
led along the garden wall to the next st
jingling the fifteen drachmæ in his hand w
action³⁴, and then stole lightly but quickly
. At the fourth house he stopped and tap
admitted, and not many seconds after, f
out of the door, accompanied by three al
tion³⁵. One of the men—it was Sotades—p
links in a neighbouring shop, and having
³⁶, advanced with the others towards hi
t the doors,' said he to Pægnion as soon as t
ed; 'the bird is safe enough now, but u
s might come in.' They stole noiselessly to th
of the women.

Pharicles reclined on a couch, which smelt sw
³⁷, with the beautiful Melissa in his arms;
in the slightest manner, and she clung closely
rms clasped around his neck. On a sudden t
dashed open with a tremendous blow, and

rushed in with his myrmidons, like one frantic³⁸. 'Villain!' he exclaimed, advancing on the youth, 'is it thus that you abuse my hospitality? Is it thus you disgrace the house, and seduce the daughter of an honest man?' The youth had risen up. 'Seduce your daughter, indeed! why it's notorious that her charms support your house!' 'You lie,' screamed Sotades. 'Friends, ye know the blameless reputation of my roof, and I call you to witness, that I have caught this good-for-nothing fellow on this couch, with my daughter in his arms. Seize him, slaves, and bind him.' Charicles, who was young and powerful, attempted, but in vain, to break through his assailants. The contest was an unequal one, and Sotades, by the help of his slaves, soon mastered and bound him. 'A sword ho!' cried he: 'he shall atone with his life for the stain he would bring upon my house.' 'Sotades!' exclaimed the youth, 'take care how you commit a crime that will not go unrevengeed. I did not wish to stain your house. Your wife has herself received a mina of silver from me for her part in the transaction. But even granted that I have really injured you, what can you gain by killing me? Take a ransom, and let me go free.' 'Not I,' said Sotades; 'the law kills you by my hand. You have deserved death,' he continued after a slight pause; 'but I will have pity on your youth. Give me three thousand drachmæ, and you shall be free³⁹.' 'I have not so much by me,' replied Charicles, 'nor any

³⁸ The whole description is from *Lyms*, (*de Cede Erat*. p. 28,) with but little variation: ὡσαντες δὲ τὴν θύραν τοῦ δωματίου οἱ μὲν πρῶτοι εἰσιόντες ἐτι εἶδομεν αὐτὸν κατακείμενον παρὰ τῇ γυναικί, οἱ δ' ὕστερον ἐν τῇ κλίσῃ γυμνὸν ἑστηκότα. ἐγὼ δ', ὦ ἄνδρες, πατάξας καταβάλλω αὐτόν, καὶ τῷ χεῖρι περιαγαγὼν εἰς τοῦπισθεν καὶ δῆσας ἡρώτων, διὰ τί ὑβρίζει, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν εἰσιών; κακῆϊνος αἰδεῖν μὲν ἀμολόγει, ἡντιβόλει δὲ

καὶ ἰκέτευε μὴ αὐτὸν κτεῖναι, ἀλλ' ἀργύριον πρῶξασθαι. ἐγὼ δ' εἶπον, ὅτι οὐκ ἐγὼ σε ἀποκτενῶ ἀλλ', ὁ τῆς πόλεως νόμος. This occurred in Athens, but there is no doubt it will hold for Corinth also. See *Excursus on The Women*.

³⁹ This was the sum extorted by Stephanos from Epænetos; Demosth. in *Necr.* 1367.

These last words he had pronounced w
hos:—a peal of shrill laughter answered
ntrance of the room. It was Ctesiphon a
ho had gained the door unobserved. ‘Dog

⁴⁰ A praiseworthy custom pre-
dled, not only at Athens, but else-
here, by which friends considered it
eir duty to help, to the best of their
ower, a friend suddenly thrown into
ecuniary difficulties. This kind of
ntribution (*ἔρανος*) has been most
atisfactorily illustrated by Casaubon
Theophr., *Char.* 15; cf. Meier and
chüman, *Att. Proc.*, on the two-fold
ind of *ἔρανος*.

⁴¹ *Æschin. in Timarch.* p. 175:
στ' ἀνὴρ εἰς τῶν πολιτῶν εὐρῶν τὴν
εντοῦ θυγατέρα διεφθαρμένην καὶ
ἥν ἡλικίαν οὐ καλῶς διαφυλάξασαν
έχρι γάμου, ἐγκαταποδόμην σεν αὐτῇν
τῷ ἵππου εἰς ἔρημον οἰκίαν, ὅφ' οὐ
σοδῆλως ἐμελλεν ἀπολεῖσθαι διὰ
μὲν συγκαθειργμένη. καὶ ἔτι νῦν
ἡ οἰκία ταύτης ἔστηκε τὰ οἰκόπεδα
τῷ ἐμμελῶν.

Sometimes, however
cur. *Κύων* is well
occurs, Demosth. *de*
and *κέρκυψ*, Alcipl
As *verses* in latin,
used in Lucian, *Alci*
15: (*ἀνθρώπων*) οὐδὲ
φάγοις ἀνδράσιν, ἀλλ
φῆ μὴ οὐχὶ πρόβατα
των and the proverb
βατίου βίον ζῆν. See
Demon. 41. So also
Plutarch, *Gryll.* 10:
Γρύλλε, μεταβίβλησ
πρόβατον λογικὸν *ι*
τὸν δόνου; Lucian, *J*
γότητα μὲν εἶναι τ
δόνου καθηλίους, νῆ
νονε, τοῦτε πιστεύον
δσον αἱ ἀκρίδες τὸν
Diog. Laert. —

cried Ctesiphon's host, springing forward, 'how dare you bind a free man, and extort money from him?' 'What right have you to question me? why do you force your way into my house?' retorted Sotades sharply, though evidently taken aback. 'The man has dishonoured my house.' Another burst of laughter interrupted him. 'Dishonoured your house, forsooth! shall I tell you to whom Stephanion belongs for two months by your written contract? or who, last night, enjoyed Melissa?' Meanwhile Glaucos and the rest had entered. 'Tell me, Sotades,' exclaimed one of them, 'which marriage may these daughters of yours be by? It strikes me, that scarce ten years have elapsed since the notorious *hetæra* Ægidion became your wife, and brought you these girls, who would in vain hunt for their fathers all Greece over⁴³.' Sotades turned pale, the witnesses whom he had brought with him slipped out, Ctesiphon rushed towards Charicles and loosed the cords with which he was bound. 'You shall pay for this,' shouted Sotades, gnashing his teeth, and striking his hands together in a perfect fury⁴⁴. 'Congratulate yourself,' replied

Is. et Osir. 31. The word λίθος is also applied to simple-minded heavy individuals. So *Nubes*, 1202. When Aristippus was asked what advantage his son would derive from instruction, he answered, Καὶ εἰ μὴδὲν ἄλλο, ἐν γ' οὖν τῷ θεάτρῳ οὐ καθεδήσεται λίθος ἐπὶ λίθῳ. *Diog. Laert.* ii. 72; *Terent. Heaut.* iv. 7, 8: 'Quid stas, lapis?' And *Hecyr.* ii. 1, 17: 'quæ me omnino lapidem, non hominem putas.' Insensibility or apathy is also censured under this term, *Lucian, Dial. Mer.* xii.: 'Ὁ τῆς ἀγριότητος, τὸ δὲ μὴ ἐπικλασθῆναι δακρυούσης, λίθος, οὐκ ἀνθρώπος ἐστί. Cf. *Dio Chrysos.* *Or.* xxi. p. 506. The epithet σιδηροῦς is used like λίθινος. *Lysias in Theomn.* p. 363: ἀλλ' εἰ μὴ σιδηροῦς ἐστί, α. τ. λ. Other terms of abuse are to

be found in *Aristophanes*, some of them very coarse. This perhaps strikes us more than it would the Greeks, whose ears were accustomed to the phrases in question.

⁴³ This was the case with the reputed daughters of Stephanos. *Demosth. in Neer.* 1367: καὶ ὁμολόγει μὲν (ὁ Ἐπαίνετος) χρῆσθαι τῇ ἀνθρώπῳ, οὐ μέντοι μοιχὸς γε εἶναι· οὔτε γὰρ Στεφάνου θυγατέρα αὐτὴν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ Νεαίρας, τὴν δὲ μητέρα αὐτῆς συνειδέναι πλεσιάζουσιν αὐτῷ, ἀνηλωκέναι τε πολλὰ εἰς αὐτάς, τρέφειν τε, ὅποτε ἐπιδημήσεις, τὴν οἰκίαν ὕλην.

⁴⁴ *Lucian, Somn.* 14: ἡ δὲ ἀπολειφθεῖσα τὰ μὲν πρῶτον ἡγανάκει

ἢ τὰ χεῖρε συνεκρότει, καὶ τοὺς | is also a token of j
ὄντας ἐνέπριε. Clapping the hands | Achill. Tat. i. 7.

SCENE THE THIRD.

THE ANCESTRAL ABODE.

THREE days after the events above recorded, the friends landed at the Piræus. Charicles, somewhat ashamed, and out of humour with himself, had willingly listened to Ctesiphon's proposal to go by sea, which was shorter, instead of continuing their journey by land through Megara. A ship too, chanced to be just weighing anchor, and was ready to convey him thither, slave, horse, and all, for the moderate sum of one drachma; while Ctesiphon, who was unattended and without baggage, had only three oboles to pay¹.

The youth's heart beat, oh how quickly! as he put foot on his native soil, and greeted the well-known spots, associated with so many happy memories of days gone by. Just the same bustling life as formerly; the same throng and pressure of the multitude, streaming towards the great emporium, where merchants from all parts of the world had exposed samples of their wares², to sell them to travellers from every land. Nowhere could a more tempting assortment be met with, and though elsewhere an article might be sought in vain, yet in this central mart of Grecian commerce all imaginable commodities were

¹ We learn from Plato, *Gorg.* p. 511, how very low passage-money, *παῦλον*, was: *ἐὰν μὲν ἐξ Αἰγίνης δεῦρο σῶσθαι, οἶμαι δὲ ὀβολοῦν ἐπράξατο· ἐὰν δὲ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἢ ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου, ἐὰν πάμπολυ, ταύτης τῆς μεγάλης ἐπιμελείας, σῶσασα ἂν νῦν θῆ ἔλεγον, καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ παῖδας, καὶ χρήματα καὶ γυναῖκας, ἀναβιβάσασα εἰς τὸν λιμένα δύο δραχμαὶ ἐπράξατο.* It rose considerably at a later period, for Lucian mentions four oboles, instead

of two, as the fare from Athens to Ægina. *Navig.* 15: *καί τοι πρῶτον καὶ ἐς Αἰγίαν...οἶσθα ἐν ἡλικίᾳ σκαφίδι πάντες ἅμα οἱ φίλοι τεττάρων ἑκάστοι ὀβολῶν διεπλεύσαμεν.* See Böckh's *Publ. Econ. of Athens*, p. 118.

² The building where these samples, *δείγματα*, were exposed, was itself called *Δεῖγμα*. See Excursus on *The Markets and Commerce*.

unsuspecting foreigner. Naturally enough, citizens resorted hither daily, to meet some one, to wait the arrival of a friend, or perhaps to go on the pier or among the shops, and to mingle with the animated scene⁷.

But the pleasure which Charicles felt was marred by a painful feeling of finding himself almost out of sympathy with his fellow-citizens. While Ctesiphon mingled with his acquaintances, and was more than once

Isocr. *Paneg.* p. 60: 'Εμπόριον ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς Ἑλλάδος τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ὅπου ἀπὸ παντὸς τοσαύτην ἔχουσιν ὁλὴν, ὥσθ' ἂν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἡ ἐκείνων χαλεπὸν ἴσθι λαβεῖν, ἅπαντα παρ' αὐτῆς ῥάδιον εἶναι πωλεῖσθαι. Though Corinth was the chief place of transit, yet the city was the most important market for foreign goods.

At least one of those public entertainments mentioned in the *Exposition* on *The Heteræ* was in the city. Aristoph. *Pax*, 165: ἐν

⁵ Æschin. in *Timarchum*: θητο ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἐπὶ τῷ ἰατρικῷ.

⁶ Demosth. in *Zenocleum*: ἔστιν ἐργαστήρια μοχθηρὰ καὶ συνεστηκότων ἐν τῇ πόλει. From the context of which it appears that there was an organized band of sharpers in league with one another. in *Bæot.* ὀνόμ. p. 995, ἐργαστήριον συκοφαντῶν.

the cloak from behind⁸, and affectionately greeted, Charicles, who had left the city when a boy, passed through the crowd unnoticed. Still he consoled himself with the hope that old acquaintanceships would speedily be renewed, and fresh ones made as well.

Ctesiphon did not at first go to his lodgings; having met his slave at the place of debarcation, he had dispatched him home, to await his arrival. He himself directed his steps to the Lyceion, where he reckoned on meeting a great number of his friends, preparing themselves by gymnastics and the bath for the approaching hour of repast. Charicles accompanied him on his road. The house of his father's friend, to whose good offices he was indebted for his return, and to whom he was now going to pay his respects, abutted, as he understood, on the Itonian gate, near the Olympieon, so that the Phalerian road, which diverged to the right from the Long Walls, was no bad way for him to the city.

How happy he felt at seeing the stream of the Ilissus, sacred to the Muses, which, though not deep, came coursing along, so pure and transparent in its hollow bed! 'Oh! let us put off our sandals,' said he to his friend, 'and lave our feet in the cool water as we walk along the stream⁹. I have often done so as a boy, when my pedagogue let me stroll out beyond the Palæstra. Not far from hence is the place where, as the legend goes, Oreithyia was ravished by Boreas; a sweetly pretty spot in sooth, and worthy to have been the play-ground of the royal

⁸ This was the common method of attracting the attention of one with whom a person wished to speak. Plato, *de Repub.* l. p. 327, also speaking of the Piræus: καὶ μὲν ἐπισθεν ἐ καὶ λαβόμενος τοῦ λιματίου, κ.τ.λ. So also *ib.* p. 449: ὁ δὲ Πολέμαρχος... ἐκτείλει τὴν χεῖρα καὶ λαβόμενος τοῦ λιματίου ἀνυσθεν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τὸν

ᾶμον. Plant. *Epid.* i. l. 1: 'Quis perperantem meprehendit pallio?' And Appul. *Met.* ii. p. 120: 'a tergo arripens eum laciniaprehendit.'

⁹ Plato, *Phædr.* p. 229. The value of such pictures is much enhanced by their extreme rarity.

... one can luxuriant grass, affords
 enough to those who seek repose :—every t
 unites to render the spot the loveliest retri
 imagined ¹¹.

¹⁰ Plato, *ibid.*

¹¹ We should hardly credit that
 so sentimental a picture of this lovely
 spot belonged to the antique; but
 these are in fact the very words which
 Plato puts into the mouth of Socrates;
ibid. 230: Νῆ τὴν Ἑραν, καλὴ γὰρ ἡ
 καταγωγὴ. ἥ τε γὰρ Πλάτωνος αὐτῇ
 ἰδὲ ἀμφιλαφὴς τε καὶ ὑψηλὴ, τοῦ
 τε ἄγρου τὸ ὕψος καὶ τὸ σύσκιον
 γάγκλον καὶ ὡς ἀκμὴν ἔχει τῆς
 ἰσθμῆς, ὥς ἂν εὐωδέστατον παρέχοι
 τὸν τόπον. ἥ γὰρ αὖ πηγὴ χαριστάτη
 ὑπὸ τῆς πλατάνου ῥεῖ μάλα ψυχροῦ
 ὕδατος, ὥς γὰρ τῷ ποδὶ τεκμήρασθαι.
 ὑμφοῦν τέ τινων καὶ Ἀχελώου ἱερὸν
 ὑπὸ τῶν κορῶν τε καὶ ἀγαλμάτων
 οἶκεν εἶναι. εἰ δ' αὖ βούλει τὸ εὐπ-
 ρουν τοῦ τόπου ὡς ἀγαπητόν τε καὶ
 ῥόδοις ἡδύ. θερινόν τε καὶ λιγυρόν
 πηχεῖ τῷ τεττίγων χορῷ. πάντων
 δὲ κομψότατον καὶ ἁπλοῦς.

author of the be
 attempted to por
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 period, and then ne
 crity. The Greeks
 and warm percepti
 of inanimate natur
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 that Plato's enthus
 scenery was looked
 uncommon by the
 the above passage is t
 to; even by Strabo,
 matter-of-fact Pluta
 not liked it all. *Am*
 λόγου τὸ νῦν ἔχον δ
 μῶνας καὶ σκιάς, κα
 καὶ λάκκων διαδρομι
 τοιούτων τόπων ἐπ
 χονται τὸν Πλάτωνα

'Strange man,' said Ctesiphon; 'why, you speak as if I were a stranger to whom you must describe the beauties of the place. Do you suppose that all this is not as well known to me as to you, and that I have never set foot beyond the city-walls¹²?'

'Pardon me,' said the youth. 'My father early accustomed me to derive innocent pleasure from the joys which nature offers: to revel in the spring-tide in the odour of the blossoms, in the silver-dashed leaves of the poplar, in the whispering of the elms and platanus¹³. The recollection of the blissful hours that I whiled away in such-like joys, and beneath yon platanus, made me forget that my description was unneeded by you. And yet,' he added, 'there are many people, who the live-long year do nothing but jostle about in the throng of human beings, and have no sympathy for all these beauties, or rather have no notion that they exist.'

Engaged in conversation such as this, they reached the neighbourhood of the Itonian gate, where Charicles parted from his friend, in search of Phorion's house, while Ctesiphon pursued his way to the Gymnasium. They had agreed to meet next morning in the market-place, by the tables of the money-changers, whither Charicles was called by his own pecuniary affairs.

The house of Phorion lay in an out of the way place, not far from the city-wall; its outside looked as gloomy and uninviting as the owner himself was by common re-

Humboldt's *Cosmos*, Vol. ii. § 1. It is absurd to suppose, as some have done, that Plato was ridiculing the line, Hom. *Il.* ii. 307:

καλὴ ὑπὸ πλατανίστῃ, ὅθεν ῥέον ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ.

¹² The answer of Phaedrus, in Plato, *ibid.*

¹³ Cf. the Parenthesis of the Δίκαιος λόγος. Aristoph. *Nub.* 1005:

ἀλλ' εἰς Ἀκαδημίαν κατιὼν ὑπὸ ταῖς μορφαῖς ἀποθρέξεις, σποφασυσόμενος καλὰ μὲν λευκῇ μετὰ σίφρονος ἡλικιώστου, σμίλακος ὄζων καὶ ἀπραγμοσύνης, καὶ λεύκης φυλλοβολούσης, ἥρος ἐν ὥρῃ χαίρων, ὅπῃ ταν πλάτανος πτελέει ψιθυρίζῃ.

ssion for him to return from exile. And
mmon friend, in Syracuse, of Phorion and
d given him letters containing the strongest
tions¹⁵; so that there could not possibly be
hens whom he had such cogent reasons for

In a shop near the gate stood an aged cro
aricles enquired if she could shew him the ho
n¹⁶. 'To be sure I can,' she replied, 'he live
ye see the windows yonder, overlooking the
e house-door, beside which the two Her
iat's his house. But if you are going to visi
est, I would advise you first to look after sc
' yourself, and fodder for your horse¹⁷.' 'Wh

¹⁵ That a free use of the purse was
successful method of procedure in
h cases, appears from Xenoph. *de*
publ. Athen. 3, 3: λέγουσι δέ
τε, ἢν τις ἀργύριον ἔχων προσίη
κε βουλὴν ἢ δῆμον, χρηματίζεται.
ὁ δὲ τούτοις ὁμολογῆσαιμ' ἐν,
χρημάτων πολλὰ διαπράττεσθαι
ἔνθα.

συμφερόντως ἀμφοτέρω
γενέσθαι φανερόν, ὅτι
δι' ἐμὲ γίνεται τῶν ἐ
Cf. Lucian, *Asin.* 1:
αὐτῷ ἐκόμιζον οἰκοθεν,
παρ' αὐτῷ.

¹⁶ After Appul. *M.*

Charicles, not loth perhaps to glean some particulars concerning the character of the man. 'Isn't Phorion rich?' 'Rich enough, I believe ye,' said the woman; 'but not so rich as he is stingy; and besides he'll hardly admit an Athenian to his house, much less a foreigner. But there are reasons for that.' 'And what are they?' asked Charicles curiously. 'Because,' said she, 'he possesses the Hermes-wand¹⁸, and is all day seeking for hidden treasures by spells and divination. But it is easy to see from his looks, that riches so gotten bring him no good¹⁹, for with all his treasures, he leads a wretched life. His children are dead, and he scarcely dares put his head out of doors by day, and at night, they say, he skulks about the house guarding his buried hoard, with his eye on the party-wall that separates his house from the next, for fear of burglary, and is so timorsome that the slightest noise frightens him out of his wits, and he even takes the pillars of his house for thieves²⁰.' 'But,' said Charicles, 'I fancy having heard that Phorion was not once in such ill odour?'

struebant triclinia, cubicula, cum penu cellas, primoque die ad cœnam invitabant, postero mittebant pullos, ova, olera, poma, reliquasque res agrestes.' These presents were also sent by other acquaintances, besides the host. Appul. *Met.* ii. p. 15.

¹⁸ Manifold miracles were ascribed to the Hermes-wand, a magic rod, whose virtues found acceptance with many. τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ῥαβδίον οὗ θέλει, φησὶν, ἄψαι, καὶ χρυσοὺν ἔσται. Arrian, *Epict. Diss.* iii. 20. Cf. Cic. *Off.* i. 44.

¹⁹ The belief implied in the proverb, 'Ill-gotten goods never prosper,' prevailed also among the ancients. This prohibited wealth included hidden treasure taken up by one not a descendant of the person who

buried it. So Plato, *Leg.* xi. 913: ἀμὴ κατέθου μὴ ἀνέλῃ. Heliod. *Æthiop.* v. 5: τούτων συγκειμένων ἀνεδύοντο τοῦ σπηλαίου κειμηλίων μὲν ἄλλων τῶν ἐναποκειμένων οὐδένος θιγόντες· τὸν γὰρ ἀπὸ σύλων πλοῦτον βέβηλον ἐδοκίμαζον.

²⁰ Lucian, in his humorous piece, *Somnium seu Gallus*, 29, makes Miccylos enter the abode of Simon, a rich miser, by night, when he is sleeplessly guarding his treasures. Simon says, δέ-δια γοῦν, μή τις ὑπορύξας τὸν τοῖχον ὑφέληται ταῦτα.....ἀπασαν περίεμι διαναστὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν οἰκίαν....τίς οὔτος; ὁρῶ σέ γε, ὦ τοιχωρύχε, μὰ Δία· ἐπεὶ κίων γε ὧν τυγχάνεις, εὐ ἔχει. Cf. Molière's *L'Avare*, Act. iv. sc. 7: 'Qui est-ce? Arrête. Rends moi mon argent, coquin.—Ah c'est moi.'

festly disturbed Charicles. Five years! j had his father's house been sold, and such actually in the court. Could Phorion be the mansion, and really have become master which had perhaps been hidden by some a family? He thanked the woman, and haste acquainted with Phorion, who now assumed importance in his eyes.

The portrait drawn of him by the crowd that usual quantum of exaggeration with which orders talk of the faults of those who chide better circumstances than their neighbours. Phorion certainly gave cause sufficient for that. For though rich, he lived in a house, large and true, but of excessively shabby exterior; and he had hundreds of slaves, who worked for him as craftsmen, chiefly in the mines, he kept a male domestic, who, together with a cross-grained and a solitary maid, completed his household. He was never seen abroad but on business, either to the tables of the money-changers, or into the busy Piræus, or to the courts of justice. He frequented the customary places of amusement and resort at home with his friends.

his only companion, and generally received the persons who desired speech with Phorion, excuse being made for the master of the house on the plea of pressing engagements, which prevented his appearance²⁴. This man, according to popular belief, served Phorion as soothsayer at his frequent sacrifices, to direct him where to seek for hidden treasure, or it might be, only to discover the most advantageous spots for sinking mines²⁵. But, besides this, he passed for a man of profound learning, to whose care Phorion committed his well-stocked library, and his collection of choice works of art and of curiosities of all sorts; for in such matters he was quite a connoisseur. The library was for those times considerable enough. In it were to be found not only the writings of the most renowned poets from Homer downwards, of whose works there were several copies²⁶,—which, judging from their colour, and their wormeaten state, were of great antiquity—but also the compositions of the philosophers, orators, and historiana. Artemidoros, so he was called, had bestowed much pains in obtaining fine and accurate copies, and if possible, the autograph manuscripts of the authors themselves; and he had really succeeded in getting from a frankincense-dealer some comedies of Anaxandrides, which the composer, not having obtained the price he demanded, had

τινὶ τῶν πολιτῶν, οὔτε κοινολογίαις, οὔτε συνδιημερεύσεσιν ἐνέβαλλεν ἑαυτὸν, οὐδ' ὅλως ἐσχόλαζε ταῖς τοιαύταις διατριβαῖς.... εἰ δὲ μὲν ἐν κοινῷ πράττειν ἔχοι, δυσπρόσοδοι ἦν καὶ δυσέντευκτος, οἰκονομῶν καὶ κατακεκλεισμένος. *Nic. 5.*

²⁴ Plutarch, *ibid.*: Οἱ δὲ φίλοι τοῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις φοιτῶσιν ἐνετύγχανον καὶ παρηγοῦντο συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ὥς καὶ τότε Νικίου πρὸς δημοσίας χρδαίας τινὰς καὶ ἀσχολίας ὄντος.

²⁵ See Plutarch, *ibid.* 4. Augury was often employed to discover hid-

den hoards. *Aves, 598:*

τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἴ' αὐτοῖς δείξουσ, οὗς οἱ πρότεροι κατέθεντο
τῶν ἀργυρίων· οὗτοι γὰρ ἴσασι. λέγουσι δὲ
τοὶ τάδε πάντες·
Οὐδεὶς οἶδεν τὸν θησαυρὸν τὸν ἐμὸν, πλὴν εἰ
τις ἄρ' ὄρνυς.

²⁶ Lucian, *adv. Indoct.* 7, shows that people were not content with one copy of an author only: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ τὸν Ὀμηρὸν ἐπρίω πολλάκις. See *Excursus on Book-selling and Libraries.*

... of the condemned writings of
 ed from the flames²⁸; and those eight rolls
 e of the copies which Demosthenes had i
 tory of Thucydides, or were they all still
 sion of the rapid orator?

Equally valuable, in its way, was the
 rious works of art, and of historic *souveni*
 ier things were to be seen the tablets of
 eued from the unhallowed hands of Dion
 ck with which Antisthenes was supposed to
 ed old Diogenes, with similar curiosities. I
 marvellous specimens of patience and inge

²⁷ Chamaeleon, ap. Athen. ix. p. 374:
 ἄρδε δ' ὦν τὸ ἦθος (Ἀναξανδρίδης)
 λειπὶ τοιοῦτον περὶ τὰς κωμῶδίας.
 γὰρ μὴ νικῶν, λαμβάνων ἔδωκεν
 τὸν λιβανωτὸν κατατεμεῖν καὶ οὐ
 ἔσκεύαζεν ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί.

²⁸ This was the first instance of the
 fication and public burning of a
 k, on account of its doubting the
 itence of the gods. Diog. Laert. ix.
 καὶ τὰ βιβλία αὐτοῦ κατέκαυσαν
 ἢ ἀγορᾷ, ὑπὸ κήρυκα ἀναδεξά-
 νει παρ' ἐκάστου τῶν κεκτημένων.

obtained by a bribe th
 of Orpheus, preserve
 of Lesbos (*ib.* § 13).
 tions the prices whic
 of the kind had fetche
 τὸν Ὀρφέα ἢ τὸν Ν
 ὅπου καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς α
 τις καὶ ἔτι ἐστίν, ο
 Ἐπικτήτου λύχνον το
 ραμεοῦν ὄντα τρισχί
 ἐπρίατο;... Χθές δὲ καὶ
 τις τὴν Πρωτέως τοῦ
 τηρίαν, ἣν καταθέμεν
 τὸ πῦρ, ταλάντου καὶ

little works in ivory, among which was a chariot and four which a fly might cover with its wings; while an ant, the size of life, and a sesame-corn, on which, in golden letters, two lines of Homer were inscribed, attracted particular attention³⁰. Delicate objects of wax-work appeared to be the owner's especial hobby; for in these the collection was richest; the fruits of numerous kinds, in form and colour closely imitating nature, were wonderful efforts of art³¹. On things like these Phorion lavished considerable sums, whereas in other respects his mode of life was simple in the extreme, indeed so much so, that he was accounted miserly by those who were not aware how often he por-

³⁰ These μικρά ἔργα of the artists Callicrates and Myrmecides are repeatedly mentioned. See Sillig. *Catal. Artif.* Their precise date is unknown, though they probably flourished toward the end of the Alexandrian era.

³¹ For some account of the ancient wax-work, consult Böttiger's *Sabina*. His error of supposing wax-work chaplets to be alluded to in Martial, has been pointed out in *Gallus*, p. 363. That the art of working in wax (κηροπλαστική, Poll. vii. 165), was extensively practised, is beyond dispute. Thus a Cupid modelled in wax is mentioned by Anacreon (x. 1), and the term κηροπλάστης occurs in Plato, *Timæus*, p. 74, and κηροτέχνης in Anacr. v. 9. Cf. Cic. *Verr.* iv. 13, *finger e cera*. Fruit, and the like, was often imitated (Diog. Laert. vii. 177), for instance pomegranates (Arrian, *Diss. Epict.* iv. 5), or apples (Athen. vii. p. 254; Lamprid. *Heliog.* 25). But that the art was universal, and indispensable on account of the symbolic festival of Adonis, as Böttiger supposes, will be difficult to prove. He and Corsini are wrong in placing that festival between winter and spring, as they conjecture from Plutarch, *Nic.* 13.

The departure of the fleet, there mentioned, did not take place till summer, as appears from Thucyd. vi. 30: *θέρους μεσοῦντος ἥδε ἡ ἀναγωγὴ ἐγγίγντο*. And this tallies with Plato, *Phædr.* 276: *πότερα σπουδῇ ἀνθρώπους εἰς Ἀδωνίδος κήπους ἀρῶν χαίροι*. So also Theophr. *Hist. Plant.* vi. 7: *ἐν ὁσ- τράκοις δὲ, ὥσπερ οἱ Ἀδωνίδος κήποι, σπείρεται τοῦ θέρους*. The season of the festival being summer, and not the end of winter, the imaginary necessity for the use of wax-fruits entirely disappears, though waxen images of Adonis may have been used. That these were employed seems probable from Plutarch, *supra*: *καὶ προῦκειτο πολ- λαχόθι τῆς πόλεως εἰδῶλα καὶ ταφαὶ περὶ αὐτά*. Lastly, the *Xenia* of Martial are groundlessly supposed by Böttiger to have been wax-fruits; if the poet really intended artificial fruits, they were most likely of clay. Cf. Plin. xxxv. 12. 45; and Petron. 69: *'Mirabar, inquam, nisi omnia ista sunt de strunto (sic), aut certe de luto: vidi Romæ Saturnaliбус ejusmodi cœnarum imaginem.'* Cf. Mart. xiv. 182:

*Ebrius hæc fecit terra, puto, monstra Pro-
methæus,
Saturnalitio luit et ipse luto.*

locked in the day-time, still no-
y thought of entering without
iously tapping, or otherwise an-
nancing himself, and waiting for
mission to enter. Plutarch, *Cimon*,

καὶ γὰρ θύραν κόψαντας ἄλλοι-
αν, οὐκ εἰσιέναι πρότερον, ἢ τὸν
ιον κελεύσαι. *De Curios*. 3: Καί-
μῃ κόψαντά γε θύραν εἰς οἰκίαν
ιστρίαν οὐ νομίζεται παρελθεῖν.
noph. *Symp.* 1, 11: Φίλιππος δ' ὁ
ωτοσποιοὺς κρούσας τὴν θύραν εἶπε
ὑπακούσαντι εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις
ίη. The usual method was to tap,
ept among the Spartans, who
led out. Plutarch, *Inst. Lac.* 31:
εἴ ἢν αὐτοῖς μὴδὲ κόπτειν ταῖς
είλουε θύρας, ἀλλ' ἐξωθεν βοᾶν.
also Eurip. *Phæn.* 1067; *Iphig.*
Taur. 1267; and Plautus, *passim*.
e expression for tapping is κόπτειν,
ugh the Attic writers, Xenophon
instance, sometimes use κρούειν,
hardly κροτεῖν, which the gram-
rians pronounce unattic. The
rd ψοφεῖν was used of the noise
de on opening the door to go out.
ian, *Solæc.* 9: καὶ εἰ τίς γε νῦν
ποίη τὴν θύραν εἰσιῶν, ἢ ἐξιῶν
τοι, τί φήσομέν σε πεπονθέναι;
generally-received explanation of
two last-mentioned

κόψω τὴν θύραν, ἐπ
ἀλλ' ἐψόφηκε τὴν θύραν
Cf. Helladius, *Chrest.*
us that the doors
outwards, and that
before going out for
any one without: ἐξ
ἀνατρέποντες ἐνδοθεὶ
τερον δὲ τῇ χειρὶ
κρούοντες ἐπὶ τῷ γι-
τῶν θυρῶν καὶ φυλάξ-
γεις ἐστὼς λάθῃ τῶν
ων ἄφνω. This expl
many others, appears
been invented to expl
phrase. The word σο-
to denote an intentio
thus we either have ἡ ἐ-
ψοφεῖ τις ἐξιῶν, or this
τὴν θύραν. Now, as in
Excursus on *The Hou*
to open outwards, was
case, and this would
generality of the explan-
dius. Again, the phras
where an intentional r
all means have been
when the lover creeps c
Lysias, de cade Erat. 1
ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ
αυλοὶ θύρα καὶ ἡ πόρτα

some time before the porter came and pushed back the bolt. And even then, he only opened the door a little, and seeing the youth in travelling costume, said grumpily, 'What d'ye want! He's engaged.' With this he again closed the door. Charicles knocked a second time, but the slave, as he secured the fastenings inside, cried out, 'Don't you hear! he's not at liberty³³.' 'But, my good man,' importuned the youth, 'just tell your master that it is Charicles, the son of Charinos, with letters for him from Syracuse.' The slave went growling away. At last however he returned, unfastened the door, and said in somewhat more friendly tones, 'Master will see you.'

Phorion had just reclined, together with Artemidoros, to his frugal meal. He did not rise from the small table, on the entrance of Charicles, but offered his hand and saluted him warmly. The youth presented his credentials, which the other opened, having first carefully scrutinized the seal. 'You had no need of these recommendations,' said he, when he had read them. 'I had hoped to have seen your father again within these walls, but I learnt some days ago that his ashes repose in a foreign soil. His son is however not the less welcome on that account. You must content yourself with temporary quarters here, till you have rendered your father's house habitable.' 'My

λειτουργ. The reason why κόπτει is always used of the person entering, and ψοφεῖ of the person going out, is, that the first must knock to be let in, while the latter is only audible from the noise incidental to his opening the door to go out. This noise ψόφος, is even made by those who enter after having knocked. Thus Plato, *Symp.* p. 212: καὶ ἐξαίφνης τὴν αὐλειον θύραν κρουομένην πολὺν ψόφον παρασχέει and Lucian, *Dial. Mer.* xii.: ἰκοῦσα δ' οὖν, ἀλλ' ἐπείραται ἡρέμα τὴν θύραν... παραγαγὼν τὸν στροφία παρῆλθεν ἀψοφητί. Metal rings were fixed on the door to tap

with, as in Homer, the κορῶναι. They were named ῥόπτρα, also κόρακα. See Harpocr. ῥόπτρον: and Posidippus, quoted by Pollux, x. 22: κόρακι κρούεθ' ἡ θύρα. They were also called ἐπισπαστήρες, or ἐπισπαστρα, because they also served to pull the door to from without. Lucian, *Amor.* 16; Herod. vi. 91. In Plutarch's time they appear to have become unusual. *De Curios.* 2: ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν εἰσι θυρωροί, πάλαι δὲ ῥόπτρα κρουόμενα πρὸς ταῖς θύραις αἰσθησιν παρῆχεν.

³³ Plato, *Protag.* p. 314.

house?' said the youth, astonished. 'You suppose I, don't you?' replied Phorion. 'Quite right; and precipitation of the banker, whom your father in the flight, charged with the sale, nearly prevented preserving for you the home of your fathers, and one of your household gods³⁴. I heard, only just in time, that it was advertised for sale. I bought it; it has been uninhabited ever since; and I will restore it to you now, if you do not think the forty minæ it cost me a high price.'

Charicles was overwhelmed with surprise and delight. Was this the language of such a man as Ctesiphon and the old man had described? A suspicion certainly did flash in his mind, that he had purchased it for the sake of treasure; but if Phorion's intentions were really disinterested, what could hinder him from continuing in possession of the mansion, which was perhaps of double the value? He therefore thanked the old man with warmth, and expressed his willingness to repay the forty

able reports in circulation about him. Still he was unable to rid himself entirely of his suspicions about the treasure. While conversing about his father's house, he could not suppress a query concerning the statue of Hermes; Phorion responded with ill-concealed confusion, and a smile flitted across the solemn lips of Artemidoros. Was it possible that the fellow was content with his rich booty, and now intended playing the magnanimous? He was still sunk in cogitations like these, when his host's servant brought him bread and wine for breakfast, and announced that his master was ready to go out. Just dipping a few slices of bread into the wine³⁵, Charicles hurried away with Manes to join Phorion, who was already on the threshold, and behind him a slave, bearing a sealed casket³⁶. There was something mysterious about the man to-day, he spoke in monosyllables, and kept looking round at the slave, as if fearing to lose him.

It was still very early, but the streets were already full of busy passengers;—men, who wished to catch their friends at home, before they went out³⁷—boys, who were on their way to school or the gymnasium, attended by their pedagogues—women and female slaves who were up betimes to fetch water from the Enneacrynos³⁸—country-folks bringing their productions to market³⁹—chapmen of

³⁵ This was the usual first breakfast, taken directly after rising, called *ἀκράτισμα*. See Excursus on *The Meals*.

³⁶ The slave in attendance carried the money his master required. So Theophr. *Char.* 23, where the braggart, who pretends he wants to buy a carpet for two talents, scolds his slave for not having brought the money.

³⁷ Such visits were made in the earliest hours of the morning. Xenoph. *Æcon.* 11, 14: 'Εγὼ τοίνυν ἀνίστασθαι μὲν ἐξ εὐνῆς εἰθισμαι,

ἡνίκα ἔτι ἔνδον καταλαμβάνοιμι, εἴ τινα δεόμενοι ἰδεῖν τυγχάνοιμι. See also Plato, *Protag.* 311, where Hippocrates calls Socrates before day-break, in order to pay Protagoras a visit: μήπω, ὦ ἄγναθ', ἐκέισε ἡμεν. πρῶτ' γὰρ ἔστιν· ἀλλὰ δεῦρο ἐξαναστῶμεν εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, καὶ περιιόντες αὐτοῦ διατρίψωμεν, ὥστε ἂν φῶς γένηται· εἴτα ἡμεν.

³⁸ Aristoph. *Lys.* 327. See Excursus on *The Women*.

³⁹ Plutarch, *Aral.* 8. See Excursus on *The Markets and Commerce*.

... seen unseated; the laurel, spr
anches around, was also there, healthy and g
re, and *vis à vis* was the head of a Hermes,
me passer-by with a chaplet and ribands, s
emed to cast a benign look of welcome on
turned. Phorion, with his three-toothed key
e door, whose creaking hinges told plainly
ere unaccustomed to revolve. Charicles stro
d kind of joy into the hall of the deserted man
ll of the porter was empty; rusty lay the cha
atchful dog; in the colonnades round the court, i
en porticos of the andronitis, swallows had b
sts, and busy spiders wove their gossamer meal
e capitals of the pillars. Green moss had begun
e passage-floors, and the vacant space was o
th rank grass. Here stood the statue of the g
as reported to have guarded the hidden treasu
e pedestal, which supported it, seemed to th
ered. Formerly, he thought, it sank a little
to the ground on one side, but now it appeared
vel. He went nearer, to convince himself of the
ange had evidently been made, for the red veir
one which used to face the entrance were now
posite side.

Phorion had ...

the god kept watch over hoards concealed beneath his feet?' Charicles replied by an embarrassed silence. 'The report did not lie,' continued Phorion. 'When I purchased this mansion, hoping to restore it to your father at some time or other, I perceived that the base of the statue was leaning to one side, and its fall was imminent. I caused it to be removed, and discovered underneath a pot containing two thousand staters of the purest gold. Thus,' said he, as he took the heavy casket from the slave, 'thus I restore thee the sum, which some forefather of thy family buried, in the hope, no doubt, that it would be found by some one of his descendants.'

Surprise and shame prevented Charicles from replying. 'Full well I know,' proceeded Phorion, 'what's the talk of the town; but heaven forefend that I should put finger on monies that never belonged to ancestor of mine. Never will I pray the gods to disclose to me such treasures, nor will I have ought to do with the soothsayers, who would advise me to take up what has been entrusted to the lap of earth; for could the riches so gained ever compare in worth with the cheerful consciousness of integrity, and of nobility of soul? Could I prize wealth before the peace of mind resulting from honesty?' 'Excellent man!' exclaimed Charicles, tears of emotion standing in his eyes, 'how like a deity do you appear to me! You recall me to my native land, you install me in my paternal abode, which I had given up for lost, and deliver to me faith-

δρα οὐ φῶ χειρί. Cf. Antiph. *de Chorea*. p. 785. It was a *captatio benevolentie*, as *prensare* was with the Romans. Xenoph. *de Repub. Athen.* i. 18: *καὶ ἀντιβολῆσαι ἀναγκάζεται ἐν τοῖς δικαστηρίοις καὶ εἰσιόντες τοῦ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι τῆς χειρὸς.*

⁴² A translation of the beautiful passage in Plato, *Leg.* xi. 913. So, 'What should it profit a man though he gain the whole world and lose his

own soul?' The above is not the only passage in a profane writer, breathing forth ideas of morality, which are often thought peculiar to Christianity. Cf. Plaut. *Trin.* i. 2, and v. 2, 4.

Si quid amicū erga bene feci, aut consulū fideliter,

Non videor meruisse laudem: culpa caruisse arbitror.

Nam beneficium, hominī quod datur proprium, pro suo sumpserit:

Quod datum utendum est, id repetundī copia est, quando vallis.

re the image of the god, at whose feet he had
e sealed casket : full of admiration of the nob
an, and of shame for his own suspicions, at
her hand full of joy, at having not only rec
ther's mansion, but also increased his property
ally. At last he awoke from his reverie, and o
survey of the house. Passing through the mi
, entered the apartments of the women. He
other's parlour ; there the saloon, where by th
e lamps he had played, amidst the circle of fe
e feet of his nurse, or had listened to her tale
elancholy seized him, at the desolation tha
ound, and at finding himself alone in the spaci
rs. He determined to purchase some slaves, a
ecessary appliances, without loss of time. Mo
is now time to go to the market, to find Ctesip
e banker to whom he was recommended ; he
ve the casket of gold to Manes, and bid him fo

SCENE THE FOURTH.

THE TRAPEZITÆ.

THE market-place was filling fast when Charicles entered it. Traders had set up their wattled stalls all over it, with their goods exposed on tables and benches. Here, the female bakers had piled up their round-shaped loaves and cakes, and were pursuing with a torrent of scolding and abuse the unlucky wight who happened, in passing by, to upset one of their pyramids¹. There, simmered the kettles of the women, who sold boiled peas and other vegetables²; in the crockery-market, hard by, the pot-men were descanting on the goodness of their wares. A little way off, in the myrtle-market, chaplets and fillets were to be sold, and many a comely flower-weaver received orders for garlands, to be delivered by her in the evening³. All the wants of the day, from barley-groats up to the choicest fish, from garlick to the incense of the gods; clear pure oil, and the most exquisite ointments; fresh-made cheese, and the sweet honey of the bees of Hy-

¹ Philocleon when drunk, offends in this manner, though he gets out of the scrape pretty easily. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1389. These ladies, however, had, on occasion, a perfect Billingsgate vocabulary at command. *Ranæ*, 857: *λοιδορεῖσθαι ὡς περ ἀρτοπωλίδας*.

² As at Rome inferior articles of diet, as *tepidium cicer*, *tomacula*, &c. were sold hot to the lower classes (*Gallus*, p. 465, &c.) so it was also at Athens. See *Lysist.* 560, where Phylarchos buys *λέκιθον*, pease-porridge, *παρὰ γραῶς*. See Excursus on *The Markets and Commerce*. The sau-

sage-dealers also sat in the market. *Equit.* 1246.

³ Chaplets were either sold ready-made, in the market, or orders were given for them there, for the *symposia*. Plutarch, *Aral.* 6: *καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν ἑωρᾶτο τῶν οἰκετῶν αὐτοῦ δι' ἀγορᾶς ὁ μὲν στεφάνου φέρων, ὁ δὲ λαμπάδας ἀννούμενος, ὁ δὲ τοῖς εἰθισμένοις παρὰ πότον ψάλλειν καὶ αὐλεῖν γυναῖκοις διαλεγόμενος*. See Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 458; and *Anthol. Pal.* v.: *Ἢ τὰ ῥόδα, ῥοδοῖσσαν ἔχεις χάριν' ἀλλὰ τί πωλεῖς;*
σαντὴν ἢ τὰ ῥόδα, ἢ συναιμύματα;

... for the apprehension of
unaway slave⁴. Slaves of both sexes, as we
kept walking up and down, bargaining, and
talls, in search of their daily requiremen
ingered, longer than seemed necessary, near
woman; or approached some fruiterer's bas
nenced a friendly chat, under cover of whic
erson was buying, or having a drachma c
ould pilfer the fruit⁵.

The fish-market bell was just ringing
hat the hour of business had arrived, and
treamed in that direction, to lose no time i
his all-important purchase. The way to
hangers led Charicles directly across this
arket. And it was truly amusing to behc
ager buyers tried all their arts of persuasic
he hard-hearted dealers, who stuck dogge
rices. 'What's the price of these two pike,
air?' asked a greedy *gourmand* in his hea
boles,' answered the fishmonger, scarce deig
p. 'That's too much,' said the other. 'Y
ave them for eight, I'm sure!' 'Yes, one o
re reply. 'Nonsense,' said the would-be
ome, here are eight oboles.' 'I told you th
d if you don't want them, I'll take them myself.'

fortune to his friend, but the strange old man had
tly charged him not to mention it. Of course, the fact
s having repurchased his paternal abode could not be
secret; moreover, he felt it incumbent on him to un-
ive Ctesiphon, who shared in the common opinion with
rd to Phorion. 'It is incomprehensible,' he remarked,
onclusion, 'how a person, who is uprightness and
animity itself, could ever have obtained the reputa-
of being a miser and usurer.'

'So goes the world,' said Ctesiphon. 'The many
e by external appearances, and thus the rogues are
unted patterns of virtue, whilst the motives of the
ght man are misconstrued. When you met me, I
just indulging in a somewhat similar contemplation.
r yonder, under the portico, at that vinegar-faced
' with a long beard, who goes sneaking along by the
unahod, aping the Spartan fashion with his sorry
r^s, and seeming not to notice the bustle around him.

Βλέπω πάντ, κάρδαμα, or ὀπί-
, said of sour-looking persons.
es, 631:

the αἶψα καὶ τὰ αὐτῶν ἀντοναί.

ponnesian war, grew more effeminate
and luxurious, certain persons affected
to imitate the simplicity of Spartan
manners and costume. in contradistinc-

...more his observations. Lo-
 advancing towards us, followed by three slaves
 proudly straight before him on the ground
 saluting any one; his robe reaches to his knees
 more than one ring adorns his fingers; he
 with his slaves of silver goblets, drinking here
 so that the passers-by may hear, and puffs his
 the city seems almost too small for him¹⁰.
 You think he is? A fellow of the meanest ex-
 has lately emerged from extreme indigence to
 and is now seen nowhere but in the arcade of the
 Not contented with his name, he has lengthened
 syllables, and instead of Simon, calls himself

Plutarch, *Phoc.* 10: Ἦν δέ τις Ἀρ-
 ιβιάδης, ἐπικαλούμενος Λακωνιστὴς,
 ὡγανά τε καθεϊμένος ὑπερφυῆ μεγέ-
 ει καὶ τρίβωνα φορῶν ἄει καὶ σκυθρω-
 ᾶζων. Cf. Demosth. in *Con.* p. 1287.

⁹ Demosth. *ibid.*: ἐπειδὴν δὲ συλ-
 εγῶσι καὶ μετ' ἀλλήλων γένωνται,
 ακῶν καὶ αἰσχυρῶν οὐδὲν ἐλλείπουσι.

¹⁰ The sketches here given derive
 their sole value from being literally
 taken from the Greek classic authors.
 It is interesting to notice such simi-
 larity between

σοβεῖ, κυμβία καὶ ῥ
 ὀνομάζων οὕτως, ὥστ'
 ἀκούειν. And again
 πόλις αὐτόν οὐ χωρε
Char. 24: (ὑπερηφά-
 πορευόμενος μὴ λαλ-
 χάνουσι κάτω κεκυφί
Leg. 442; *Adv. Pai-*
troph. Eccl. 631, and
 instance in the text
Somn. s. Gall. 14. (Cf.
Hist. conscrib. 20:
 νεοπλόων

if this made him a different man. Not long ago I am in sordid garments, carrying home somebody's thing, for a trifling consideration; at present, he is so vastly indignant, if a badly dressed person comes to address him¹². Just cast your eyes to the fellow on the haggard man in the fish-market, with black hair, who sidles about, not buying anything himself, but watching everybody else; he is a most dangerous antagonist, and glides about the market like a scorpion, with his venomous sting all ready, spying out whom he may reach with misfortune and ruin, and from whom he can easily extort money, by threatening him with an evil dangerous in its consequences. You won't see him or associate with any one, but, as the painters ensnare the shades of the wicked in Hades with the terrific charms of cursing and slander, of envy, discord, and so also are his attendants. It is the very bane of society, that it cherishes and protects this poisonous serpent, and uses them as informers, so that even the honest must flatter and court them, in order to be safe from their machinations¹³.

wealth: ἐναγχος γοῦν ἐγὼ προσιόντα, Χαῖρε, ἔφην, ὃν δὲ ἀγανακτήσας, Εἰπατε, πτωχῷ, μὴ κατασμικρύνειν ὄνομα· οὐ γὰρ Σίμων, ἀλλὰ πῶς ὀνομάζομαι.

The line of demarcation between the different classes of society, is so means so distinctly drawn among the Greeks, as it is in our days. They were to be seen in company with persons of higher station. *Lychnæa*. 743, and the fragment *ch. de Anim.*: 'Ο δὲ Νικανδᾶς στόμος, ἄλλως δὲ τῶν ἐν πραίσι γεγονότων καὶ πολλοῖς καὶ γνώριμος. Some, however, are foolish enough to be of knowing an inferior, and

the poor man perhaps did not like to come near his betters, when in his shabby habiliments. *Lucian, Somn. seu Gall.* 9: καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν προσεσιπῶν αὐτόν, ὥσπερ εἰώθειν, δεσπότην ἀπηλλαττόμενον, ὥς μὴ καταισχύνομαι αὐτόν, ἐν πενιχρῷ τῷ τρίβωνι συμπαρομαρτῶν.

¹³ The description of the sycophant is from Demosth. in *Aristog.* p. 786: πορεύεται διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς, ὥσπερ ὄφις ἢ σκορπίος, ἡρκῶς τὸ κέντρον, ἅπτων δεῦρο κἀκείσε, σκοπῶν τίνι ξυμφορὰν, ἢ βλασφημίαν, κακὸν τι προστριψάμενος καὶ καταστήσας εἰς φόβον ἀργύριον πράττειται· οὐδὲ προσφοιτᾷ πρός τι τοῦτων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κουρείων ἢ μυροπωλείων.....μεθ' ὧν δ' οἱ ζυγρὰ-

likely purchased in the market here. To
more nauseous than a young man with su

δοι τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς γράφουσιν ἐν ᾿Αίδου,
μετὰ τούτων, μετ' ἀρᾶς καὶ βλασ-
φημίας, καὶ φθόνου, καὶ στάσεως
καὶ νεῖκου περιέχεται. This fearful
nuisance of sycophancy, (on the ety-
mology of the word, see Plut. *Sol.* 24,
and Athen. iii. p. 74,) inseparable as
it was from a democracy like that of
Athens, demands a few words here.
The Athenians coincided with Cicero's
opinion respecting Rome (*pro Rosc.*
Amer. 20): 'Accusatores multos esse
in civitate utile est, ut metu continean-
tur audacia.' The state desired to have
them, and rewarded their services, at
least indirectly. Consequently there
were persons who ostensibly obtained
a livelihood as hired informers, but
whose chief gains were derived from
the hush-money they extorted. De-
mosth. in *Nest.* 1359: οὐ γὰρ πῶς ἦν
ἡττωρ, ἀλλ' ἔτι συκοφάντης τῶν
παραβούντων παρὰ τὸ βῆμα καὶ
γραφομένων μισθοῦ καὶ ἀπομύζοντων

δὲ τοσούτων ἀπὲς
αὐτοὺς, ὥστε τοὶ
κατηγοροὶ καὶ νο-
δῶν. The indu-
cing with Æschin-
where, among othe
the ἡταιρικῶς was
tioned μηδὲ συκοφα
This is not, as some
malicious extension
Æschines. Natura
rich and distinguishe
posed to the chicaner
and many a one w
purchase their forbear
avoid being the victi-
tions; for however
be the charge, the
doubtful. Xenoph.
'Εγὼ τοίνυν ἐν τῇδ
μὲν πλούσιοι ἦν πρὸ
μην, μή τίς μου τῇ

face, and delicate voice, and all reeking with perfume, and holding in his hand, ten to one, a bouquet, or odoriferous fruit¹⁴. What an utter difference there is between life, as here seen in the forum, and the description my father gave me of it as taken from his younger years, when such mere boys, as those yonder, avoided the market-place entirely, or, if their path obliged them to go that way, hurried across it with shame and blushes¹⁵.

'Those days are long gone by,' said Ctesiphon: 'we are young men too, and, notwithstanding, we are here in the market-place.'

'Yes, but not without pressing reasons,' retorted Charicles; 'and you remind me just in time, that I have to call on Diotimos and Lycon, the trapezitæ. I wish you would accompany me. My business is of such a nature that it cannot be transacted without witnesses¹⁶; you are more experienced than I, so your counsel may stand me in good stead. These money-changers are not always the most honest people imaginable, being apt to lead the inexperienced by the nose¹⁷, with their promises and subterfuges.' Ctesiphon willingly acceded to his friend's request.

¹⁴ The main features of this picture of Attic dandyism are from Lucian, *Rhet. præc.* 11: πάγκαλον ἄνδρα, διασεσαλευμένον τὸ βάδισμα, ἐπικεκλασμένον τὸν αὐχένα, γυναικεῖον τὸ βλέμμα, μελιχρὸν τὸ φῶσφημα, μέρων ἀποκνέοντα, τῷ δακτύλῳ ἄκρη τῆν κεφαλὴν κνήμενον. But as early as the time of Aristophanes, such coxcombs figured in the market:

τὰ μαράκια ταυτὶ λέγω, τὴν τῷ μύρῳ
ἐ συμμολοῦνται τοιαυτὰ καθήμενα κ.τ.λ.
Equit. 1372; and again, *Vesp.* 687:
ὅταν εἰσελθὼν μαιράκιόν σοι κατέπνιγον,
Χαιρέον νῆδ,
οἷσι διαβῶς, διακινῶθεις τῷ σώματι καὶ τρυ-
φανοῦθεις.

That it was by no means uncommon to carry flowers or fruits in the hand,

is clear from Athen. xii. p. 553: διὰ τί μετὰ χειρὸς ἄνθη καὶ μῆλα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα φέρομεν;

¹⁵ See Excursus on Education.

¹⁶ Generally, no witnesses were present at the transactions at the bankers' tables: τὰ μὲν γὰρ συμβόλαια τὰ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἄνευ μαρτύρων γίγνεται. Isocr. *Trapez.* p. 515. This was not because such a security was looked upon as useless, but because it might produce more harm than good, from letting others into the secret of the business transacted.

¹⁷ This homely phrase would not

... and chatters, and at the same time
 commissioned him to call in all his moneys out :
 No inconsiderable amount must still be in his
 Charicles now went to ask for it.

Diotimos was just engaged in paying a sum
 to a man, apparently a foreigner. Upon the
 which he swept up the coin, after having found
 lay a slip of paper, being his bond for the amount
 have received from me the sum, in ready cash
 correct,' said the banker ; ' and you leave nothing
 a small piece of paper, that perhaps cost you ten
 But remember that the law is on my side, and
 my right¹⁹.' The man asseverated his wish to fulfil
 terms of the contract, and then departed. Dio
 reached his ledger, wrote a few words in it, deposited
 paper in a box containing several others, and then

have been introduced, had it not been
 a Greek proverb. 'Πινῶν, in a fragment
 of Menander is, perhaps, not from
 πίς, but from *πίνη*, a file (so in Latin,
deruncinare); though the old gram-
 marians derive it from the first. Cf.
 a fragment of Pherecrates

plight when he fled to
 curg. in *Leocr.* p. 152 :
 κηδεστοῦ πρίσθαι πα-
 ράποδα καὶ τὴν οἰκί-
 τάλαντον· ἐπὶ τοῦτο
 τοῖς τε χρεῖσταις ἀποδο-

to a second individual, who was waiting in company with a very common-looking personage. 'I have purchased,' said the first, 'from this man here, a slave for two minæ. By reference to my account-book I find there must be seven hundred drachmæ lying with you in my name. Pay the man his money²⁰.' The trapezites again looked in his book. 'In the main,' said he, 'you are right in your calculations; except that you forget the *agio* on three hundred and fifty Æginetan drachmæ which I paid to Paseas for the ivory you bought.' This the man could not dispute; the two minæ were paid, and the men went away.

Now for the first time, Diotimos regarded the young men, who had remained somewhat apart. 'Who are you?' he enquired of Charicles, who now stepped forward, 'and what do you want?' 'I am Charicles, the son of Charinos, and am returned from Syracuse. For my credentials, behold here my father's signet-ring, which is well known to you. I come, as his heir, to require back the money that still remains in your hands.' 'So Charinos is dead?' exclaimed the banker. 'We have placed his ashes in Sicilian earth,' said the youth, 'until his most faithful servant shall have brought them here, to deposit them in the tomb of his forefathers²¹.' The old man covered his face and wept²². 'According to my father's will,' said Charicles after a while, when the other had become more composed, 'you must still have in your possession one talent and four thousand drachmæ, which in all probability I shall soon require.' 'It is not exactly as you say,' replied Diotimos;

²⁰ A private person did not usually keep much money by him, but made all his larger payments at the money-changer's table; he was said, *χρησθαι τῇ τιμῇ τραπέζῃ*. Instances of this abound in the comic writers. A book was kept of current income and expenditure. Aristoph. *Nub.* 19:

ἔσπε, παῖ, λύχρον
αἰσφάρε τὸ γραμματεῖον, ἐν' ἀναγνῶ λαβὼν,
ἐπείσοις ἐφέλκω, καὶ λογίζομαι τοὺς τόκους.

Cf. Plant. *Cure.* i. 2, 89:

*Ibo intro atque intus subducam ration-
culam,
Quantillum argenti mihi apud trapezitam
siet.*

²¹ See Excursus on *The Burials*.

²² Isocr. *Trapez.* 521: *ἐγκαλεψ-
άμανος ἐκλασε.*

... by foreign merchants. From
 at Andros, he had obtained nothing, since he
 to Athens for several years, and Diotimos had
 old to undertake a sea-voyage. 'You will
 he, 'to go thither yourself, unless you wish
 two thousand drachmæ in the lurch. Mor-
 tinued, 'your father, before the disaster which
 had ordered some statues, which he intended
 polis. They are still at the artist's, in the
 Sculptors. It is to be hoped you will act in
 your father, and not withhold from the gods
 which he had destined for them²³.'

Charicles thanked the worthy man for
 with which he had transacted his father's care
 did not scruple to entrust to him the treas-
 arics contained in the casket, until he
 them. From thence he went, accompanied by
 to a second trapezites. This man was a stranger
 and his business with him was of a singular

²³ The peculiar imposts on the | fices in its behalf. 1
 merchants of Athens, in the shape of | her. p. 113: *kal tois*
aitroupylai, are well known. See W.

When he was purposing to leave Syracuse, the same friend who had recommended him to Phorion, proposed that he should leave the greater portion of his property in his hands, in return for which he would allow him to draw upon him to the same amount in Athens. 'What?' said he, 'will you expose all your substance to the dangers of a long sea-voyage, where storms, and pirates, not to mention the dishonesty of the sailors themselves, threaten you? I have three talents in Athens, at Lycon's the trapezites: leave me that sum here, and he shall pay it you again there²⁴.' Charicles had accepted the proposal, and had with him a letter from the Syracusan, ordering the banker to pay the bearer, and also containing the symbolon, which, by virtue of a previous understanding, was to serve as a credential to the person commissioned to receive the money. For greater security, Phorion was also referred to, as a guarantee of the person's identity, if Lycon required it.

Seated behind his table, Charicles found a gloomy man of an unhealthy shrivelled appearance. Beside him lay the scales, with which he had just weighed a lot of silver coins that had been paid him²⁵. On the other side, his hand rested on a quantity of papers, apparently yellow with age. Before him he had a counting-table, being probably engaged in reckoning the interest due upon one of the bonds²⁶. With some repugnance Charicles walked up

²⁴ See Isocr. *Trapez.* p. 526: ἐγὼ γὰρ... μέλλοντος Στρατοκλέους εἰσπλεῖν εἰς τὸν Πόντον, βουλόμενος ἐκείθεν ὡς πλείστ' ἐκκομίσασθαι τῶν χρημάτων, ἐδεήθην Στρατοκλέους, τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσίον ἐμοὶ καταλιπεῖν, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πόντῳ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τοῦμοῦ κομίσασθαι, νομίζων μεγάλα κερδαίνειν, εἰ κατὰ πλοῦν μὴ κινδυνεύοι τὰ χρήματα, ἄλλως τε καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀρχόντων κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον τῆς θαλάττης.

²⁵ From their weighing the coin thus, the *trapezitæ* were contemptuously called ὀβολοστάται, and their business ὀβολοστατική. *Nubes*, 1155. And Aristot. *de Republ.* l. 10: τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς ψεγομένης δικαίως... εὐλογώτατα μισεῖται ἡ ὀβολοστατική. Lucian, *Necyom.* 2: ἀρκάζουσιν, ἐπιγορεύουσιν, τοκογλυφούςιν, ὀβολοστατούσιν.

²⁶ Alciphr. *Epist.* l. 26: Εἴτε

who will be introduced by Epicrates the see there remain only four thousand drach right,' answered Charicles; 'Sosthenes that to me; but in the month of Elaphebo turn from Pontus, he paid you afresh two thousand drachmæ; so that he wants thr you.' The trapezites was evidently confuse conceal it by the vehemence of his speec you to me?" said he abusively. 'How do I are? Any sycophant might come and d in another person's name.' 'You have not said the youth, 'to present you my creden the letter of Sosthenes. Do you know l seems to be his signet,' said the money-cha 'And here is the symbolon inside, which wi familiar to you.' 'Perhaps a forged one²³,' other, as he ill-humouredly opened the lette

<p>καταλαμβάνω πρεσβύτην, ὁφθῆναι ρικνόν, συνεσπακότα τὰς ὀφρῦς, χαρ- τίδι ἀρχαῖᾳ τινα, σαπρὰ δὲ διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ὑπὸ κόρειν καὶ σηγῶν ἡμί-</p>	<p>δοῦναι προστάτην τοῦ νομα γράφειν τοῦ ἀργυρίου, ἐπι- τῇ λαίῳ ἀποστα-</p>
---	--

half aloud. But when he came to Phorion's name, he became silent, and stared gloomily before him, as though meditating some way of escape. 'Lycon,' interrupted Ctesiphon at this juncture, 'don't be inventing any new tricks. It is still fresh in people's memories how, not long ago, you bubbled the Byzantine merchant, when he came to require the money deposited with you. The whole city knows how you got out of the way the only slave who was acquainted with the fact, and then, not only denied the claim, but also suborned witnesses to prove that your creditor had borrowed six talents of you²⁹. The man, however, obtained his rights by the aid of Phorion, whose name now threatens you a second time; so take warning.'

The trapezites seemed desirous of giving an angry answer, but, suddenly, his eye became fixed on an object in the distance. In fact he saw Phorion himself, coming towards the money-changers' tables. 'Who wants to deny anything?' said he in embarrassment. 'But I have not got the sum at hand, nor, were I to go round to all the tables³⁰, could I find any one to lend me three talents. Come hither again on the morrow, Charicles, and I will take care that you shall have the money.' 'Very well; and I will bring Phorion along with me to dispel all doubts as to my identity.' 'Oh! there will be no need for that,' rejoined the money-changer hastily; 'the symbolon is right; you will receive the money.'

During these negotiations, noon had nearly arrived, and the market began to grow thinner and thinner. 'It's time that we breakfasted,' said Ctesiphon as they departed. 'Let us repair to one of the houses where young men are wont to assemble at this hour. You will be sure to meet with some of your early friends.'

²⁹ Pasion is accused of an exactly similar piece of villany. See *Isocr. Trapez.* 7.

³⁰ The bankers were often, doubtless, under the necessity of obtaining mutual credit. See *Plant. Cure.* v. 3, 4.

gains from the young persons who resorted
 few of them congregated there daily, either
 luck at the astragali or dice, or to see a fight
 cocks or the quails, of which Discos kept great
 perhaps only to discuss the news of the day
 of the horses or dogs which they had purchased
 pitharistria that had been ravished, or the hetæ-
 out. Not unfrequently too, several united in
 each clubbing his share in the expense; and
 a greater adept at humouring the tastes of
 people than Discos, whether with the excellent
 cookery, the goodness of his Chian wine, or the
 the flute-girls. These merry-makings did no

¹ There is no lack of passages to
 show that at this period there were
 places of this sort at Athens, where
 young gallants (νέοι) resorted to drink,
 dice, and so forth. Isocr. *Areop.* 18:
 Γοιγαροῦν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς σκιραφείοις οἱ
 νεώτεροι διέτριβον, οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐλη-
 τήρῃσι, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις συλλό-
 γοις, ἐν οἷς νῦν διημερεύουσιν. The
 word σύλλογοι, here used. may mean

connexion with games.
 See Dem. in *Con.* 120
 (*Bacch.* i. 1, 147; The
 conciliabula as the ἐ-
 λογοι. A place of this
 kind is mentioned, Æschin. in
 ἀλλὰ διημέρευσε ἐν
 τηλῖα τίθεται καὶ τ
 συμβάλλουσι, καὶ

off without rioting and violence, and it was but a few months since, that, in consequence of a dispute about a favourite boy, whom Discos protected, a mob of drunken fellows had broken into the house by night, smashed all the furniture, scattered the astragali and dice-boxes about the street, and killed the cocks and the quails. As for the owner, they tied him to a pillar, and so severely chastised him, that his cries alarmed the neighbours, who came running together from their beds to find the cause of the disturbance². Nevertheless, Discos, by discreet management of his young guests, sometimes too, as it was reported, by the help of false dice, knew how to indemnify himself for such losses.

When Charicles and Ctesiphon entered, they encountered plenty of visitors. In one room a party of dice-players were sitting or standing, just in the very heat of a dispute as to whether a throw was good or not; in another chamber some persons, after indulging in a late breakfast, had already, thus early, sat down to a carouse, quite at variance with established usage³, and were getting rid of the time, by playing at odd and even, rather for fun than gain; while others practised at spinning a coin placed upright on its rim, which they suddenly brought to a stand-still by putting their finger upon it⁴. In the court-yard were others engaged in animated discourse on

² We see from the comedians how liable to such maltreatment those were who lived by *καπηλεία*, *πορνοβοσκία*, and so forth. The incident in the text is borrowed from *Æschin. in Timarch.* p. 82: *εισηγήσαντες νεκτωρ εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, οὗ ἔκει οἱ Πιττάλακοι, πρῶτον μὲν συνέτριβον τὰ σκευάρια καὶ διερρίπτουν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀστραγάλους τε τινὰς διασείσονται καὶ φιμοῖς, καὶ κυβεντικὰ ἔτερα ὄργανα· καὶ τοὺς ὀρνυγας καὶ τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας οὕτως ἡγάπα ὁ τρισκακοδαίμων ἀνθρώποις, ἀπέκτειναν, τὸ δὲ τελευ-*

ταῖον δέσαντες πρὸς τὸν κίονα αὐτὸν τὸν Πιττάλακον ἐμαστίγουν τὰς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων πληγὰς οὕτω πολὺν χρόνον, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς γείτονας αἰσθῆσθαι τῆς κραυγῆς.

³ Demosth. in *Con.* p. 1257: *ἐπεινον ἐκάστοτε οὗτοι τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα ἀριστήσιον, ὤλην.*

⁴ This game, often erroneously called *χαλκισμός*, is explained in the Excursus on *The Games*.

and love of fine horses, for which they paid most ridiculously high prices. Xenoph. *de Off. Mag. Eq.* 1, 12: μακάρι ἵππῶνειαί. Many were ruined by it. The breeds marked with the oppa and san (see Buttman's *Greek Etym.*) were called κοππατίας, and αμφόρας. Aristoph. *Nubes*, 23, and 12, on the first of which passages the scholiast remarks: κοππατίας ἵππους κάλουν οἷς ἐγκεχάρακτο τὸ κόππα τοιχείον, ὡς σαμφόρας τοὺς ἐγκεαραγμένους τὸ σάν. See also the scholiast to Lucian, *adv. Indoct.* 5, (κοππαφόρας). The brand was on the buttock. Anacreon, 55: ἐν ἱστίοις μὲν ἵπποι πυρρὲς χάραγμα' ἔχουσι. But there were other brands, καυστήρια, besides these two. So Strabo, v. 1, 9, speaking of an Italian breed, says καυστηρίασαι τε αἱ ἵππουε λύκον καὶ κληθῆναι λυκοδόρουε τάχει μᾶλλον ἢ κάλλει διαφερούσας· τοὺς δ' ἀπ' ἐκείνου διαδεαμένους τό τε καυστήριον φυλάξει καὶ τοῦνομα τῷ γένει τῶν ἵππων. The Scholiast to Aristophanes states that the appellation βονκέφαλος had similar origin; and on vases we see

χάριν. The colour was a matter of taste and us. So the ψαρὸς ἵπποι Horses of different colours have been preferred hand. Eurip. *Iphig.* μέσσου ζυγίουε λευκοβαλίουε, τοὺς δ' ἔξω ε πυρρότριχας. The proportionably high. Still twelve minas (nearly £50) a stallion, *Nub.* 21; at *Maled.* p. 307, a horse the same sum. Isæus, *d.* p. 116, names three minas as a low price. See Böckh's *of Athens*, p. 74. After dogs, which also fetched Plutarch, *Alcib.* 9. See *de Ven.* 3, for the different breeds. G bestowd on sporting *de Repub.* v. 459; Plutarch *Xenoph. de Ven.* 7. The brated breeds were the Italian, and Cretan. *Μεδια*, lap-dogs, were also, according to Strabo, they were

vehemence for the honour of their steeds, that something serious might have been apprehended, had not another contest in the court arrested the attention of all.

Discos had repaired the loss of his cocks and quails; among the latter was one, that had hitherto been victor in every engagement, and by which he had already won more than a mina. This only the more excited the emulation of those who had been beaten, and at this very moment, a fresh bet had been made, and a slave was bringing the stand, whereon was marked the circle, within which the struggle was to be confined⁶. The youth who had made

this was the case even at an earlier period. Theophr. *Char.* 21: καὶ κυναρίον δὲ τελευτήσαντος αὐτῷ μῆμα ποιῆσαι, καὶ στυλίδιον ποιήσας ἐπιγράψαι· Ὁ καλὸς Μελιταῖος. Next in order came cocks and quails, which were kept for fighting. On this subject see the following note. The passion for pigeons, which afterwards went to such lengths at Rome, also prevailed. The Σικελικαὶ περιστέραι were most prized. Theophr. *supra*. Other birds may probably have been kept; and Plato, *Theat.* p. 197, mentions something like an aviary: ὥσπερ εἰ τι ὄρνιθας ἀγρίας, περιστερὰς ἢ τι ἄλλο, θηρεύσας οἰκοὶ κατασκευασάμενος περιστερεῶνα τρέφοι. Pheasants were a special article of luxury. See Aristoph. *Nub.* 108:

εἰ δούης γ' ἐμοὶ
τοὺς Φασιανούς, οὓς τρέφει Δαυγώρας.

About which the Scholiasts are divided as to whether horses or birds are meant, though the latter is the more probable; cf. Callixenos ap. Athen. ix. p. 387: εἶτα ἐφέροντο ἐν ἀγγείοις ψιττακοὶ καὶ ταῖ, καὶ μελεαγρίδες, καὶ Φασιανοί, καὶ ὄρνιθες Αἰθιοπικοὶ πλῆθει πολλοί; and Ptolemæus *Eueg.* ap. Id. xiv. p. 654: Τὰ τε τῶν Φασιανῶν, οὓς τετάρου ὀνομάζουσιν,

οὓς οὐ μόνον ἐκ Μηδίας μετεπέμπετο, ἀλλὰ καὶ νομάδας ὄρνιθας ὑποβαλὼν ἐποίησε πλῆθος, ὥστε καὶ σιτεῖσθαι. τὸ γὰρ βρῶμα πολυτελὲς ἀποφαίνουσιν. Pheasants are first mentioned as a dish in Athenæus, and Alciph. iii. 7; though they had long been thus used at Rome. At a later period, we meet with birds that talk, and even pipe tunes. Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* i. 7: ὥσπερ οἱ ὄρνιθες, ἃ μανθάνουσι παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων. τὸ γὰρ χαῖρε, καὶ τὸ εὖ πράττε, καὶ τὸ Ζεὺς ἴλεως οἱ ὄρνιθες εὐχονται, οὐκ εἰδότες ὅ, τι λέγουσιν: and vi. 36: ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτοὺς λαλεῖν τε ὅσα οἱ ἀνθρώποι καὶ τερετίζουσιν ὅσα οἱ αἰλοί. Monkeys also were kept for amusement. Theophr. *Char.* 21; Plant. *Mil.* ii. 2, 7.

⁶ Cock- and quail-fighting was common throughout Greece. At Athens it was a political institution, and took place annually by law from the time of the Persian wars. *Ælian*, *Var. Hist.* ii. 28: Μετὰ τὴν κατὰ τῶν Περσῶν νίκην Ἀθηναῖοι νόμον ἔθεντο, ἀλεκτρονόνας ἀγωνίζεσθαι δημοσίᾳ ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ μιᾷς ἡμέρας τοῦ ἔτους. The exhibition of these pugnacious creatures was set up as an instructive example of bravery. See *Lucian*, *de Gymn.* 37: ὁρᾶν τὰ ὄρνεα

διαπυκτεύοντα μέχρι τῆς ἐσχάτης
 ἱπαγορεύσεως. According to Paus.
 ix. 22, 4, and Suidas, the cocks of
 Tanagra and Rhodes were specially
 noted as μάχιμοι or ἀθληταί, and
 to render them more pugnacious they
 had heating garlick given them be-
 forehand. Thus we have ἐσκοροδι-
 σμένοι μάχη, *Equit.* 494; on which see
 the explanation by the Scholiast; so
 also Xenoph. *Sympos.* 4, 9: ἐνιοι τοὺς
 ἡλεκτρύνας σκόροδα στίσαντες συμ-
 βάλλουσι. They were also armed with
 an artificial spur, πλῆκτρον or κέν-
 τρον. Schol. to *Aves*, 759: Πλῆκτρα
 βέ εἰσιν ἔμβολα χαλκᾷ τὰ ἐμβαλλό-
 μενα τοῖς πλήκτροις τῶν ἡλεκτρύ-
 νων. Great attention was bestowed
 both upon them and upon the quails.
 Plato, *Leg.* viii. p. 789: λαβόντες ὑπὸ
 ἀλῆς ἕκαστος τοὺς μὲν ἐλάττονας εἰς
 γὰς χεῖρας, μείζους δ' ὑπὸ τὴν ἀγκά-
 λην ἐντός, πορεύονται περιπατοῦν-
 tes σταδίους παμπόλλους ἕνεκα τῆς
 ἰνέξιας, οὗτι τῆς τῶν αὐτῶν σωμα-
 τῶν, ἀλλὰ τῆς τούτων τῶν θρεμμά-
 των. Contests of this kind are found
 represented in the inferior works of
 art. See Braoci, *Memor. d. Antichi*

Plato, *Euthyd.* p. 294
 But besides contests
 a particular game w
 them, called ὀρτυγοκί-
 ix. 107: ἐστ' ὅτε δὲ
 ὀρτυγα, ὁ δὲ ἔκοπτε
 τὰ ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς π
 και εἰ μὲν ἐγκαρτερήσ
 νίκη μετὰ τοῦ θρέψαι
 νετο· ἐνδόντος δὲ και
 ὁ κόπτων ἢ ὁ τῖλλει
 Schol. on Aristoph. *Al*
 instead of ἐν πυρῷ read
 also Suidas. There w
 board (τηλία), and o
 was drawn, or else the
 circular shape with a r
 within this the fights t
 well as the ὀρτυγοκοπί.
Timarch. p. 78: ἀλλὰ ἐ
 τῷ κυβείῳ, οὗ ἢ τηλία
 τοὺς ἡλεκτρύνας συμ-
 κυβεύουσι. Pollux, *εὐρι*
 μὲν ὁμοίᾳ τῇ ἀρτοπι
 ἐμπεριγράψαντες ἐνίς
 ὀρτυγας ἐπὶ ταῖς μάχι
 ἀλλήλους. ὁ δὲ ἀνατρι
 πεσῶν τοῦ κύκλου ἤττι

Discos now brought his bird. 'Is it for the quails or for money?' enquired the youth. 'I should not lose my bird in any case,' replied Discos; 'but I never stake him.' 'Very well,' said the first, 'for fifty drachmæ then.' The tiny champions were set opposite, and had scarcely caught sight of each other, ere their feathers ruffled up, and they darted furiously at one another with outspread wings. Neither budged an inch. Often as the battle was renewed, each maintained his ground, or occupied his adversary's; and for some time the victory was doubtful. 'I'll bet another fifty against you, Discos!' exclaimed one of the bystanders, who were all watching the contest with passionate delight; but hardly were the words spoken, when Discos' bird, as if infuriated at the doubts about his valour, charged with redoubled impetuosity against his foe, who, stunned by the blow, flew, after a short resistance, far beyond the boundaries of the arena. 'Vanquished! vanquished!' cried a host of voices; while the owner of the beaten bird seized his champion with great expedition, and spoke loudly into his ear, in order, if possible, to efface from its recollection the cry of the victor⁷, which was meanwhile overwhelmed with applause, and borne off by Discos in triumph.

Charicles and Ctesiphon, after finishing their breakfast, had joined the spectators, and the gamesters alone had taken no notice of what was passing. But now the din waxed louder and louder, and from words the company at play had proceeded to blows. The attacks of all seemed directed against an elderly man, apparently of humble condition, who, either by good luck, or foul play, had won all the money that had been staked, and was now in danger of seeing it wrested back from him by force. Patiently, as a Spartan at the altar of Orthia, did he endure the blows that were levelled at him from all sides; resolved to part with his life rather than his winnings, which he had partly

⁷ Poll. ix. 109: τοὺς δὲ ἡττηθέν- | ζόμενοι (ἐνεργαζόμενοι?) τῆς τοῦ
ται ὀρνυγας ἐμβοήσαντες κατὰ τὸ | νεκικῆς φύσεως.
οὗς αὐτοὺς ἐξιώντο, λήθην ἀνεργα-

But won't he go and lodge a complaint?' en-
ciples. 'What, for being drubbed at play?'
he'll not dream of such a thing.' 'But, have
e continued, 'that Ctesippos was condemned ;
To be sure,' replied a second ; 'or rather his
trifle of some two thousand drachmæ.'

'Which Ctesippos?' asked Charicles ; wh
whom the circumstance was new, at the
stepped forward. 'The son of Ctesias,' replied
You all know the jovial set of fellows, who fro
etting into rows, were yclept the *triballi*. Wel
tesippos.' 'And why was he convicted?' pursued
A joke, I assure ye, a mere joke,' was the answe
ught very well have been excused in young ga
oxicated at the time.' 'No, no,' said a third, 'i
joke. I have been accurately informed of t
ransaction, and was myself a witness to their d
behaviour before the diætetæ. It would be a
ut for the public security, if such conduct were
inished.' 'Prythee, tell us then,' said Ctesiph
was ; who is the accuser, and what the crime?'
as a certain man of

when out on a campaign, laid a complaint before the strategos against this Ctesippos for rudeness and indecorum, and caused him to be punished; ever since which, he has been pursued with rancorous hatred both by father and son. A short time back, he went out with a friend in the dusk of the evening for a stroll in the market-place, and there met Ctesippos half seas over. The latter, directly he saw him, croaked out some unintelligible threat or other, and then went towards Melite, where, as it afterwards turned out, his father and several friends had assembled for a debauch. To them he explained what an excellent occasion now offered itself for taking vengeance on Aristophon; and forthwith they all sallied out into the market-place. Meanwhile Aristophon had turned, and met them almost at the same spot. Two of them seized his companion and held him fast; while Ctesippos and his father, and a third man, fell upon Aristophon, tore off his clothes, threw him into the dirt, beat him, stamped upon him with their feet, and discharged at him a torrent of the lowest abuse. While he thus lay, all helpless, Ctesias placed himself before him, crowing like a cock after a victory, and flapping his arms against his body in the manner of wings¹⁰. They then made off, taking his clothes with them, and their victim was assisted from the ground by some passers-

violence occur, for example, the cases of *Energos* and *Meidias* in Demosthenes, of *Simon* and *Eratothanes* in Lysias, of *Timarchos* in Æschines; whence it appears that public security was at a discount, and that there was good cause for the frequently-expressed fears of *λωπεδυσία* and *τοιχωρυχία*. The instance in the text is from Demosth. in *Con.* p. 1257, which has been translated word for word. The assigned penalty of two thousand drachmæ is quite in rule, for there is no doubt that damages could be obtained in a *δίκη αίκίας*. See

Meier and Schömann, *Attic. Process.* p. 549. So too the story related by Diog. Laert. vi. 42, of *Meidias*, who struck Diogenes in the face, saying, 'My banker has three thousand drachmæ at your service.' This will, however, hardly warrant the inference that the sum named was the precise legal penalty for the assault.

¹⁰ Demosth. *supra*: ἦδε γὰρ τοὺς ἀλεκτρυόνας μιμούμενος τοὺς νενικηκότας. οἱ δὲ κροτεῖν τοῖς ἀγκῶσιν αὐτὸν ἡξίουσιν ἀντὶ πτερύγων τὰς πλευράς.

just in fun¹¹. 'I can't say that I think the proceedings are exactly praiseworthy,' continuator; 'but even if they could plead intoxication of their offence, nothing could at all atone for their atrocious conduct afterwards. Aristophanes brought an action against them for the assault, and when he was about to come on before the *diætetes*, he had others of his friends to be present. They kept us waiting for a long time before they appeared, and it was not until evening that father and son showed themselves, with some of their fraternity, and then on the point of going into contempt the solemnity of justice and the gravity of the place; for without endeavouring to rebut the charges, or even looking at the depositions, they wasted the time by miserable tom-fooleries. They stood singly to the altar, and swore by the dog and the goddess¹², that the boy was the son of an *hetæra*

¹¹ This was the defence which Conon actually made. Demosth. p. 1261. Cf. Lysias, in *Sim.* p. 160.

*πίας, οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸ πρὶ
ἑταίρας εἶναι παῖδιον α
πεπονθέναι τὰ καὶ τὰ.
rally do not seem to h*

¹² This ceremony was performed by the

undergone this and that; or wrote down evidence concerning things that had not the remotest connexion with the point at issue¹³. Now if such disgraceful behaviour, and such contempt of the laws were to remain unpunished, what safeguard, I should like to know, should we have against any insult or offence whatever?

'You are quite in the right,' said an elegant youth, who had come from the drinking-room to listen to the story. 'I like to have my joke as well as another, and don't stick at a slight squabble when there is a woman in the case, but heaven forbid that I should have aught to do with such a mad set as your triballi. I knew Ctesippos of old; he was one of the roughest and most unruly boys at Hermippos' school, and often had a taste of the master's rod for his illnated pranks.'

The name of Hermippos drew Charicles' eyes to the speaker. 'By Hercules,' he exclaimed, 'it's Lysiteles!' and hastened up to him. 'Charicles!' said the person thus accosted, in astonishment, 'you here; when did you come?' 'I returned yesterday from Syracuse,' was the answer. 'So, hail to thee, friend of my youth!' said Lysiteles. 'We'll celebrate your return with a carouse¹⁴.

tives as *νῆ τὸν κύνα, τὴν πλάτανον, τὴν χῆνα*. Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* vi. 19: *ὄμνῃ γὰρ ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς θεοὺς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ θεοὺς ὄμνῃ*. The oath *κατὰ χυνοῦ* was very common. So *Aves*, 520:

Δέμῳ δ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὁμνῶσιν τὸν χῆν' ὅταν ἔξασπῃ τι.

Indeed *τὸν χῆνα* seems to have been a trick of the tongue for *τὸν Ζήνα*. So Zeno swears by the caper, *κάππαρις*, Diog. Laert. vii. 32; and some one else, by the cabbage, *κράμβη*. Enstath. *ad Od.* xix. 396.

¹³ Demosth. *supra*. This was done merely to fritter away the time.

¹⁴ It was a custom, often alluded to by Plautus, to give a banquet to a friend on his safe return home. So *Bacch.* iii. 6, 7: *Salvus quom peregre advenis, cœna dabitur*. *Stich.* iii. 2, 17:

'*Cœnabis apud me, quoniam salvus advenis*;' and *Epidicus*, i. 1, 5. Plutarch, *Symp.* v. 5, 1: *ἐν ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς, ὥς ἐποικίετο τῶν φίλων ἕκαστος ἐστιῶν ἡμᾶς ἡκον-τας ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας*. The same occurred at departure, *προπέμπειν*. *Ibid.* iv. 3, 2: *θύοντας θεοῖς καὶ προπέμποντας φίλον καὶ ξενίζοντας*. Cf. Plaut. *Bacch.* i. 1, 61:

Ego sorori meæ cœnam hodie dare volo viaticam.

it, don't you? We are undisturbed, and y
fear that a crabbed old governor will send the
packing¹⁶. You'll meet with some more of yo
ances.' He had several questions more to p
ricles postponed answering them till next da
time for him to be moving.

It was now the first hour after noon, and i
of the city the bustle had sensibly moderated.
business of the day was transacted; the mark
still; and the shops of the artizans alone wore
busy aspect. All the elements of social life with
centre of this great city had so recently been
had suddenly been scattered in all directions, an
crowd had dispersed, only to re-appear in a dif
in the Gymnasia and other such places of reser
the walls. Hence the paths leading to the Ac
the Lyceion, and the Cynosarges, were just
frequented. The free burgher, not confined to
atmosphere of his domicile by any base handi
these places of meeting; perhaps in order to
appetite for the approaching meal by some in
exercise, and by a warm or cold bath, or
be, only by a constitutional in the D.

gazing at the magnificent figures, there stripped to view ; or perhaps he sought intellectual amusement in learned and attractive converse.

Charicles, too, after making a few purchases, directed his steps towards the Gymnasium, to indulge in its amusements, a pleasure of which he had long felt the want ; and then after a bath he purposed going to Phorion's. From earliest childhood he had been accustomed by his father to gymnastic exercises. The lessons of the *pædotribæ* were quite as important in his eyes as his son's visits to school ; and when the lad had grown into a youth, he encouraged him to attempt the more arduous exercise of the *palæstra*. Though he was averse to the one-sided exertions of the *athletæ*, yet a sensible course of gymnastics—as well as chariot-driving and the chase, together with the intercourse of learned men—ranked with him as the only occupations befitting a free-born youth. 'Our character,' he often observed to his son, 'depends on our avocations, and a man's mind takes its colour from the nature of his pursuits. He who consumes his days in paltry occupations or vulgar toil, can no more feel lofty aspirations and manly courage rising within his bosom, than can pusillanimity and a grovelling habit of thought find a place in the soul of him whose pursuits are noble and honourable'¹⁷.

¹⁷ Taken from the speech *περὶ συντάξεως*, attributed to Demosthenes : p. 173. So Plato, *Leg.* viii. 846, would banish all artisans from his commonwealth, manual labour being inconsistent with τὸν κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως κόσμον. It is difficult to obtain just views on the social position of this branch of the community. Solon's law is well known : οὐδὲν τρέφειν τὸν πατέρα μὴ διδασκόμενον τέχνην ἐκταγκὲς μὴ εἶναι. (Plutarch, *Sol.* 22). But in practice this was ineffective, for we find universally that no free-born youth would demean him-

self by any occupation of the kind. Thucydides, again (ii. 40), makes it the boast of Athens, that her sons could take a share in public affairs, as well as manage their own trade ; thus totally contradicting Plato. This much is certain, that at this period the advantages arising from trade were appreciated at Athens, and that it was favoured accordingly ; though it was considered unworthy of a free-man to work at it himself ; and in this Plato, Xenophon and Aristotle agree. Plato, *Charm.* 163, is clearest on the sub-

Full of happy recollections of bygone day,
 he walked along through the gate of Di-
 the gardens leading to the Lyceion. He found
 the peristyle very full of company. In the arcades
 the peristyle were groups of men, young and old,
 in discourse of various kinds. Here a sophist
 amidst his scholars, was discussing by the meth-
 rogation, the pros and cons of some doctrine.
 The large semicircular bench of marble, on which
 could only accommodate half his auditory, so

ject: but trade is there not considered
 disgraceful in itself, though not be-
 fitting everybody; but handicrafts,
 βαναυσία καὶ χειροτεχνία, (*de Republ.*
 ix. p. 590,) are pronounced against on
 ethical grounds; for the mind suffers,
 he thinks, as well as the body, from
 such occupations; *ibid.* vi. p. 495:
 ὥσπερ τὰ σώματα λελαίβηνται, οὕτω
 καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς συγκεκλασμένοι τε καὶ
 ἀποτεθρυμμένοι διὰ τὰς βαναυσίας
 τυγχάνουσιν. Xenoph. *Æcon.* 4, 2,
 is not a whit more favourable: τῶν
 δὲ σωμάτων θηλυνομένων καὶ αἱ ψυ-
 χαὶ πολὺ ἀρρώστοι γίνονται.
 And Aristotle (*de Republ.* viii. 2) in

of the ancient world.
 167, after speaking of Ε
 μὲν νῦν καὶ τοῦτο πα
 μεμαθήκασιν οἱ Ἕλλη
 ἀτρεκέως κρίναι, ὁρῶν
 καὶ Σκύθας, καὶ Πέρσας
 καὶ σχεδὸν πάντας το
 ἀποτιμωτέρους τῶν ἄλλ
 πολιητέων τοὺς τὰς τ
 νοντας καὶ τοὺς ἐκ γέ
 τοὺς δὲ ἀπαλλαγμένου
 ναξιέων γενναίους νομί
 καὶ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐς
 ἀνειμένους. μεμαθήκασ
 πάντες οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ
 κεδαιμόνιοι. —

stood in front to catch the wisdom that proceeded from his mouth. Here a rhetorician was making a critical examination of a speech elaborated by one of his pupils. In several places little knots had formed, and were talking of the important occurrences in Asia. News had just arrived from the Macedonian host, announcing the continuance of the siege of Tyre, and some assayed a display of their topographical acquirements, by drawing in the sand with their sticks¹⁸ a plan of the city and its position¹⁹. In the great court many were engaged in all kinds of exercises, while others were already hurrying to warm or cold baths, or anointing their limbs with pure oil in the Elæothesion.

Charicles strode through the Palæstra, to the exercise grounds in the open air. Here several were running races, amid the loud acclamations of the beholders, who encouraged first one, then another²⁰. Others stood ready to jump, with the leaping-weights in their hands. On the course near the Xystos, a contest of a peculiarly interesting nature appeared to be going on. A dense ring of spectators had formed around, and many were leaving, while others streamed towards the spot. 'That's Ctesiphon, I'm sure, he is the soul of the Gymnasium,' cried a voice near Chari-

¹⁸ Böttiger, *Vaseng.* ii. p. 61, has spoken of the custom of carrying a stick out of doors; cf. Casaubon, on Theophr. 21. Böttiger's assumption that the rest of Greece first imitated the Laconian usage, after the Spartan Hegemonia, seems groundless. Lysias, *de Inval.* p. 748: ὅτι μὲν δοῖν βακτηρίαν χρῶμαι τῶν ἄλλων μᾶ ἡρώμενων, proves the habit to have been general. Cf. Schol. to Aristoph. *Plut.* 272. Young as well as old carried a cane, which was indeed quite a *sine qua non* to a careful dresser. Athen. xii. p. 543: σκίπωνί τε ἐστηρίζετο χρυσᾶς ἑλικας ἐμπεπαισμένῃς. Cf. *ib.* xi. p. 509; and xii. p. 553.

¹⁹ So Plutarch, *Alcib.* 17, talking of Sicily: ὥστε πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις καὶ τοῖς ἡμικυκλίοις καθέζεσθαι, τῆς τε νήσου τὸ σχῆμα καὶ θέσιν Λιβύης καὶ Καρχηδόνας ὑπογράφοντας.

²⁰ Isocr. *Evag.* 32: καὶ ποιῶ καὶ ποιήσω ταῦτόν, ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς γυμνικοῖς ἀγῶσιν οἱ θεαταί. καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι παρακελεύονται τῶν δρομέων οὐ τοῖς ἀπολελειμμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς περὶ τῆς νίκης ἀμιλλωμένοις. Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* xxviii. p. 531: τοὺς μὲν τινὰς ἐωρῶμεν ἐν τῇ δρόμῳ τρέχοντας καὶ κραυγῇ τῶν παρακελευομένων ἦν.

a boisterous shout of applause succeeded.
 opened, and Charicles saluted his friend, w
 accepted his challenge to have a throw with
 Otesiphon had unquestionably the advantage
 but Charicles wrestled with so much caution
 such excellent use of every chance that offere
 match lasted some time, and although his ant
 again the conqueror, yet he at least earned t
 being himself a most accomplished wrestler.
 then went arm in arm to the bath, after whic
 made the best of his way to the house of Phori

²¹ Dio Chrysost. *ibid.*: ὁρῶμεν | τας διὰ τὸ μὴ δύνασθα
 οὐν πάνυ πολλοὺς ἐστηκότας πρὸς | οὐν πρῶτον ἐπειρώμει
 ἢ ἐξέδρα τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ ἑτέρους | κύπτοντες, καὶ μόλις
 εἰ προσάγοντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἀπιόν- | γυμναζομένου τὴν κεφα

11

en in a state of great commotion, for the young gal-
as bent on celebrating, with more than usual ex-
the return of the playmate of his childhood. Every
to be found in the Athenian market had been pro-
; and not content with leaving his slaves to make the
ite purchases, he had gone to the fish-market in per-
select the finest Copaic eels and the largest sea-pike.
-rate cook had been hired, chaplets were bespoken,
Mé unguents bought, and graceful female flute-players
ancing-girls engaged. In the spacious saloon, which
les had selected for the scene of their nocturnal feast,
ouches were all set ready, and on tables of elegant
was a grand display of silver goblets and bowls of
s sizes. Youthful slaves, in high-girt semi-transpa-
-bitons, hurried through the halls and saloons, set
in order and cleaned them, spread embroidered
ry over the mattresses of the couches, smoothed
llows, which were of a gay striped pattern, scoured
, and did not rest, till all the preparations for the
ion of the guests had been completed.
ne gnomon had long displayed a shadow of more than
et in length, when Charicles returned from the
my, where Manes had met him by appointment, bear-

Ctesiphon, turning round. 'Here he come answered the slave, as Charicles joined them his friend. 'Bless me,' cried Ctesiphon, 'what are; pray whither are you bound?' 'To Lysiteles,' answered Charicles; 'I promised go; are not you invited too?' Ctesiphon answered negative. 'Oh! it would be too bad, were I from the circle of old friends whom I shall What if I bid you come along with me unless you bid me,' said Ctesiphon, jocosely, 'of course help myself.' 'Away we go then,' said Charicles, verify the adage: "To the exquisite banquet thou go self-bidden." 'But prythee invent some: I shall assert that I was invited by you.' 'Well something as we go along,' said his friend, 'or moving?'

They found the door of the hospitable man and a slave, who met them in the hall, ushered the saloon, where most of the other guests were reclining on the couches. Lysiteles advanced to with friendly salutations. 'Ah! Ctesiphon,' he as he saw them enter, 'you are come in the very time to join us at the banquet; or if ought you hither. defer it till another time.'

you³.' 'Charicles has given me an invite in your name then,' answered Ctesiphon; 'for he forced me to come along with him.' 'Capital!' cried their polished host; 'here's a place for you next Glaucon; you, Charicles, will lie by me. Take off their sandals, slaves, and wash their feet, that they may recline.' The slaves unfastened the thongs of their shoes, and others brought silver basins, into which from beautifully-shaped ewers of the same metal, they poured over the feet of the new comers, who sat meanwhile upon the couches, not water only, but golden wine, to which an additional fragrance was imparted by an admixture of odoriferous balsam⁴. While the two friends were luxuriating in this lavishly sumptuous bath, which though it took Charicles rather by surprise, yet merely raised a smile in Ctesiphon, some of the guests went up and saluted the former. They were all acquaintances of his boyish days,—Polemarchos and Callicles, Nausicrates and Glaucon,—who now frankly shook hands with their old playmate, and reminded him of a thousand incidents of days long past. 'Enough, enough!' at last cried one of the party, as he lolled on his couch, 'that will do, friends, take your places, and let us fall to.'

'By my troth, Euctemon,' said Lysiteles, 'it is high time. Water, ho! for the hands, slaves, and then serve up what you've got. Think that you entertain us, and that we are your guests, and so have a care that you may merit our praise⁵.'

The order was speedily executed, water and towels were handed round; then the slaves, two and two⁶, brought in the tables, and loaded them with comestibles; while others presented bread of the finest quality in tiny baskets woven of slips of ivory⁷. At this juncture a loud knock-

³ Plato, *Symp.* p. 175. See Excursus on *The Meals*.

⁴ Plutarch, *Phoc.* 20. See Excursus on *The Meals*.

⁵ Plato, *Symp.* p. 175. See Excursus on *The Meals*.

⁶ See Excursus on *The Meals*.

⁷ Athenæus, iv. p. 130: *τραγή-*

him. Let him in^s.' This however was quit

ματά τ' ἐν πλεκτοῖς ἐλεφαντίνοις
ἐπεδόθη πᾶσι.

* When Carylus (Athen. vi. p. 235,) asserted that the character of a parasite, as one of the *dramatis personæ* of comedy, was first invented (εὐρηθῆναι) by Alexis, he probably only meant that this poet first distinguished such a character by the name *παράσιτος*; for such personages, as *κόλακες* or *γελοῦστοιχοί*, had long been of common occurrence, as is sufficiently shewn by a fragment of Epicharmus quoted by Athenæus directly afterwards:

Ζυνδιπνέω τῷ λῶντι, καλέσαι δεῖ μόνον,
καὶ τῷ γὰρ μὴ λῶντι, κινῶν δεῖ καλεῖν.
τηνὴ δὲ χάρις τ' εἰμὶ καὶ ποῖω πολὺν
γέλωτα καὶ τὸν ἐστιῶντ' ἐπαινέω.

Philippus, described in Xenoph. *Symp.* i. 11, served as the original here. The name parasite had at first no evil signification, but was applied to persons of consideration, who were appointed to assist the magistrates and priests in the celebration of sacrificial feasts. Athen. vi. p. 234.

παράσιτους. The
may be divided into
all of which obtrusiveness is the com
the γελοῦστοιχοί, often at their own content to be the pany, provided they to eat and drink: as in the *Captivi*, and *Stichus*, of Plautus, phon's Philippus. κόλακες, or *asseni* always flattering they were the Kolax or nander, the Gnatho the Artotrogus in the of Plautus. The third of the θεραπευτικοί place at table by attentions and served somewhat akin to the *trigue* of the French Plutarch, *de Adul.* 2. ὑπηρέτης καὶ περὶ λιβήης, καὶ πότον διαλογισμὸν οὐκ ἀμελεῖ.

as the parasite was already at the door of the saloon, and said, 'I am, as ye well know, Stephanos the jester, who never refused when invited by any of you to a meal; wherefore it would not be fair were ye now to decline my invitation. I have brought a whole budget of good things.' 'Very well,' said Lysiteles; 'and besides, there are only nine of us, so lie you down next to Mantitheos, and be my guest.'

Fresh dishes, on which the Sicilian *artiste* had displayed his skill, were served up in profusion. 'Really,' said Glaucon, 'no Attic meal this, but a Bœotian one!'⁹ 'Quite

little caricatured perhaps, are copied from real life, and would undergo any indignity for the chance of a good dinner: οὗτε οὐτε πῦρ, οὐτε σίδηρος, οὐτε χαλκός εἰργαίη μὴ φοιτᾶν ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, as Plutarch says. The description of Chærephon quoted from Alexis by Athen. iv. p. 164, is from the life:

ἴσταν γὰρ ὅστιν ὁ κέραμος μισθώσιμος ὁ τοῖς μαγείροις, οὗτος ἐξ ἰωβινοῦ ἴστανεν ἰλθῆναι κἄν ἴδῃ μισθούμενον αἰς ἰστίασιν, τοῦ μαγείρου πυνθόμενος τὸν ἰστιώσanta, τῇ θύρᾳ χασμαμένης ἐν ἐπιλήθῃται, πρῶτος εἰσελθόμενος.

These fellows had a talent for finding out where a banquet was going on, and would waylay people at the baths or elsewhere, and force their company on them as guests. Eupolis, ap. Athen. vi. p. 236; Lucian, *de Parasit.* 51. Athenæus, vi. p. 249, says of the parasites at the table of Dionysius the younger: ἀποπτόντος δὲ τοῦ Διονυσίου πολλάκις παρείχον τὰ πρόσωπα καταπύεσθαι· καὶ ἀπολείχοντες τὸν σίalon, ἐπὶ δὲ τὸν ἔμετον αἰτοῦ, μέλιτος ἔλεγον εἶναι γλυκύτροπον. So Diog. Laert. ii. 67; Plutarch, *de Occulte Fiv.* v. p. 611, relates a still more disgusting story, which, though it may be exaggerated, sufficiently shews

in what reputation these fellows stood. They mostly attached themselves to young people, with whom they could play their cards to more advantage; at a later period, however, they seem to have been regarded as a necessary appendage at the tables of the rich. So Lucian, *de Parasit.* 58: ὅτι πλούσιοι ἀνὴρ, εἰ καὶ τὸ Γύγον χρυσίον ἔχει, μόνος ἐσθίων πένης ἐστὶ καὶ προῖων ἄνευ παρασίτου πτωχὸς δοκεῖ..... καὶ πλούσιοι ἄνευ παρασίτου ταπεινὸς τις καὶ εὐτελής φαίνεται. The female parasites, κολακίδες, or κλιμακίδες, Plutarch, *de Adul.* p. 192, were of quite a different order. Athen. vi. p. 256; Val. Max. ix. 1.

⁹ The Bœotians were renowned above all other Greeks for πολυφαγία, and the comedians have not failed to turn this to good account. So also Plutarch, *de Esu Carn.* 6: τοὺς γὰρ Βοιωτοὺς ἡμᾶς οἱ Ἀττικοὶ καὶ παχεῖς καὶ ἀναισθήτους καὶ ἡλιθίους μάλιστα διὰ τὰς ἀδηφαγίας προσηγόρευον. With this compare the proverb Βοιωτία ὕς, as also Pind. *Olymp.* vi. 152, and the passage of Eubulos, quoted by Athenæus, x. p. 417:

‘Ah!’ said Stephanos, who had already two futile attempts at raising a laugh, ‘that be a happy lake, which always carries such drink and keeps always drinking, and yet never is thirsty water!’ broke in Callicles with a laugh; ‘that prodigy far greater; for put down ever so much you have never had enough.’

Amidst a variety of gossip, the meal was close, though much too early for Stephanos: perceiving that the company would partake more, made a sign to the slaves, who with cruetry handed water and sweet-smelling smegma to wash the hands, while others bore off the swept the fragments from the floor. After that of myrtle and roses¹⁰, party-coloured riban

Ποτεῖν μὲν ἄμμες καὶ φαγεῖν μάλ' ἀνδρικοὶ
καὶ καρτερῆσαι, τοὶ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι λέγειν
καὶ μικρὰ φαγέμεν, τοὶ δὲ Θηβαῖοι μέγα.

More important still are the words of Polybius, *Fragm.* xx. 4, 7: ὁρμήσαντες πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ μέθας οὐ μόνον τοῖς σώμασιν ἐξελύθησαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς. Cf. *ib.* xx. 6, 5. So devoted were they to feasting and idleness that according to Athen.

was made. Athen. τῶν στεφάνων καὶ εἰσοδος εἰς τὰ συμπειν δευτέρας τραπέζης. *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 5. 1 most part the materials, and hence the place where they were so μύρρινοι. The rose

fumed unguents, were distributed all round, and a domestic came forward with a golden bowl, into which he poured undiluted wine from a silver can, by way of libation. Two pretty flute-girls, in all the freshness of blooming youth, then entered the saloon. Lysiteles seized the bowl, poured some wine out of it, and exclaiming, 'To the good Genius!' took a draught, and then handed the vessel to Charicles, who lay on his right, that it might pass round the table. The maidens accompanied this ceremony with subdued and solemn tones, until the last of the guests had returned the cup. On this, the party waxed merrier, the minstrels struck up the hymn of praise, and this being ended, the slaves brought in the dessert, and placed on the table the crater, tastefully ornamented with dancing bacchanals.

'And now first of all, my friends,' exclaimed Glaucon, rising, 'what's to be the rule of drinking this evening¹¹?' 'I vote that we have no rules at all,' replied Ctesiphon,

ἀλλ' ἔμπης ἐν τοῖς στεφάνοις τὰ πρῶτα
λέγονται.

Violet-chaplets were in special favour among the Athenians (Aristoph. *Acharn.* 636), hence the name *λοστέφανοι*. Chaplets were often formed of a great variety of flowers. Cf. *Anticth. Pal.* iv. 1, and v. 74:

Πάρῃ σοι, 'Ροδάκεια, τόδε στέφος, ἀνθεσι
καλοῖς
αἰνὸς ὅφ' ἡμιστέραις πλεξάμενος παλάμαις,
δοτι κρίνον, ροδὴν τε κάλυξ, νοτίην τ' ἀνε-
μῖον,
καὶ νάρκειστος ὕγρὸς, καὶ εὐανταγὲς Ἴων.

Also *ib.* 147:

Πλέξω λευκοῖον, πλέξω δ' ἀπαλὴν ἄμα
μύρτιος
νάρκειστος, πλέξω καὶ τὰ γελῶντα κρίνα.
πλέξω καὶ κρίνον ἡδὺν, ἐπιπλέξω δ' ὕακινθον
πορφύρεον, πλέξω καὶ φιλόραστα ῥόδα,
ὥς ἐν ἐπὶ κροτάφοις μυροβοστρήχου 'Ελιο-
δώρας
εὐπλάκαρον χαίτην ἀνθοβολῇ στέφανος.

Besides myrtle, the leaves of the

white-poplar and the ivy were used. Theocr. ii. 121:

κρατὶ δ' ἔχων λεύκαν, 'Ηρακλῆος ἱερὸν ἔρνος,
πάντοτε πορφύρεσι περιζώστροισιν ἐλκετάν.

Here the *πορφυραὶ περιζώστραι* must be *τεταῖαι*, which were fastened on the chaplet. Cf. Plato, *Symp.* p. 212, where Alcibiades comes to Agathon's, wearing such a chaplet: καὶ ἐπιστῆναι ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας ἐστεφανωμένον αὐτὸν κιττοῦ τιμὴν στέφανον δασεῖ καὶ Ἴων, καὶ ταινίας ἔχοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς πάνυ πολυλάς. In the neighbourhood of Pandosia, on the west coast of Italy, whither Persephone was said to have come to pluck flowers, it was held disreputable to wear purchased flowers at festivals: see Strabo, vi. 1, 5.

¹¹ Plato, *Symp.* p. 176. See Excursus on *The Symposia*.

roguish Eros¹².' The majority of the guests
him. 'So now then for the astragali,' and
'that the best throw may determine who is
'Not so,' cried Polemarch; 'for we might
blessed with that sober Ctesiphon, or that
phanos, for our president. I propose that
Glaucón king; he understands right well
minister the functions of the office.' This proposal
approved of, and Glaucón declared his readiness
office, as conductor of the symposium. 'Now
he, with serio-comic mien, 'I order you to take
place, to mix the wine well. The adage says

Five drink, or three, but drink not ever four.

We'll take care to avoid the last; but it is our
friend is treating us to, which will bear that
so mix two parts water to one of wine. And pour
into it, which will make it all the fresher;
got none, some of Stephanos's frigid jokes will
after which, pour out into the little cups; we
these, and finish up with the larger. But be
I say, with the wine, and don't forget to have
goblet ready for those who have to drink fine

'But, Glaucón, allow me,' interrupted Ctesiphon.

for the wine.' From the hand of the slave he received the *cyliz*; 'Zeus Soter!' he exclaimed, and drank; the rest followed his example. 'Now, friends, in the next place, what's to be done?' he continued. 'Anything but learned discourse,' cried Euctemon, and Polemarch agreed with him. 'Philosophy,' said they, 'is like the lady of the house: neither the one nor the other has any business at a symposion.' 'No more has gambling,' added Nausicrates; 'it only breeds contention, and then farewell to jollity.' 'Let us have a song then,' proposed Glaucon. 'Or guess riddles?' said Ctesiphon. 'Riddles for ever!' cried Charicles; 'I love the griphæ above everything else, they give rise to so much fun.' This motion found most seconders. 'Good,' said Glaucon; 'to him who guesses right I give one of the *tanixæ*; and the person who set the riddle must give him a kiss. He who fails to solve it, must drink off this goblet of unmixed wine. But for you, Stephanos,' he added, laughing, 'salt water will be poured out in place of wine, or else, full well I know that you will never guess right. Of course, each one proposes his enigma to his right-hand neighbour. So here's for you first, Ctesiphon. Listen,' he said, after thinking a moment:

We're sisters twain, one dying bears the other;
She too expires, and so brings forth her mother¹⁴.

'That's easily guessed,' answered Ctesiphon without hesitation; 'the sisters are night and day, who by turns die, and bring forth each other.' 'Right,' said Glaucon, 'thus I deck your brow with this fillet, and here's my kiss. It's your turn now!'

Ctesiphon begged for a short space to reflect, and then turned to Lysiteles and said:

λέγομεν ἐπὶ τῇ κύλικι, οὔτε τι
ἔδομεν; ἀλλ' ἀτεχνῶς, ὥσπερ οἱ
διψῶντες, πιόμεθα;

dectes. Athen. x. p. 451:

εἰσὶ κασίγνηται διτταί, ὧν ἡ μία τίκτει
τὴν ἑτέραν, αὐτὴ δὲ τεκοῦσα ὑπὸ τῇδε τεκ-
νοῦται.

¹⁴ A riddle of the tragedian Theo-

CHARICLES.

[SCENE VI.]

A thing, whose match or in the depths profound
Of ocean, or on earth can ne'er be found;
Cast in no mortal mould, it's growth of limb
Dame Nature orders by the strangest whim;
'Tis born, and lo! a giant form appears;
Towards middle age a smaller size it wears;
And now again, its day of life nigh o'er,
How wondrous! 'tis gigantic as before¹⁵.

strange sort of creature that!' said Lysiteles; 'and
shall hardly hit upon. Great in its childhood, little
prime, and big again at last. Ah! I have it,' he
ly exclaimed; 'one need only look at the gnomon;
e shadow, which is great in the morning, and then
ts, till, towards evening, it again increases.' 'He's
it!' cried the whole party, and Lysiteles received
and a kiss.

ow Charicles,' said he, 'it's your turn to guess.'

Nor mortal fate, nor yet immortal thine,
Amalgam rare of human and divine;

Glaucon, 'there is one thing we have forgotten. Suppose the riddle is not solved, must the next try to guess?' 'Not so,' said Ctesiphon; 'whoever can guess it first gets the riband and kiss; but if he guesses wrong, let him drink the fine.' This was agreed to, and turning to Euctemon, Charicles spoke thus:

Know'st thou the creature, that a tiny brood
Within her bosom keeps securely mew'd?
Though voiceless all, beyond the ocean wide
To distant realms their still small voices glide.
Far, far away, whome'er t' address they seek
Will understand; yet no one hears them speak¹⁷.

This proved too much for Euctemon's acumen. Hard as he tried to unriddle the mystery of the dumb speakers, it was all of no avail, and he had to drink the fine. 'I know!' cried Stephanos: 'it is the city; and her children are the speakers, who cry out so that their voice may be heard far across the sea in Asia and Thrace.' A roar of laughter followed. 'But, Stephanos,' said Charicles, 'did you ever see an orator that was dumb? he must then be impeached thrice for *paranomia*, and condemned¹⁸.' 'Salt-water,' screamed several voices; and, though he tried hard to get off, Stephanos was forced to drink off the goblet of brine. 'I will tell you the meaning of the enigma,' Ctesiphon now said: 'it is a letter, and its children that it conceals within it are the characters, which, mute and voiceless, speak only to him to whom the letter is addressed.' 'Bravo!' cried Glaucon; 'how ever will you find room on your head for all the *tæniæ* that you're earning to-day?' It was now Euctemon's turn. 'You'll have to drink too,' said he to Nausicrates, who had mean-

¹⁷ This riddle, one of the best extant, is proposed in the *Sappho* of Antiphanes; Athen. x. p. 450:

Ἔστι φύσις θήλεια βρόβη σείζουσα ὑπὸ κάλ-
ποις
αἰγῆς. ὅσα δ' ἄφωνα βοῶν ἰσθῆσι γαργαλῶν,

καὶ διὰ πόντιον ὁδὸν καὶ ἠπειρὸν διὰ πάσης,
οἷς ἐθέλει θνητῶν τοῖς δ' οὐ παρούσιν ἀκού-
ειν
ἔξεστιν κωφὴν δ' ἀκοῆς αἰσθῆσιν ἔχουσιν.

¹⁸ This too is all from Antiphanes.

CHARICLES.

[SCENE VI.]

called one of the flute-players on to his couch ; ‘ tell
at this is :’

A man it is, and a man ’tis not ;
’Tis always carried, yet it legs hath got :
Ordered to come to every dinner,
Yet sure to come unbid, the sinner !
Though fond of cups, ne’er drinks, but then
It swallows more than any ten.

h !’ said Nausicrates, ‘ the subject is not far off.
no other than Stephanos.’ ‘ I ?’ said the parasite ;
false. Alack, nobody bids me to a banquet. The
has grown so serious, that no one laughs at me
‘ Quite right !’ retorted Nausicrates ; ‘ as a wreath
ordered, and as a parasite you come uninvited, and
more than ten others.’ Thus it went the round of
ests, till at last it came to Stephanos. ‘ Now you
re,’ said he :

Nine moons roll by ere infants see the light ;
Ten years the elephant, that beast of might,

he saloon. A man, whose trade it was to exhibit such performances, led in a graceful girl, and a handsome lad, who were followed by a female flute-player²¹. The circle of couches was extended, and the *dansouse* advanced to the side which was left open. The boy took the cithara, and struck the strings to the accompaniment of the flute. The sound of the cithara presently ceased, the maiden took some hoops, and, as she danced to the tune of the flute, whirled them into the air, and caught them one after the other as they fell, with remarkable skill. More and more hoops were handed to her, till at least a dozen were hovering aloft betwixt her hands and the ceiling; while the grace of her movements, together with the dexterity she evinced, elicited loud applause from the spectators.

‘Really, Lysiteles,’ said Charicles, ‘you are entertaining us right royally. Not only do you set before us a noble feast, but also provide pleasures for the eye and ear.’

‘Pay attention,’ said the friendly host; ‘she will soon exhibit greater skill.’ A large hoop, set all round with pointed knives, was now brought in, and placed upon the ground. The damsel commenced dancing afresh, and drew a summersault²² right into the centre of the hoop,

²¹ Xenoph. *Symp.* 2, 1; from which well-known scene this is taken with slight alterations. The Syracusan appears to have presented himself at the house of Callias without previous arrangement, though as a matter of course he received money for the display of his company: ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἐπιδεικνύς, ὡς ἐν θαύματι, ῥαγύριον ἐλάμβανεν.

²² The simple way of dancing, which consists merely in rhythmical movement of the body, gave place at an early period to grotesque feats of agility; thus even in Homer, (*Il.* xviii. 65,) we meet with κυβιστῆρες, who drew regular summersaults, as we

learn from Plato, *Symp.* p. 190: ὥσπερ οἱ κυβιστῶντες καὶ εἰς ὄρθον τὰ σκέλη περιφερόμενοι κυβιστῶσι κύκλῳ. At a later time, to excite additional interest, they jumped over pointed weapons. Plato, *Euthyd.* p. 294: ἐς μαχαίρας γε κυβιστᾶν καὶ ἐπὶ τροχοῦ δινεῖσθαι. See Xenophon, § 11: μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο κύκλος εἰσηνέχθη περίμεστος ξιφῶν ὀρθῶν. εἰς οὖν ταῦτα ἡ ὀρχηστρίς ἐκυβίστα τε καὶ ἐξεκυβίστα ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. The στρόβιλος (*Poll.* iv. 101) seems to have been different from δινεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τροχοῦ, which would appear rather to be alluded to by Cic. in *Pison.* 10: ‘cumque ipse nudus in convivio saltaret, in quo ne tum quidem, cum illum snum saltatorium

CHARICLES.

[SCENE VI.]

en out again, repeating the feat several times, till holders grew quite nervous, and Nausicrates spring-begged that a stop might be put to the perilous lest the lovely creature should meet with an accident. y next made his *début*, and danced with such art as still greater effect to the matchless symmetry of his His whole figure was in expressive motion ; it was ble to tell whether the hands, the neck, or the feet, ost share in producing the impression which the lness of his postures worked among the spectators²³.

orbem, fortunæ rotam per-
at.' Male and female κυβισ-
represented in many antique
art. Cf. Tischbein, *Engra-*
m ancient Vases, i. 60.

sirable as would be a dis-
f the whole art of ancient
and for which moreover

of it. Plutarch (*Symp.* ix. 15, 2,) divides the action of the dance into *φορὰ*, *σχῆμα* and *δεῖξις*, of which the first two are related to one another in the same way as *φθόγγοι* and *διαστήματα* in Music, while of the *δεῖξις* he observes, *οὐ μιμητικὸν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ δηλωτικὸν ἀληθῶς τῶν ὑποκειμένων*. But the chief characteristic

Immense applause fell to his share also, and many of the company even preferred the boy's performance to that of the girl.

'But now,' said Glaucon, 'let them rest themselves. Lysiteles, order the *cottabos*²⁴, that we too may display our skill.' 'Yes, the cottabos, the cottabos!' they all cried, and the word seemed to have exerted quite an electric effect upon the whole party. 'Ha!' cried Ctesiphon to Charicles, 'this is a Sicilian game; you must be a greater adept at it than any of us.' 'I have had some practice therein,' answered he; 'but the game is possibly a still greater favourite at Athens than in its native land.' 'But how shall we play it?' enquired one, 'with the *manes*, or

τετραπὰ εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ὀρώσι. See Poll. iv. 99: ῥικνούσθαι, ὅπερ ἦν τὸ τὴν ὀσφὺν φορτικῶς περιάγειν. Also Eustath. ad Odys. ix. 376: ἀναπηδῆσαντες εἰς ὕψος πρὸ τοῦ κατενεχθῆναι ἐπὶ γῆν παραλλαγὰς πολλὰς τοῖς ποσὶν ἐποίουν. Though the art of dancing was so highly prized; though it served to give eclat to the festivals and shows; and though the guests of the symposia dearly loved to see the feats of a skilful *artiste*; still in private life it was little practised, and there seems to have arisen almost a prejudice against it; and though in Homer the sons of Alcinous gain renown by their dexterity in this accomplishment, yet, at a later period, it seems to have been considered incompatible with the dignity of a man. We know from Herodot. vi. 129, the opinion of Cleisthenes hereupon, and how Hippocleides, by suffering himself to be seduced to the dance, lost his bride; indeed it was usually looked upon as an admonitory symptom of incipient intoxication. So Alexis ap. Athen. iv. p. 134:

ἐπαιτεῖ ὀρχοῦντ' εὐθὺς, ἂν οἶνον μόνον
ἡμεῖς ἴδωμεν.

To dance was also thought a symptom

of the highest state of transport that could be induced by wine. See Xenoph. Hier. 6, 2; hence the epithet παροίνιοι ὀρχήσεις, Athen. xiv. p. 629: ἦν δέ τις καὶ Ἰωνικὴ ὀρχήσις παροίνιος* and Lucian, p. 288: τὸ Φρύγιον τῆς ὀρχήσεως εἶδος, τὸ παροίνιον καὶ συμποτικόν, μετὰ μέθης γιγνόμενον, ἀγροίκων πολλάκις πρὸς αὐλημα γυναικείον ὀρχουμένων. Of these private dances there are but scanty notices; one however, called ἀνθεμα, is mentioned by Athen. Ib.: ἦν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἡ καλουμένη ἀνθεμα. It was accompanied by these words:

Ποῦ μοι τὰ ῥόδα, ποῦ μοι τὰ ἴα, ποῦ μοι τὰ
καλὰ σέλινα;

Ταῖς τὰ ῥόδα, ταῖς τὰ ἴα, ταῖς τὰ καλὰ
σέλινα.

Social dances, in which both sexes might take part, such as Plato desires (*Leg.* vi. p. 771), do not appear to be mentioned anywhere. Consult however Aristoph. *Lysist.* 408:

*Ὁ χρυσοχόε, τὸν ὄρμον, ἐν ἐπισκέυασας
ὀρχουμένης μου τῆς γυναικὸς ἐσπέρας,
ἡ βάλανος ἐκπέπτωκεν ἐκ τοῦ τρήματος.

²⁴ See Excursus on *The Games*.

vls?' 'With the manes,' decided Glaucon; 'there's
 ore room to display one's skill.'
 tall candelabrum was set in the midst of the circle.
 This was suspended the balance, so adjusted, that
 he scale-pan descended smartly, it must strike the
 of the manes, placed beneath. Glaucon now stepped
 l, his arm bent, with the cylix in his hand, and
 the residue of the wine towards the scale. But only
 drops hit it, and the plate merely oscillated a little
 de to side. 'He loves me not,' said he, retiring in
 n to his seat. 'You should discharge it more in a
 ' said Ctesiphon. He took the cup, and the humid
 flew like a ball into the scale-plate, which descended,

Gallus, p. 498, for the cus-
 aring garlands on the breast,
 s, or ὑποθυμιάδες. They

sometimes occur on monuments. See
 Winkelm. *Monum. ined.* 200.



and rang repeatedly against the bronze head beneath. Thus the game went round again and again. At one time the throw succeeded, at another it did not. Glaucon too, had the luck, eventually, to obtain a better augury as to his loves; but Ctesiphon surpassed them all.

‘Yes,’ said Glaucon, ‘he understands throwing the wine away, better than drinking it; but now he must do the latter also. A larger beaker there! that will hold at least ten cyathi, and also a breast-garland²⁵. We will drink in a circle. What’s the harm if we do get a little wetted²⁶? The earth drinks, the plants drink, and as they are refreshed by the water of heaven, so is the spirit of man cheered by wine. It lulls our cares to sleep, as poppy-juice and mandrake do the senses, and wakes us up to merriment, as oil nourishes the flame²⁷.’ A large goblet was brought, and seized by Glaucon, who turning to the right, exclaimed: ‘Friendship and love to thee, Ctesiphon²⁸:’—he then emptied the measure, without drawing breath. ‘By my troth, you force me now to break my determination,’ exclaimed Ctesiphon. ‘Oh! don’t be alarmed,’ cried Stephanos: ‘I know of a first-rate specific; if you get drunk to-day, drink again to-morrow, that will set you right²⁹.’ ‘Eat bitter almonds,’ said Euctemon; ‘that’s a sure receipt for being able to stand much liquor³⁰.’

²⁵ A euphemism for being drunk *ε βαπτίζεσθαι*. So Plato, *Symp.* i. 176: *καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰμι τῶν ῥθῆς βεβαπτισμένων*. One slightly touched or hit was called *ἀκροθώραξ* Latiné, *ictus* or *saucius*). Plutarch, *Symp.* iii. 8, 1: *τοῦ δὲ ἀκροθώρακος ἦτι μὲν ἰσχύειν τὸ φανταστικόν, ἥδη δὲ τεταράχθαι τὸ λογιστικόν*.

²⁷ Xenoph. *Symp.* 2, 24: *τῷ γὰρ ἵσται ὁ οἶνος ἀρδων τὰς ψυχὰς τὰς μὲν λύπας, ὥσπερ ὁ μανδραγόρας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, κοιμίζει, τὰς δὲ φι-*

λοφροσύνας, ὥσπερ ἔλαιον φλόγα, ἐγείρει.

²⁸ See the Excursus on *The Symposia*.

²⁹ *οἶνον τὸν οἶνον ἐξελαύνειν*, or *κραιπάλην κραιπάλην*, was a proverb. Antiphan. apud Athen. ii. p. 44; and Plutarch, *de San. Tuend.* 11.

³⁰ Topers resorted to various devices to prevent or allay drunkenness. Aristotle recommends sweet wine,

cabbage, and olives. *Probl.* iii. 12, 17, and 35. This property of cabbage, *ράφανος*, or *κράμβη*, Athenæus endeavours to establish by sundry quotations from the poets (i. p. 34). Bitter almonds are also mentioned as a specific by Plutarch, *Symp.* i. 6, 4. Cf. Athen. ii. p. 52. It has been remarked in *Gallus*, p. 497, that the *στέφανοι* and *ὑποθυμιάδες* were also deemed antidotes against the effects of wine. According to Diod. Sic. iv. 4, it was on this account that Dionysos wore the *μίτρα* round his brow.

²¹ The common forms of drinking-vessels which perpetually recur on monuments, are the *κύλιξ*, the *φιάλη*, and the *καρχήσιον*, or, what much resembles it, the *κάνθαρος*. The *κύλιξ* occurs most frequently, and when empty is generally held by one of its two handles. The *φιάλη*, a kind of saucer, without handle or foot, was laid on the palm of the left hand, whilst the right sometimes holds a drinking-horn. These were called *κέρατα* or *ρύτᾱ*, and occur in manifold shapes. The original and oldest shape, is that of the

Demosthenes (in i supposition that s omitted in the pas and that the acco *δικέρας*, is very pro *ρύτον* had an openi from which the wi mouth of the drink *Pitt. d'Ercol.* v. pl. theos of Sidon ap. . *ρύτᾱ κέραςιν ὁμοία* *να δ' εἶναι· ἐξ ἄνκρο* *κάτωθεν πίνουσιν·* *τῆς ῥύσεως*. Inasm differed nothing in f *pas*, it is not surpris is also applied to sim sels having no openin the kind of head in end of the *rhylon* te it named, as for exa *προς*, *ἵππος*, *Πήγα* See Woodcuts in E *Meals*, and on *The Panofka Recherches*, bein, *Collection of* *Anc. Vases*, ii. 7. W material, see Note 2.

e was about to exhibit a mimic dance. Helena would Paris in her thalamos, and be persuaded to elope im³³. A gorgeous couch was here introduced, and Helena entered in bridal array. All her motions and as indicated an inward struggle; she was evidently ing her lover. Gracefully she sank down on the coverlet of the bed, and when the flutes struck up a ian melody, announcing the approach of the seducer, som heaved with stronger emotion: she rose not to

Xenoph. *Symp.* 9, 2, where cusan informs the company *ἰδὼν εἰσεῖσαι εἰς τὸν αὐτῆς Διόνυσου θάλαμον. μετὰ δὲ αὖτις Διόνυσος ὑποεκπτικῶς οἷς, καὶ εἰσεῖσι πρὸς αὐτὴν, γαῖζοῦνται πρὸς ἀλλήλους.* ousencement is like the prothe dramas, serving to pre-spectator for what is to fol-ugh perfect μιμητικὴ ought arse to require such an expla-forehand. See Lucian, *de*

But this pompous prelude e to be expected from one Syracusan stroller. Such s seem to have been common phon's day. So in Longus, ii. p. 67,) the fable of Pan inx, which had just before ted, is introduced as a mimic Oὐ δὲ μάλα ταχέως ἀνα-ώρχησαντο τὸν μῦθον τοῦ . ὁ Δάφνις Πᾶνα ἐμιμεῖτο, γγα Χλόη. ὁ μὲν ἰκέτευε ἡ δὲ ἀμελοῦσα ἐμειδία. ὁ αὖ καὶ ἐπ' ἀκρων τῶν οὐνύχων γὰς χηλαῖς μιμούμενος· ἡ δὲ τὴν κάμνουσαν ἐν τῇ φυγῇ, But other dances also, not epresenting a legend, the δρχησις, for instance, were e a mimic character. *Ibid.* ὅας δὲ, ἀναστὰς καὶ κελεύσας διονυσιακὸν μέλος, ἐπιλήνιον

αὐτοῖς ὀρχησιν ὡρχήσατο, καὶ ἐφίκει ποτὲ μὲν τρυγῶντι, ποτὲ δὲ φέροντι ἀρρίχου, εἴτα πατοῦντι πρὸς βότρυν, εἴτα πληροῦντι τοὺς πίθους, εἴτα πίνοντι τοῦ γλεύκου. The interest- ing tale in Lucian, *de Salt.* 63, about the Cynic Demetrios, in Nero's time, shews that the mimic art must after- wards have reached a high degree of perfection. This man blamed and ridic- uled mimic dances; but a celebrated performer begged him first to see him dance, before he condemned the art. Upon this he represented, quite alone, (αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ), the story of the infidelity of Aphrodite, and so per- fect was his delineation of the cha- racters, that the Cynic cried out in astonishment, ἀκούω, ἄνθρωπε, ἃ ποιεῖς, οὐχ ὁρῶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖς ταῖς χερσὶν αὐταῖς λαλεῖν. As Lucian remarks, (§ 37,) the mimic art took its subjects from the παλαιὰ ἱστορία only; and this statement is confirmed by Xenophon's *Ariadne*, by the Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἀρεος μοιχεία, above referred to, and by the Ἑλένης ἀρπαγή, which, along with many other instances, is mentioned by Lu- cian, *Ib.* § 45. The words of Xeno- phon have been closely followed here, though the *dramatis personæ* have been changed. See Millingen, *Uned. Monum.* ii. 12, and Tischbein, *Homer nach antiken*, vii. 3.

the boy and the girl loved each other, there about it.

‘My sandals, slave!’ cried Nausicrate away?’ enquired Lysiteles. ‘To see Antipl idol.’ Not a few of the guests rose to go; con, Euctemon, and Stephanos protested th not budge an inch till the bowl was drunk torches there,’ cried Lysiteles³⁴, ‘and light t out.’ ‘Thanks to thee,’ said Charicles, exte his hand; ‘my chaplet shall deck the Herm door³⁵.’

³⁴ Respecting the lighting-appa- ratus, see Notes 1 and 5 to Scene ix.

³⁵ See the tale about Xenocrates, Athen. x. p. 437: *καὶ λαβὼν τὸν χρυσοῦν στέφανον ἀναλύων τῷ*

Ἑρμῇ τῷ ἰδρυμένῳ ἐπέθηκεν, ὥσπερ εὐθινοὺς ἐκάστοτε ἐτινονε, ἐσπέραν δ' ἀπαυτόν.

SCENE THE SEVENTH.

THE TRITON.

IT was one of the last days of the month of Hecatom-
bæon, and the sun's golden orb, rising above the ocean-
mirror, began to illumine with its rays the pediment of the
citadel, and the lofty statue of the tutelar goddess, who
seemed gazing earnestly over her awakening city,* as she
looked towards the placid sea, where new-born light was
still struggling with the mists of the morning. At this
moment a ship, more beautiful than any before seen in the
roads of Piræus, weighed anchor in the harbour. Though
of an unusual size and stoutness of build, it glided lightly
and buoyantly over the watery expanse, impelled vigorously
by stalwart oarsmen, whose voices kept time in a rude
sailor-chorus¹. A fresh westerly breeze waved the purple

¹ In order that the oars might keep time, a sort of chant, *κέλυσμα*, was universally used, at least in larger ships; a *κελευστής*, appointed for the purpose, leading, and the rowers chiming in. So *Æschyl. Pers.* 403: *εὐθὺς ἐκ πάσης βοηΐδος ἐνταβολῇ ἔποισαν ἄλμυρ βρόχιον ἐκ κελύσματος.*

The *κελευστής*, inasmuch as the quickness or slowness of the time depended upon him, exercised considerable influence on the crew: *οἷον καὶ ἐν τριήρει*, ἔφη, *ὅταν πελαγίζωσι καὶ δὲρ περὶν ἡμερίου πλοῦτε ἐλαύνονται, οἱ μὲν τῶν κελευστῶν δύναται τοιαῦτα λέγειν καὶ ποιεῖν, ὥστε ἀκοῶν τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τὸ ἐθελοντὰς πονεῖν, κ. τ. λ.* *Xenoph. Econ.* 21, 3; cf. *de Republ. Athen.* 1, 2; and *Ovid, Trist.* iv. 1, 7:

In numerum pulsat brachia verat aqua.
That the *κέλυσμα* was sung, and was something more than mere beating

time, is clear from *Lucian, Catal.* 19, where Cyniscos, not possessing an obolus to pay Charon for his passage, offers as an equivalent his services at the oar. Charon accepting the proposal, he inquires: *Ἦ καὶ ὑποκελεύσαι δεήσει;* *ΧΑΡ.* *Νῆ Δί, ἥνπερ εἰδῆς κέλυσμα τι τῶν ναυτικῶν.* *ΚΥΝ.* *Οἶδα καὶ πολλὰ, ὦ Χάρων, τῶν ναυτικῶν. ἀλλ' ὁρᾷς, ἀντεπηχοῦσιν οὗτοι δακρύοντες, ὥστε ἡμῖν τὸ ἄσμα ἐπι- παραχθήσεται.* On which the Scholiast remarks: *Ὅτι ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις λέγειν εἰώθασιν κελεύσαι, ὥδην δὲ λέγει ναυτικὴν, ἣν ὑποκέλευσμα καλεῖ, διότι ἐνὸς καταρχομένου οἱ ἄλλοι ὑπήκουον τὸ φθόμενον, ὥσπερ καὶ ὅτε τὴν ὁδὸν τῶν πλοίων μετὰ τῆς κεραίας ἐπὶ τὸν ἰστὸν ἀναφέρουσιν.* So in the *Rane*, 205, the frogs sing the *κέλυσμα*. On board triremes a flute gave the time, and there was a *τριηραύλη* on purpose. *Demosth. de*

Coron. p. 270. So Dionysodoros, the flute-player, prided himself that his performances had never taken place on board a trireme. *Diog. Laert.* iv. 22. Cf. *Max. Tyr. Diss.* iii. p. 47.

* Every ship had its peculiar device to distinguish it, and this was usually called the *παράσημον*. What this was, its significance, and its position in the ship, are discussed by Scheffer, *de Milit. Nav.*; and by Enschedé, in his *Diss. de tutelis et insignibus navium*; though this refers more to Roman than to Grecian vessels. The *παράσημον* was sometimes the figure of a deity, sometimes of a beast, or other striking object; but where it was placed is doubtful. The passage in *Æschylus, Sept. Cont. Theb.* 193:

τί οὖν; ὁ ναύτης ἄρα μὴ εἰς πρῶραν φυγῶν
πρόμνηθεν εὖρα μηχανὴν σωτηρίας;

does not mean, as has been supposed, that the sailor flees to the images of the gods placed at the prow, but only, as the context shews, that he flies from one place to another, as the Theban women had done. No doubt the *παρόσημον* is the

*πρῶρας ἡκρωτηρί-
pression, πρῶραι
refer to the figur
peculiar build of
is placed in the f
iv. 47: Διαπλευσα
οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ νεῶς
πρῶρας ἐχούσης
to Apoll. *Rhod.* i
πρῶρου σκάφους
pides, however, pla
Iphig. in Aul. 232*

χρυσταῖς δ' εἰ
κατ' ἄκρα Νηρῆδες εἰς
πρόμναις σῆμ' Ἀχῶν

Ibid. 263:

πρόμνας σῆμα ταν
τὸν πῆρουκον

So also *Ib.* 240; and
τοῖς δὲ Κάδμος ἦν χρύς
εἰμφὶ ναῶν κόρυμβ

where the same pl
meant, though the
strict the word *κόρυμ*
tions of the prow, as
λᾶστα. See *Etymol.*
The poets, however,
have adhered very ri

clea, strode the deck in high spirits³. Having disposed of his cargo of wheat to advantage, he had freighted the ship with oil, and sundry productions of Attic industry, which he intended for the markets of Pontus. But he designed first to steer for Chios, to complete his cargo with wine, and then to touch at Andros to land some passengers, and to take in water, for which that rocky island was famed. He was ruminating over his fortunate adventure, and

from the Scholion on the *Acharn.* 521 : Παλλάδια δὲ ἐν ταῖς πρώραις τῶν τριήρων ἢ ἀγάλματα τινα ξύλινα τῆς Ἀθηναῖς καθιδρυμένα, ὧν ἐπεμελοῦντο μέλλοντες πλεῖν. Thus we have Ἀττικὸν σημεῖον, Polyæn. *Strateg.* iii. 11, 11; and Περσικὰ σημεῖα, *Ib.* viii. 53, 1. In the second place this universally used ἐπίσημον was on the after part of the ship, though the scholiast just cited asserts the contrary. But surely the poet is as good an authority as the scholiast, who most likely was under a misapprehension; for, besides this general σημεῖον, which was a national distinction, there was doubtless in the fore-part of each ship a special device, by means of which the individual ships might be distinguished, and this was properly the παράσημον. At least this was more particularly the case with all private ships, all of which would not perhaps have the state-symbol also. From this παράσημον the ship derived its name. Lucian, *Navig.* 5 : καταντικρὺ δὲ ἀνάλογον ἢ πρώτη ὑπερβέβηκεν ἐς τὸ πρόσω μηχανομένη, τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὸν τῆς νεῆς θεὸν ἔχουσα, τὴν Ἰσιν ἑκατέρωθεν. Thus in the bas-relief referred to in Note 4, a helmeted Minerva appears on the πρώτη as a παράσημον. With this compare Ovid, *Trist.* i. 10, 1. That every ship had its proper name, is expressly stated by Palæph. 29 : ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τῷ πλοίῳ Πήγασος, εἰ καὶ νῦν ἕκαστον τῶν πλοίων ὄνομα ἔχει. This name was written upon the

ship, Poll. i. 86 : τὸ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὸ πρῶτον ἀκροστόλιον ἢ πτυχις ὀνομάζεται, καὶ ὀφθαλμός, ὅπου καὶ τοῦνομα τῆς νεῆς ἐπιγράφουσι. Also Eustath. *ad Iliad.* xiv. 717 : πτυχή δέ ἐστιν, ὅπου οἱ τε ὀφθαλμοὶ ζωγραφοῦνται καὶ τὸ τῆς νεῆς ὄνομα ἐπιγράφεται. See also Hippocr. *Epist.* iii. p. 786; and Palæph. 30 : ἐγγράπτο δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλοίου "ἱπποὶ ὑπόπτεροι." Such an inscription may have often served without any further παράσημον.

Fritzsche infers from Aristoph. *Ran.* 48, that the names of living persons were given to ships; but perhaps the poet only uses the two-fold meaning of ἐπιβατεύειν, to give an unexpected turn to the dialogue. *Ran.* 1483, has also been adduced, though with very little probability, to shew there were ships which bore the names of Cleocritos and Cinesias. The thing is not impossible in itself, even though no instance could be adduced; but that triremes were ever named after private individuals does not appear probable.

³ The ships of the ναύκληροι were partly decked, partly not. Antipho, *de Cæde Herod.* p. 715 : ἐν ᾧ μὲν γὰρ ἐπλόμεν, ἀστέγαστον ἦν τὸ πλοῖον, εἰς δὲ μετέβημεν, ἐστεγασμένον. τοῦ δὲ ὑποῦ ἔνεκα ταῦτ' ἦν. Cf. Alciph. *Epist.* i. 12. The passengers resorted mostly to the deck, κατὰ-στρωμα, which is opposed to the κοίλη ναῦς. Herod. iii. 118, 119; Lucian, *Navig.* 5.

... to the monotonous chaunt of the crew

Aft, near the *cheniscos*⁴, where stood the grasped the rudder with practised hand, v men, who complacently surveyed the vessel, side was a third, who seemed in less cheer appeared to gaze regretfully at the city which receding from his view. 'A noble bark,' exclaimed, 'it must be a quarter of a stadium in length' told, it draws a depth of water equal to its beam. Look at that giant mast, that mighty sail, and arrangement of the rigging! And yet it moves as readily as a fishing-boat.' 'At any rate,' the person thus addressed, 'we have done better

⁴ The *χηνίσκος*, properly a *προτομή χηνός*, or goose-neck, is often mentioned as a part of the ship, but it is doubtful whereabouts it was. The *Etymol. M.* says: *χηνίσκος τὸ τῆς πρώρας μέρος, οὗ ἀπάρτηνται αἱ ἀγκυραὶ, ὃ καὶ τῆς τρύπιδος ἐστὶν ἀρχή. εἰσι δ' οἱ μᾶλλον τὸ τῆς πρύμνης ἔφασσαν ἄκρον, πρὸς δ' ἐπιχειρῶνται αἱ ἐπιπλίδες τῆς νεώε.* In several ancient seals it is distinctly placed in the fore, in others in the after part of the vessel.

stath. ad Iliad. vii. 84 408; see also Plate 'Agyagfalva's *Wand Pompeii*, which represents a relief from Pompeii. *χηνίσκος* is conspicuous in the stern. As in the above-cited passage it was gilt, as well as the mast, which, however, it is not founded. See also *Lu* 47.

few days, than if we had trusted our lives to that rickety craft of the Byzantine. . The owner, too, is more to my taste ; his whole bearing inspires confidence ; and at sea, you know, it makes all the difference, whether you are in the hands of an honest man, or of a rogue who in the hour of danger looks only to his own safety, and leaves the rest to shift for themselves.' ' I take him to be honest enough,' said the first ; ' but in any exigency, I should not make so sure of his constancy. Why at such a period even the firm ties of friendship will relax ; in the desire of self-preservation every other consideration is lost, and the instinctive love of life overwhelms all feeling for another⁶.' ' After all,' interposed the third, who had joined the speakers, ' I am a mere fool for exposing myself so needlessly to the dangers and privations of a voyage. You, Charicles, have a considerable sum to receive in Andros ; and you, Ctesiphon, intend to sell an estate of yours at Chios⁷ ; whilst I have been mad enough to go with you, for no earthly purpose, but just to see the vintage of the noble Chian wine, (which I should do far better to drink quietly at home at Athens ;) and here I am rolling about on this ship till I positively feel quite queer, instead of rocking lovingly and merrily on the knee of my Antiphile. And, what is worse than all, you have dawdled and dawdled, till we shall certainly arrive too late for the vintage.' ' Be easy on that score, Nausicrates,' answered Charicles with a smile ; ' with this wind we can make Andros before night-fall⁸ : to-morrow you will be at Chios, and in ten or twelve days, again, perhaps, embrace your Antiphile.'

Meanwhile the Triton glided swiftly along the coast of

⁶ From Eugène Sue's *Salaman-der*: cf. Achill. Tat. iii. 3.

⁷ See Terent. *Phorm.* iv. 3, 75.

⁸ From what Bründsted says of his passage to Ceos, it must have been

easy to go from Athens to Andros in a day. In Homer's time only four days were required from Lesbos to the Peloponnese. *Odyss.* iii. 180:

τέταρτον ἡμᾶρ ἔην, δὲ ἐν Ἀργεῖ νῆας εἶσας
Τυδείδην ἔταρος Διομήδεος ἰκτροδάμοιο
στῆσαν.

exquisite nicety. This however would not do too hot for him, so the couch had to be situated where the sail afforded a shade⁹. He succeeded in selecting the spot where he could breakfast with the least possible annoyance.

The passengers were so occupied in amuse-
ment, that the vessel's speed gradually dim-
inished their perceiving it. The breeze, at first soft
by degrees, and the hour of noon brought
The sail hung loosely from the mast, and
they had to labour harder with the oar. A pale storm
to the south-east, whose breadth kept gradu-
ally increasing made the practised steersman uneasy. 'Watch
the storm,' said he to the owner, who had ap-
parently no objection to the vessel's speed. 'let us
steer for Ceos, and take refuge in its bay.'
The Heracleote thought otherwise. 'There is no
need to fear,' said he, 'that's all; and, before it comes, we
shall have got to Andros. Put your helm to larboard
close along Euboea, so that in case of accident
you may be within reach of the havens of Carystos or Geo-
rgetown. We have no fear.' The steersman shook his head
and the event too soon proved the truth of his
prediction. The storm gathered with an incredible rapidity
and the vessel was overtaken by it.

ffs broke the calm, and heralded the coming

helmsman altered the ship's course, steering right Eubœa; but it was too late. With mad fury cane burst forth; the waves upheaved themselves in strife, and black clouds turned the bright day twilight broken only by the fitful gleam of the athwart the sky¹⁰. In vain did the sailors attempt the canvass. On one side only they succeeded¹¹; but increased the danger, for the tempest pounced on the other portion of the sheet, and nearly vessel on her beam-ends.

er and wilder blew the gale; the waves rose high; at one moment the Triton sank into the e next she was in the clouds. The creaking of the snapping of the rigging, the shouts of the lamentations of the women who were on board, all the horrors of the scene. The rain poured down rrents that nothing could be seen; no one knew y the vessel was being hurried; and all thought next second she would strike upon a rock. At just fiercer than the rest seized the mast, which nd broke. 'She's sprung a leak,' cried several over with the cargo!' 'Open the oil-jars,' ex-voice above the rest, 'and smooth the sea¹².' A ands forthwith set to work to lighten the ship:

hole description of the taken from Achill. Tat.

Tat. *supra*. καὶ ὁ κυ-
μαίνευσιν ἐκέλευε τὴν κε-
πουδῇ περιήγον οἱ ναῦ-
τὴν ὀθούνην ἐπὶ θάτερα
ἄνω τοῦ κέρως βία (τὸ
σφοδρότερον ἐμπροσθεν
ἐπέτρεπεν), πῇ δὲ πρὸς
ου, φυλάττοντες τοῦ
ρου, καθ' ὃ συνέβαινε

οὐριον εἶναι τῇ περιαγωγῇ τὸ πνεῦμα.

The whole passage, however, is some-
what obscure, and seems to suppose
a disposition of the sails and yards, to
which we are unaccustomed. In the
relief above referred to, the yards, and
apparently the sails also, seem to con-
sist of two portions, united by thongs
or ropes.

¹² The belief that the sea might
be calmed by pouring oil upon it, is
of ancient date. Plutarch, *Quest*.

helmsman and crew, who immediately broke the rope¹³.

A fierce struggle now arose between those the passengers left on board the ship, who with oars and poles, trying to prevent the rope, which would destroy their last faint hope, whilst the others as obstinately defended the boat that the boat would sink, if more got into the powerful hand of Ctesiphon had grasped drawing the boat close alongside the Trireme. Charicles,' cried he; and then leapt after hanging with him the trembling Nausicrates. No one to follow, but few only succeeded; most of them fell into the sea. Severed by axes, the rope parted way, and the boat parted from the ship and the curses of those left behind. Too soon were

Nat. 12, discusses the question: διὰ τί τῆς θαλάττης ἐλαίῳ καταβράινομένη γίνεται καταφάνεια καὶ γαλήνη;

¹³ Achill. Tat. iii. 3: Τέλος δ' ὁ κυβερνήτης ἀπεικὼν ῥίπτει μὲν τὰ πηδάλια ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν, ἀφίησι δὲ τὸ σκάφος τῇ θαλάσῃ καὶ εὐτρεπίζει

ἑώρακεσαν ἐφέλκον
δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐφορκίδ
ἐπέτρεπον κ.τ.λ.
τῆς νεῶς νεανίσκο
νεται τοῦ κάλως
ἐφορκίδα καὶ ἦν ἐ
φους. ἡὐτρεπίζεται
εἰ πελάσσει. πηδάλ

to be accomplished; for at the very moment when the Triton sank into her watery grave, and the last cry of agony burst from the perishing souls on board, a giant billow overwhelmed the skiff itself, and buried in the waves all but a few who clutched desperately at pieces of wreck which floated round them.

Pallidly rose the sun on the succeeding morn, throwing a dim and melancholy light over the devastations of the previous day, which were but too plainly indicated by the stranded wreck, and the corpses of the drowned mariners which had been cast on shore. The storm had ceased, although the swell had not yet subsided, and the breakers still foamed furiously on the rocky strand of Eubœa¹⁴. In a tiny bay, sheltered from the more savage violence of the waves by projecting rocks, lay, high up on the beach, what seemed to be the lifeless body of a young man. Beside it knelt a slave, who was endeavouring to restore animation to the stiffened limbs, by diligent chafing and rubbing. He now and then would cast a glance at the pale and beautiful countenance, and wipe away the foam and salt-water that trickled down on it from the fair-coloured locks.

While he was thus engaged, a third figure appeared on the cliffs above. To judge from his apparel, his net and basket, he was a slave, despatched to secure the finny requisites for his master's breakfast, and at the same time he was apparently spying about, on his own account, for any chance booty that the storm of yesterday might have thrown in his way¹⁵. On perceiving the group

¹⁴ Τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας was that part of the coast of Eubœa which reached from Chalcis to Geræstos. Strabo, x. 1: ὅτι τῆς Εὐβοίας τὰ Κοῖλα λέγουσι τὰ μεταξὺ Αὐλίδος καὶ τῶν περὶ Γεραιστὸν τόπων. It was a very dangerous spot for shipping.

Dio Chrysost. Or. vii. p. 222: καὶ ταῦτ', εἶπεν, ἵστί τὰ Κοῖλα τῆς Εὐβοίας, ὅπου κατενεχθεῖσα ναῦς οὐκ ἀνέτι σωθεῖη. σπανίως δὲ σώζονται καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τινές.

¹⁵ The *Rudens* of Plautus served

try and revive him.' 'Blockhead!' said
'and so you throw away your chance of
He sleeps sound enough; let him alone;
self whither you will. To-day you save
morrow, perhaps, you will wear chain and
I say. You will never have such a chance
would advise,' answered the slave, 'and
more; but may Zeus forbend that I should
whom I played with when we were boys, at
a foreign land. Besides, 'tis better to live
generous master, than, with the empty net
to drag on a miserable life. But now, no
your master, perhaps, lives close at hand
stadium hence,' replied the fisherman; 'his
is just behind the cliff.' 'Run then,' cried the
and say that a noble Athenian has been
pray him to send hither wine and dry gar-
haste, and you shall be richly rewarded for
The fisherman shook his head; but setting
and basket, he disappeared.

The slave redoubled his exertions, and
he fancied, began to re-assume something of
life. He next applied his cheek to the post
laying his hand at the same time on the

ry; 'and I feel his heart still beats, feebly though it
Snatching up a handful of wild thyme, he rubbed it
y in his hands, and held it before the face. The
moved, and for a moment opened his eyes, but closed
again. 'Charicles!' cried the honest slave, 'awake!'
other again unclosed his eyelids, and attempted to
himself. 'Manes,' said he with feeble accents, 'is it

Where are we?' 'Safe,' answered the slave, 'and
ry land.' 'And Ctesiphon?' enquired his master.
s turned away his face, and was silent. 'Poor Ctesi-
! Poor Nausicrates!' sobbed the youth, the tears
ug from his eyes. 'May be, they are also saved,'
posed the slave; 'who knows? As I was hauling you
the board, which brought us hither, I saw them
hold of a fragment of the stern, big enough to bear
both.' 'You have saved my life, Manes,' said Cha-
, taking hold of his attendant's hand; 'the moment
turn to Athens you shall be free.' 'Yet allow me to
in in your house,' replied the faithful domestic. 'But
pray, be mindful of yourself. Let me lead you where
un has warmed the air.'

While the youth, assisted by Manes, was endeavouring
se, the fisherman returned. He brought with him
and bread in a basket, and was followed by two other
s with blankets and dry clothes. On hearing of the
ter, the kind-hearted owner of the neighbouring villa
ordered the survivors to be conveyed to his abode,
a a bath was being prepared with all speed. The
dry clothing, and the genial heat of the wine soon
ad new strength and animation into the chilled limbs
aricles; but he sat silent and abstracted, recalling to
elf the scene of yesterday, and sick at heart with the
f his dearest friend on earth.

Manes, reinvigorated by his share of the dry clothing
restoratives, had mounted the projecting cliff, and was
g sea-ward over the still agitated waters. His eye
ne suddenly riveted on a dark object, that seemed

CHARICLES.

[SCENE VII.]

lly nearing the shore, urged onward by the current. ed the fisherman, and asked him what it was. 'A f timber,' replied the man; 'belike a bit of your 'No such thing,' retorted Manes, who could now more plainly the outline of the object; 'it is a boat. no fishermen have ventured out in such weather?' oseidon, they would be mad, an' they had; may be ne fishing boat that the storm has driven out to sea.' o!' cried Manes, 'there is somebody aboard of her, hard in to shore.' The skiff drew nearer, and three became plainly distinguishable on board. Two of ad oars; the third sat between them doing nothing. e moment Charicles, attracted by the conversation, ched the speakers. As he gazed fixedly at the ing skiff, a presentiment came over him, which he dared confess even to himself. And now the boat d to land; but as it approached, it was repeatedly back again by the violence of the surf, till at last a ous wave carried the frail bark far better than the

the same, and thus had they endured through the horrors of the night, in momentary danger of being swept off and engulfed by every wave. As morning dawned, Ctesiphon espied, floating not far off, an empty fishing skiff, which had, probably, been loosened from its moorings by the fury of the tempest, and thus carried out to sea. 'A God-send for our rescue!' he cried, as he dashed into the sea, gallantly cleaving the flood with his brawny arms. The steersman followed his example, and they both reached the skiff in safety, and managed to assist Nausicrates, whose strength was utterly exhausted, in getting aboard. At first they tried to reach the coast of Attica, but were forced to abandon the attempt; so resigning themselves to the current, they were carried by it to the Eubœan coast, where, to their astonishment and delight, they found the friend whom they supposed had perished; and they soon received, under a hospitable roof, that attention which their exhausted frames required.

They spent two days at the country-house in recruiting; and then, the weather having cleared, and the clouds, which had enveloped the peaks of Eubœa¹⁷, being dissipated, the three friends debated as to what was next to be done. 'Carystos is not far hence,' said Ctesiphon; 'we had best take ship there, and return at once to Athens.' 'Not for worlds!' exclaimed Nausicrates; 'I'll not tempt the forbearance of Poseidon a second time. I shall take the shortest route to Athens, and once there, catch me ever again venturing one foot out to sea; if I do, I give Poseidon leave to treat me as he just now threatened to do¹⁸. But how can I possibly travel to Athens in such a plight as this? I have lost all my baggage, besides two

¹⁷ Dio Chrysost. *supra*: βουλοί-
μην δ' ἂν ἐγώ γε καὶ μετὰ πέντε ἡμέ-
ραι λῆξαι τὸν ἀνεμὸν· ἀλλὰ οὐ ρᾶδιον,
εἶπεν, ὅταν οὕτω πιεσθῇ τὰ ἄκρα

τῆς Εὐβοίας ὑπὸ τῶν νεφῶν, ὥς γε
νῦν κατελημμένα ὄρη.

¹⁸ Plant. *Most.* ii. 2, 1.

We will make use of him ; he shall provide suits, and then we will start for home.'

This proposal was agreed to ; and though he had his laugh at the timidity of the Nausicrates, he allowed that under existing circumstances it would be insane to think of continuing. Their amiable host provided them with provisions by mules, and he himself accompanied them on horseback²⁰.

Nausicrates' scheme was doomed to be discovered that his friend was from home for his health to the medicinal spa of Aegae about a day's journey ; and that a fortnight before he returned. Charicles and Ctesiphon crossing over at once to the main-land ; Charicles was of a different opinion. 'I have often,' my friend talk with rapture of the delightfulness at these baths ; and now that we are so near, unpardonable not to pay them a visit. The rings are of great value ; I will pawn them and thus procure a scanty wardrobe ; and then

²⁰ Ἀσπασίνιος. Aristoph. *Ran.* | Plut. 450 :
204.

my friend at the spa.' He expatiated so alluringly on the pleasures of the spot, that they actually decided on proceeding thither—and in truth, *Ædepsos*²² was a place that well merited even a more distant pilgrimage. Besides its many natural beauties, which made it a charming place of residence, the celebrity of the waters had caused the erection of several handsome dwelling-houses and other edifices. The neighbourhood abounded in game of all sorts, and the variety of choice fish caught in the deep limpid bays of the coast, was well worthy of the table of the most fastidious epicure. Many resorted to the place, not merely from Eubœa, but from the main-land; and whilst some came to reap benefit from the waters, the sole object of others was the pleasant society and the luxurious mode of life. The height of the season was towards the end of spring; but, though autumn was now beginning, there was no lack of visitors.

The next morning found the three friends already on their road to *Ædepsos*. Although no admirer of pedestrian excursions, yet on this occasion Nausicrates was very content to overlook the fatigue of such a manner of travelling, in the feeling of security he derived from being again on *terra firma*, and in the anticipation of the expected pleasures of the far-famed spot.

²² This may perhaps be an anachronism. No evidence has been adduced to shew that at so early a period any one of the numerous spas of Greece was able to attract from a distance those who were in pursuit of health or of amusement. Afterwards, however, *Ædepsos* became quite a Grecian Balm. Plutarch, *Sympos.* iv. 4, gives the following account of it: Τῆς Εὐβοίας ὁ Αἰδηψος, οὗ τὰ θερμὰ, χωρίον ἐστὶν αὐτοφυνὲς πολλὰ πρὸς ἡδοναίς ἔχον ἐλευθερίου, καὶ κατεσκευασμένον οἰκῆσσι καὶ διαίταις, κωὸν οἰκητήριον ἀποδείκνυται τῆς

Ἑλλάδος, κ. τ. λ. In later times, indeed, numerous *thermæ* are mentioned: *Λεβεδίοις δὲ τὰ λουτρά ἐν τῇ γῇ θαῦμα αἰνθρώποις ὁμοῦ καὶ ὠφέλεια γίνεται.* "Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τηίοις ἐπὶ τῇ ἄκρᾳ λουτρά τῇ Μακρίᾳ, κ. τ. λ. Pausan. vii. 5, 5. Thus too we read of one in Elis: *λουόμενοι δὲ ἐν τῇ πηγῇ καμάτων τέ ἐστι καὶ ἀλγυμάτων παντοίων λάματα.* Pausan. vi. 22, 4. Warm springs were in an especial manner held sacred, as appears from Aristotle, *Probl.* xxiv. 19, where he discusses the question: *Διὰ τί τὰ θερμὰ λουτρά ιερὰ;*

was nearly noon, when they encountered a litter by four slaves²³. Four stalwart bearers followed to relieve the others from time to time; and the appearance of the equipage proclaimed its owner to be a person of considerable wealth. Probably it was some one who had wooed in vain the healing Nymphs of Epheesus; for the curtains on both sides of the litter were drawn, and the bearers strode cautiously along, for fear of shaking, or causing any concussion.

Passing the *cortège*, our travellers kept on their road, skirted a brook, overgrown with thickets of undergrowth. They had not gone far, when they heard female voices close at hand, in the direction of the brook, accom-

use of litters was probably introduced from Asia into Greece at an early period, although the Greeks could most likely divest this mode of conveyance of much of the barbarism attached to it in the East.

de Myst. p. 30. The regular litters, like those of the Romans, (see *Gallus*, p. 341, seq.,) were constructed for a recumbent posture, and were covered in, as appears from the passage just quoted from Suidas. There were also

panied by much merriment and laughter. Approaching the spot, they beheld through a break in the bushes a most fascinating spectacle. By the margin of the brook sat a blooming fair one, dabbling with her feet in the brawling stream, and behind her a female slave held a parasol³⁴ to

³⁴ A parasol, *σκιᾶδειον*, was an indispensable article to a Grecian, or at least to an Athenian lady; it was usually carried by a female slave; but on festivals this service was performed by the daughters of the Metœci. So in Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 821, the

chorus of women taunt the men who had thrown away their *σκιᾶδειον*, the shield. These parasols occur frequently on vases. The accompanying figure is taken from Millin, *Peintures de Vases Antiques*, ii. pl. 70. See also, Paciandî *de umbella gestations*.



her delicate form from the scorching rays; whilst of more tender age knelt on the ground, and joked satially with her mistress. A little way off a male- as packing up the breakfast things, which had been among the tall grass²⁵; and on the road close by carriage drawn by mules²⁶, the driver of which was

sol much resembled ours, constructed of moveable ribs, could be put up or down as

άρ σου, νῆ Δι', ἐξεπετάναντο,
βειον, καὶ πάλιν ἐνέηγετο.

Equit. 1347, on which the observes: ἐκτείνεται δὲ καὶ ται πρὸν τὸν κατεπείγοντα ff. *Ovid, Art. Am.* ii. 209:

listenta suis umbracula virgis.

re occasionally carried by this was considered a mark
Aristoph. *Aves* 1507.

terms ζευγος and ὄχημα being mostly employed. The use of carriages was very limited, and he who used one in the city and environs was always set down as effeminate or proud. So Demosth. *adv. Phænipp.* p. 1046: ἀποδόμενος τὸν πολεμιστήριον ἵππον καταβέβηκεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἵππων καὶ ἀντ' ἐκείνου ὄχημα αὐτῷ τηλικούτος ὢν ἐώνηται, ἵνα μὴ πέζῃ πορεύηται. τοσαύτης τρυφῆς μεστός οὗτός ἐστι. This explains the anecdote in Diog. Laert. iv. 3: Speusippos, while going to the Academy in a carriage, met Dioge-

conversing with a second slave, whose dress bespoke him to be a eunuch.

The trio stood enchanted, their eyes fixed on the sporting maidens, who, casting aside the irksome trammels of stiffness and formality, were giving loose to the exuberance of their spirits. The younger female attendant, who appeared to be regarded rather as a companion than a slave, now brought a handful of flowers, which she had just culled, and as she showered them into the lap of her mistress, whispered something in her ear, which might not be heard even by the bushes around. In pretended wrath, the lady seized her gold-embroidered shoe, to strike her offending domestic; but in the attempt it slipped from her hand, and flew into the brook.

The maidens all set up a scream, when Charicles, with rash resolve, dashed down, and rescued the floating shoe. The women screamed louder than ever, and assayed to flee; but in the twinkling of an eye Charicles gallantly handed the slipper to the damsel, who rose blushing and confounded, and looked around, but in vain, for her veil

x. 51, must suffice. Strangely enough, he speaks as if carriages were only used early in the morning: ἀλλ' εἰ μὲν αἰωρήσει τῇ δι' ὀχημάτων χρῶτό τις περὶ τὴν ἑω, θέρουσι ὄντος, πρὶν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον περιφλέγειν, τὰ εἶδη τῶν ὀχημάτων ἰστέον, εἴτε ἄρματα, εἴτε ὄχους, εἴτε ἀμάξας, εἴτε λαμπήνας αὐτὰ προσήκει καλεῖν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτομα ἢ λαμπήνη ἐν τῇ Σοφοκλέους *Ναυσικάα* καὶ ἐν τοῖς *Μενάνδρου* *Ἀλυσσιν*. To these names may be added *ἄρμα*, *ἀπήνη*, and *ὄχημα*; but these are either general terms, or are used to denote carriages not in ordinary use, and this may also be said of the Lacedæmonian *κάναθρον*. Müller, *Dorians*, ii. p. 292. We learn also that carriages were adapted partly for sitting, and partly for lying down in; they were partially covered; and

were sometimes on two, sometimes on four wheels. Poll. x. 52: τὰ δὲ ἐν-θρόνια, τὰ δὲ εἰς τὸ κατακλίνειν ἐνεύ-ναια, τὰ δὲ κατὰστεγα, καὶ στε-γαστὰ, καὶ καμάραι· οὕτω γὰρ ὠνό-μασεν Ἡρόδοτος· καὶ Ξενοφῶν δὲ ἐν τῇ *Παιδείᾳ* τὸ ἐστεγασμένον μέρος τῆς ἀμάξης ὑποσημαίνων ἔφη, καὶ κατέκλιναν καὶ κατεκάλυψαν τὴν σκηνὴν· καὶ τὰ μὲν τετράκυκλα, τὰ δὲ δίκυκλα. Mules were frequently used: on them was placed an easy saddle with a back to it, *ἀστράβη*, (*clitella*), but this word came afterwards to be used for the beast itself. Demosth. in *Mid.* p. 558: ἐπ' ἀστρά-βης ὀχοῦμενος ἐξ Ἀργούρας τῆς Εὐ-βολίας. With this compare *Lysias*, *de Inval.* p. 747: εἰ γὰρ ἐκεκτὴ μὴν οὐσίαν, ἐπ' ἀστράβης ἂν ἐχούμεν, and *Machon*, ap. *Athen.* xiii. p. 582.

CHARICLES.

[SCENE VII.]

gentle, which had been left behind at the spot where
d breakfasted. Charicles too felt no little emotion;
ied that he had never in his existence beheld a form
vely, or more fascinating features. The sparkling
ey of her eyes was mingled with a look of soft
; a profusion of light hair descended on her neck
riant ringlets, while the finely-pencilled arch of the
ws was of a jetty black: in the delicate whiteness
cheeks rose a soft tinge of natural vermilion; the
was like a rose-bud, just on the point of unfolding
y chalice²⁷; and her whole person possessed an
ble charm of youthful loveliness. For a few mo-
only was the happy Charicles permitted to revel in
templation of such surpassing beauties; the cries of
ale-slaves had summoned the male-attendants, and
ales fled faster than ever, on seeing Nausicrates
esiphon also approach. Many a longing lingering
d Charicles cast after the disappearing carriage,
e regretted he could not follow.

The friends continued their journey; but Charicles had turned silent and thoughtful, and the banter of his companions was manifestly displeasing to him. The attractions, also, of the baths were quite lost upon him, and in spite of their Chalcian host's kind endeavours to make their stay as agreeable as possible, Charicles would only stop a day or two, and incessantly urged his friends to return, since pressing business called him to Athens. At length Nausicrates yielded to his solicitations, though much against his inclination, since he was successfully endeavouring to console himself for his recent calamities with the pleasures the place afforded. 'Pressing business, no doubt!' he would say snappishly to Charicles; 'that fair apparition is the real magnet²⁹ of attraction to Athens. But what's the good! she is married, you know.' The colour that suffused the cheek of Charicles shewed that Nausicrates was right in his conjecture; still as the other persisted that he must be in Athens by a certain day, Nausicrates was at last obliged to yield the point.

attributed to the frequent survey of beautiful statues, and even Empedocles noticed the supposed fact. Plutarch, *de Plac. Philos.* v. 12: 'Εμπεδοκλῆς τῇ κατὰ τὴν σύλληψιν φαντασίᾳ τῆς γυναικὸς μορφοῦσθαι τὰ βρέφη. πολλάκις γὰρ εἰκότων καὶ ἀνδριάντων ἡράσθησαν γυναῖκες, καὶ ὅμοια τοῖς τε ἀπέτεκον. On this hinges the whole plot in Hellodor. *Æthiop.* iv. 8, where the queen of the Æthiopians declares that she has brought forth a white child, because she had the image of Hesione before her. See Galen. *Hist. Phil.* xix. p. 329. The same author states elsewhere: ἡμοὶ δὲ καὶ λόγος τις ἀρχαῖος ἐμύνησεν, ὅτι τῶν ἀμόρφων τις δυνατὸν εὐμορφον θέλων γεννῆσαι ναῖδα, ἐποίησε γράψαι ἐν πλατεῖ ξύλῳ εὐεῖδὲς ἄλλο παιδίον καὶ ἔλεγε τῇ γυναικὶ συμπελακόμενος ἐκείνῃ τῇ τύπῃ τῆς γρα-

φῆς ἐμβλέπειν. ἡ δὲ ἀτενὲς βλέπουσα καὶ ὡς ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὅλον τὸν νοῦν ἔχουσα, οὐχὶ τῷ γεννήσαντι, ἀλλὰ τῷ γεγραμμένῳ ὁμοίως ἀπέτεκε τὸ παιδίον. *De Therica*, xiv. p. 254. The reader may attach what credit he chooses to Oppian, *Cyneg.* i. 361, where it is stated that the Lacedæmonians placed before their pregnant ladies, pictures representing

Νιόβα καὶ Νάρκισσον, ὁμοειδέων δ' Ὑάκινθον.

²⁹ The comparison of a fascinating woman with a magnet, λίθος 'Ηρακλεία, or Μαγνήτις, occurs in classic writers. Lucian, *Imag.* 1: εἰ δὲ κάκεινῃ προσβλέψῃς σε, τίς ἔσται μηχανὴ ἀποστῆναι αὐτῆς. ἀπάξει γὰρ σε ἀναδυσσάμενη, ἐνθα ἂν ἐθέλῃ, ὕπερ καὶ ἡ λίθος ἢ 'Ηρακλεία δρᾷ τὸν σίδηρον. Cf. Achill. *Tat.* i. 17.

SCENE THE EIGHTH.

THE INVALID.

It was now two months since Charicles had returned to Athens; but that peace of mind and cheerfulness which accompanied him on board the Triton, had not been the result of his return. His property had, by Phorion's advice, been securely and advantageously invested; a house had been purchased, and his abode fitted up with every convenience. The walls and ceilings of the chambers and saloons were decorated in a light and cheerful style, so that in the opinion of every body it was an excellent and pleasant abode. The possessor alone was dissatisfied, and lonely in the empty, cheerless rooms. But even in the convivial circle he was not happy. The turmoil of the market-place was irksome, and the spirit-stirring exercises of the Gymnasium disturbed his reveries: his highest

newly-furnished dwelling. Among other things the women's apartments had not been omitted; and, in fact, matters almost looked as if a bride were daily expected at the house. 'You've done quite right, my friend,' was Phorion's remark; 'but this is not enough. Seek out now a discreet housewife, to preserve thee from the follies of youth, and to bring a blessing on thy house withal. Choose for thyself a damsel of equal rank, not dowerless, for then she will not assume her due position in the household²; nor yet a great heiress, or thine own independence will be bartered for her portion. You are nearly a stranger in this city, so let me woo for you. Pasias, my brother's son, has a daughter, a comely child, both modest and thrifty; if you desire it, I will solicit her hand for you.' Charicles made no answer to this proposal; for although he felt that Phorion was right, and that a happy marriage would be the best means of driving from his heart the image of the fair unknown, yet he could not endure the idea of uniting himself for life with a girl of whom he knew nothing. He had communicated Phorion's plan to his friend Ctesiphon, who, on hearing it, betrayed an extraordinary emotion. He answered so evasively that Charicles could not comprehend the meaning of his behaviour. On the other hand, he placed entire confidence in the rectitude of Phorion's intentions, and, by entertaining the offer, he would have an opportunity of displaying his gratitude to his benefactor.

Occupied with such thoughts as these, he was one evening crossing the market-place, toward sunset, on his way to the *Cerameicos*, when he felt himself pulled by the cloak. He turned round, and before him stood an aged female-slave, making gestures, expressive partly of alarm, partly of delight. 'Charicles!' she cried, 'Oh dearest Charicles, is it really you?' He now recognised the crone. It was Manto, the nurse of his childhood, who was sick

² Menandr. *Sent. Sing.* 371 :
 γυνήν δ' ἀνθρώπου οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν.

Comp. Excursus on *The Women*.

Charinos fled from Athens, and so had remained with the greater number of the slaves. She nar-
 row a wealthy man, Polycles by name, had purchased
 le of the slaves left by his father, and herself
 the number. 'You know him surely,' she con-
 'he was an intimate friend of your father.' 'I
 er to have heard the name frequently,' replied
 s. 'Ah! and many is the time he has mentioned
 proceeded Manto; 'but he has been laid up for
 onths past with a grievous malady, against which
 easures avail him nothing; while we, poor bodies,
 sound and well'—as she said this, she spat three
 efore her³—'but he'll be right glad, I warrant,

superstitious usage, *πτύειν*
 , had two significations,
 ich may perhaps be traced
 on origin. Firstly, it was
 possible thus to appease
 nce of Nemesis consequent

σητόν ἐκτρεπόμεναι. Καλλίμαχος
Δαίμων, τοὶ κόλποισιν ἐπιπτόνουν
γυναῖκες. Cf. the obscure and corrupt
 passage quoted by Plut. *Symp.* v.
 7, 4. Another instance occurs in
 Lucian, *Navig.* 15, where Lycinus

to hear you are come back.' Hereupon followed a stream of questions, interrupted now by sobs, now by fits of laughter; and Charicles would never have satisfied all her queries, had not she suddenly bethought herself that she had better take home the vegetables which her mistress had sent her out to purchase.

Polycles was, as Manto had stated, a very wealthy man. His country estates, his houses in the city and Piræus, and his numerous slaves, yielded him, with no trouble, a secure income; which, however, was as nothing compared to that which he derived from the ready money lying at the money-changers', or lent out elsewhere, at a high rate of interest. Those who were more intimate with the state of his affairs, were convinced that his property amounted in all to more than fifty talents. He had remained single till his fifty-fifth year, and then, in compliance with his late brother's dying request, he had married his only surviving daughter, Cleobule, a blooming girl of sixteen. But in the midst of the festivity of the marriage-feast, he was attacked with apoplexy, which had been succeeded by tedious and painful illness. No means of relief had been neglected. The veteran family physician, a man of no mean skill, had called in the advice of other medical men, but the resources of their art were exhausted without success:—neither their exertions, nor the tenderness of Cleobule, who nursed the patient like a dutiful daughter, availed to reunite the ruptured threads of his existence. Polycles was not satisfied with applying for aid to the successors of Æsculapius, but tried the efficacy of certain charms; while interpreters of dreams⁴ were con-

imply an elevation of oneself over another.

⁴ The interpretation of dreams was one of the oldest and most natural provinces of *μαρτική*; and from the

time of Homer, who makes dreams the ministers of the gods to incite men to action, down to the latest period of declining heathenism, we find *ὄνειρό-πολοι*, *ὄνειροκρίται*, or *ὄνειρομάντεις* in regulation, and the prophetic

expiations placed in the cross-ways⁵, and aged reputed to have the power of curing diseases by various arts, and magic songs, had been summoned to the temple of Æsculapius⁶, but to no purpose.

the night propitiated by ceremonies. These are denoted in numerous passages: thus in *Pers.* 206, which, though spoken by the speaker, of course alludes to the usages:

μὲν δὲ νυκτὸς εἰσιδεῖν λέγα.
ἐστὴν καὶ χεροῖν καλλιπρόου
ἡγῆς, ξὺν θυηπόλῳ χερὶ
σέστην, ἀποτρόποισι δαίμοσι
ῥύσαι πέλανον, ὡν τέλη τάδε.

knocking with water usually alluded to such an ἀποτροπιασμός.
Aristoph. *Ran.* 1338:

ἀμφίπολοι, λίχνον ἄψατε,
ἐκ ποταμῶν ὀρόσον ἄρατε, θέρ-
ῶδωρ,

tem, quum somnia vera,' (*Hor. Sat.* I. 10, 33) were regarded as the most significant, and to these, therefore, the dream-interpreters confined themselves. Philostr. *Vit. Apollon. Tyan.* ii. 37: οἱ γὰρ ἐξηγηταὶ τῶν ὄψεων, οὓς ὄνειροπόλους οἱ ποιηταὶ καλοῦσιν οὐδ' ἂν ὑποκρίναιτο ὄψιν οὐδενὶ οὐδεμίαν, μὴ πρότερον ἐρόμενοι τὸν καιρὸν ἐν ᾧ εἶδεν. ἂν μὲν γὰρ ἑῶς ἢ καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον ὕπνου, ξυμβάλλονται αὐτὴν, ὥς ὑγιῶς μαντεσομένης τῆς ψυχῆς, κ. τ. λ.

⁵ The belief that sickness and other evils could be got rid of by means of καθάρματα placed at the

st, hearing of a happy cure effected, in a similar case, the baths of Ædepsos, he repaired thither for the fit of the waters; but the Nymphs had refused their cure; and, some days ago, the doctor had declared the patient would never need any herb more, save the *cy¹*.

Next day Charicles was on the point of going out. The previous evening, he had come to the resolution of staying, and he had determined that Phorion should play the tutor for him. At this moment a slave rapped at the door on an errand from Polycles. Weak as the patient was, he had expressed great pleasure on hearing that the doctor of his old friend was in Athens, and now sent to say he wished to see him once more before his end, which he was drawing nigh. Charicles could not refuse a request so passive of so much kindness, and therefore promised to attend. 'It were better to come along with me at once,' said the slave. 'My master is very low now, and his friends have just met at his bed-side.' 'Well, lead on,' said Charicles; not unwilling to put off for a time his intended visit to Phorion; 'lead on, I follow you.'

When they approached the residence of Polycles, they found a slave standing before the open door in order to

blysome temples were accounted more efficacious than others. Thus Æleon took his father to Ægina. *ph. Vesp. 122*:

αυσεν εἰς Αἴγινα· εἶτα συλλαβὼν
αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀσκληπιοῦ.

so many persons sought for aid at the oracle of Amphiaraus, near Argos, and threw a gold or silver into the holy spring. Lastly, near Tralles and Nysa, not far from Acharaca, there was a village where a shrine sacred to Pluto and Persephone, and a *Χαρώνιον ἄντρον*, where sick people were brought.

ψ. xiv. 1, 44: λέγουσι γὰρ δὴ

καὶ τοὺς νοσῶντας καὶ προσέχοντας
ταῖς τῶν θεῶν τούτων θεραπαλαῖς
φοιτᾶν ἐκεῖσε καὶ διαιτᾶσθαι ἐν τῇ
κώμῃ πλησίον τοῦ ἄντρον παρὰ τοῖς
ἐμπείροις τῶν ἱερέων, οἳ ἐγκοιμῶνται
τε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν καὶ διατάττουσιν ἐκ
τῶν ὁνείρων τὰς θεραπείας.

¹ Σέλινον, *arrium*, was especially used for decking tombs. Hence the adage mentioned by Plutarch, *Timol.* 26: ὅτι τὰ μνήματα τῶν νεκρῶν εἰσὶν ἐκ σελίνου ἐπιστεφανοῦν σελίνοις· καὶ παροιμία τις ἐκ τούτου γέγονε, τὸν ἐπισφαλῶς νοσοῦντα, Δεῖσθαι τοῦτον τοῦ σελίνου.

any one from rapping too loudly, and so disturbing
 Charicles entered, and everything that he saw
 rated Manto's testimony concerning the wealth of
 assessor. Even the sick chamber, into which he was
 d after a slight delay, was furnished with peculiar
 ence. Before the door hung a costly piece of
 r, wrought in rich and varied colours, the product
 ylonish industry. The sick man's bed^s was over-

account given of the Ro-
Gallus, (pp. 285-291) will,
 of points, be also applicable
 ecian couch; but the parti-
 ich Pollux gives are more
 nd will, if properly inves-
 make the matter very plain.
 we have simply a bedstead
 et, and there is no mention
 ess of any kind. In later
 o, the beds of the poorer
 re probably of this descrip-
 ead of a mattress, stont

λατα καὶ ἐπὶ κλιντρον... Σοφοκλῆς δ'
 ἐν Ἰχθυεῦταις Σατύροις ἔφη, ἐνὶ λατα
 ξύλα τρίγομφα διατορεῦσαι σε δεῖ-
 ται. Cf. *Id.* vi. 9. Occasionally there
 was a board at the foot as well as at the
 head of the bed, but this was unusual.
 A bedstead of this kind, κλίνη ἀμ-
 φικνέφαλος, is mentioned by Pollux,
 x. 35, as having belonged to Alci-
 biades. This reading, however, seems
 to be corrupt; for besides the unin-
 telligibility of the phrase, the word
 κνέφαλον is totally different from

hung with a purple Milesian coverlet, from under which peeped the ivory feet. Soft party-coloured pillows sup-

Pollux adds, (x. 35) *σὺ δ' ἂν καὶ ἐλεφαντίνην εἴποις καὶ χελώνης*, we must refer the tortoise-shell altogether to a later period; while with regard to the ivory, Timæus, ap. Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 29, mentions as a proof of the excessive luxury prevailing at Agragæ: *ὅτι ἀργυραῖς λεκάνοις καὶ στελεγγίσιν ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐλεφαντίναις κλίναις εἶχον ὅλας*. Cf. Dio Chrysos. *Or.* xiii. 434. The feet of the κλίνη, however, were frequently of more valuable material; ivory, for instance, or the precious metals. So in Poll. x. 34, *ἀργυρόπους*; and Clearchos, ap. Athen. vi. p. 255: *κατέκειτο δι' ὑπερβαλλούσαν τρυφήν ἐπὶ ἀργυρόποδος κλίνῃς*. So also Plato *Com. ap. Id.* ii. p. 48:

*Κῆρ' ἂν κλίναις ἐλεφαντόποσιν καὶ στράμασι πορφυροβάπτοις
ἂν φουκίαις Σαρδανειαῖσιν κοσμησάμενοι
κατέκυνται.*

The κλῖναι captured from the Persians at Platæa were *ἐπίχρυσοι καὶ ἐνέργυροι*. Herodot. ix. 80, 82.

Girths were stretched across the κλίνη to support the mattress. Poll. § 36: *καὶ μὴν τό γε τῇ κλίνῃ ἢ τῷ σκίμποδι ἐντεταμένον, ὥς φέρειν τὰ τυλεῖα, σπαρτία, σπάρτα, τόνους, κειρία τάχα δὲ καὶ σχοῖνος καὶ σχοινία, καὶ κίλοι*. The general name for them was *τόνοι*. Aristoph. *Lysist.* 923. Thus used, they were called *κειρία*: mere cords were used for the commoner kinds of beds. Aristoph. *Avæ*, 814:

*Σπάρτην γὰρ ἂν θέμην ἰνὰ τῇ μὴ πόλει;
οὐδ' ἂν χαμῶνῃ, πάνν γε κειρίαν ἔχων.*

These girths supported a mattress, called *κνέφαλον* or *τυλεῖον*, also *τύλη*. See Lobeck on Phryn. p. 173. This was covered with linen or woollen

ticking, or even with leather. Poll. x. 40, and again, § 39, from Sophocles, *λινοβάφῃ τυλεῖα*. The stuffing, *τὸ ἐμβαλλόμενον πλήρωμα*, δ *γνάφαλον* καλοῦσι (Poll. 41), was usually flocks of wool, and thus *κνέφαλον* (*κνάφαλον*) derives its name from *κναφεύς*. Some vegetable material was also employed, Poll. 41: *ἡ μέντοι καλουμένη λυχνίς ἀνθὴν ἐκαλεῖτο*, though what is meant by *λυχνίς*, is another matter: neither Hesychius nor the *Etymol. M.* give a satisfactory explanation.

On the *ἐπίκλιντρον* lay, as is abundantly manifest from the antiques, a round cushion, *προσκεφάλαιον*, which served the purpose of a pillow; but occasionally there are also a couple of four-cornered ones behind. The expression *ποτίκρανον* (Poll. vi. 9) is identical in meaning. Cf. Theocr. xv. 3. The *προσκεφάλαια ὑπανχένια*, Poll. x. 38, were those employed at night, whereas those used at the *δείπνον* are called *ὑπαγκόνια στρώματα*, because it was the custom to lean upon the elbow. See Poll. vi. 10. In the vase-paintings the covers of these cushions are almost invariably represented as striped, and usually of brilliant colours. They were perhaps stuffed with feathers, though this is uncertain; for the *πτίλωτά* mentioned by Poll. x. 38, appear to mean something different.

Over the *κνέφαλον* were spread coverlets, which bear manifold designations, Poll. vi. 10: *περιστρώματα, ἐπιβλήματα, ἐφεστρίδες, χλαῖναι, ἐπιβόλαια, δάπιδες*, κ. τ. λ., besides the *τάπητες* and *ἀμφιτάπητες*, Id. vi. 9. The latter were shaggy on both sides, the former only on one: *ἀμφιτάπητες οἱ ἐξ ἑκατέρου δασεῖς, τὰ-*

This article afforded occasion for the display of great extravagance: and though the various kinds mentioned by Pollux (x. 42,) belong rather to the *symposium*, still it is certain that magnificent coloured coverlets were used also for the beds. There was, moreover, little or no difference between the couches used for meals, and those employed for sleeping purposes, except that the former were distinguished by the greater elegance of their coverlets and cushions. So a fragment of Phylarchos ap. Athen. iv. p. 142, which refers to Sparta in her degenerate time: *στρωμναί τε (παρεσκευάζοντο) τοῖς μεγέθεσιν οὕτως ἐξησκημέναι πολυτελῶς καὶ τῇ ποιικιλίᾳ διαφόρως, ὥστε τῶν ξένων ἐνίους τῶν παραληφθέντων ὀκνεῖν τὸν ἀγκῶνα ἐπὶ τὰ προσκεφάλαια ἐρεΐδειν*. We may well conceive that the bed would be correspondingly magnificent also. According to Plutarch, *Deo. Or. Vit.* iv. p. 366, Isocrates had a *προσκεφάλαιον κρόκη διάβροχον*. The Asiatics, however, regarded the Greek bed as a very common affair in comparison with their own. Athen. ii. p. 48: *πρῶται δὲ Πέρσαι, ὥς φησιν Ἡρακλείδης, καὶ*

ἰσχυροὶ

Κορίνθου στ,
 mentioned in
ibid. p. 28:

*Καρχηδῶν δάπι-
 λαία.*

Lastly, there is
 in Poll. vi. 10,
 there are men
*λοις τὰ κνέφαι
 ἐν Ἀγχίσει διδ-
 πτιλωτὰ προσ*
 This passage co
Gallus, p. 288.
 They wrapped
 coverlets at ni
 night-dress, *ἐν*
 Poll. x. 123. In
 Plato, *Prot.* p. 3
*δικος ἐτι κατέκει-
 ἐν κωδίοις τισὶ κα-
 πολλοῖς ὥς ἐφει*
 is a sheep-skin,
 are informed by F
σισύρα is partic
 a night-coverlet
Nub. 10:

ἐν πέντε σισύραι
 Cf. *Eccles.* 347;
 933. This also
 (*Eccl.* 421), and h

carpet, and the couch resting upon this, was thus rendered still more easy and elastic⁹. Close by stood a round table, whose three bronze goat's feet sustained its maple top¹⁰. In one corner of the apartment a magnificent tri-

στιβάδα σχοίνων κόρουσ μεστήν, ἢ τοὺς
εὐδαίμονας ἐγγίρει.
καὶ φορμὸν ἔχειν ἀντὶ τέντητος σασπρόν
ἀντὶ δὲ προσκεφαλίου
λίθον εὐμεγέθη πρὸς τῇ κεφαλῇ.

Cf. *Lyrist.* 916, where are mentioned all the parts belonging to an ordinary bed, as κλινίδιον, τόνος, ψίαθος, προσκεφάλαιον, and σισύρα. The frame of the common bed is called σκίμπους, δασκάντης, and κράββατος. Socrates slept on a σκίμπους. Plato, *Protag.* p. 310. The three words are precisely identical in meaning, though κράββατος is rejected by Attic writers. See *Nubes*, 633, and 709; Poll. x. 35; vi. 9; Eustath. *ad Il.* xvi. 608; and *ad Odys.* xxiii. 184: Αἶχος δὲ δῆλον ὅτι τὴν κλίνην λέγει, ἣν οἱ ὕστερον καὶ δασκάντην καὶ σκίμποδα ἔλεγον, ὡς δηλοῖ ὁ γραψάς οὕτως δασκάντης Ἀττικῶς, συνηθέστερον δὲ ὁ σκίμπους, ὁ δὲ κράββατος, φησί, παρ' οὐδενί. Cf. Suid. and Hesych. Gerhard, *Pictures Tarquin.* p. 29. The χαμεύνη or χαμεύνιον was nothing more than a shake-down. Theocr. xiii. 34:

ἐφάπτεται δ' ἐπὶ θύνα κατὰ ζυγὰ δαῖτα
πύσσοντο
δακρυνοὶ, πολλοὶ δὲ μίαν στορέσαντο χα-
μεύνην
λαμπρὴν γὰρ σφιν ἔειπετο μέγας, στιβαθεύσιν
ἴοντα.

On this the Scholiast remarks: στιβάδα δὲ καλοῦσι τὴν ἐξ ἑλῆς χορτώδη κατάστρωσιν. Cf. Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 16: ἐκάθευδον...ἐπὶ στιβάδων, εἰ αὐτοὶ συνεφόρουσαν τοῦ παρὰ τὸν Εὐρώταν πεφυκότος καλάμου. The word φυλλάδες, Poll. vi. 9, probably means the same thing. Afterwards χαμεύνιον signified a bed low, and

near the ground, and was hence opposed to the taller κλίνη, and was that used by the poorest class, being of reeds, bast-mat, or rushes. Liban. *Orat.* xxxvii. ἐν χαμευνίοις δεῖ σε καθεύδειν, ἣν κελεύω, καὶ πάλιν ἐπὶ κλίνῃ, ἣν ἐπιτρέπω. And Poll. x. 43: καὶ μὴν τοῖς μὲν οἰκέταις ἐν κοιτῶνι ἢ προκοιτῶνι, ἢ πρὸ προκοιτῶνος ἀναγκαῖα σκεύη, χαμεύνια καὶ ψίαθοι, καὶ φορμοὶ καὶ σάμαξ. ἔστι δὲ ὁ σάμαξ ῥιψ καλάμου τοῦ καλουμένου σάκτου. μάλιστα δὲ ἐπὶ στρατιᾷς τοῦτ' ἐχρῶντο. The ψίαθος was a mat of this kind; see Poll. x. 175, 178, and vi. 11: and φορμός is perhaps the same thing. Theocr. xxi. 13: νέρθεν τὰς κεφαλὰς φορμῶς βραχύς.

⁹ Xenoph. *Cyrop.* viii. 8, 16: ἐκείνοισι (Μηδοῖσι) γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς εὐνάς οὐ μόνον ἀρκεῖ μαλακῶς ὑποστρώνυσθαι, ἀλλ' ἤδη καὶ τῶν κλινῶν τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ ταπίδων τιθέασιν, ὥπως μὴ ἀντερεῖδῃ τὸ δάπεδον, ἀλλ' ὑπείκωσιν αἱ τάπιδες: and again, *Memor.* ii. 1, 30: οὐ μόνον τὰς στρωμνὰς μαλακάς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κλινὰς καὶ τὰ ὑπόβαθρα ταῖς κλίναις παρασκευάζεις. What the arrangement of the ὑπόβαθρα διαγώνια was, is, however, doubtful.

¹⁰ Maple, σφένδαμνος, seems to have been much prized. Athen. ii. p. 49: Τράπεζαι ἐλεφαντόποδες τῶν ἐπιθημάτων ἐκ τῆς καλουμένης σφενδάμνου πεποιημέναι. Κρατῖνος

Γαυρώσαι δ' ἀναμένουσιν ἃς ἐπηλαϊσμέναι
μείρατος φαῖνται τράπεζαι τρισκελεῖς σφενδάμνιναι.

the snows of life's winter, were arranged and, together with the dazzling white shewed him to be one who studied a person, and avoided in his appearance create an unpleasing impression¹³. His plain *stui*, containing his instruments and table near him, while with his right hand man's pulse.

At his side stood three friends of gaze fixed inquiringly on the physician while at the foot of the bed an aged hands¹⁵, was gazing intently on his dying

Three-footed tables were called *τρίποδες*, but they also bore the name of *τράπεζαι*. Thus we have *τράπεζα τετράπους*, *τρίπους*, and *μονόπους*, Poll. x. 80, and 69. The disk, *ἐπίθημα*, of the *τρίπους*, was usually round, and was sometimes a horizontal section of the whole trunk, like the Roman *orbes*. Poll. § 81: τὸ δ' ἐπίθημα τοῦ τρίποδος κύκλον καὶ ὄλμων προσήκει καλεῖν. Poll. *supra*: ἐν δὲ τοῖς Δημοπράτοις καὶ τράπεζά τις μονόκυκλος πύπρται. See *Galius*, p. 294.

shaped settles *προσκεφάλια*, they were used *de Repub.* i. ἐστεφανωμένοι λαίου τε καὶ xv. 2. See Exc

¹³ After *Gal.* xvii. 2. See *Exc.*

¹⁴ There w

did the leech hold the sick man's wrist, and it go, though without uttering a word that urage hope.

ve who had conducted Charicles now approached, hispered his arrival to the doctor, with whose further announced it to his master. The sick l back the felt-cap¹⁷, which he had drawn down rehead, and extended his right hand to Chaoy to you¹⁸, son of my friend,' he murmured

or of excessive grief—
an antique attitude,
occur in which some-
ind is met with as an
e latter passion. For
resco at Pompeii, re-
lea about to kill her
adagogue stands in the
with his hands in this
e is also a relief, re-
rvant in a like attitude
ed. But to clasp the
e knees, while in a sitt-
mentioned as a token
grief. Böttiger has ad-
tance, Appul. *Metam.*
nplicitis denique pedi-
inter alternas digito-
nes super genua con-
atum coxim insidens
' Cf. Dio Chrys. *Or.*
αἰναν ἐσθῆτα καὶ συμ-
, καὶ ταπεινὰ καθέ-
σαι. *Hom.* ii. p. 63: οἱ
τε ἀρούραις ἐπικαθη-
εῖρας κατὰ τῶν γονά-
ωντες· τοῦτο δὲ τῶν
ἥμα. These are the
oi of Plutarch, *Consol.*
. 456. In other cases,
ands was supposed to
Thus, 'adsidere gra-
remedium alicui adhi-
pectinatum inter se
sum est.' Plin. *Nat.*

Hist. xviii. 6, 17. So Juno sits at the threshold of Alcmena, 'digitis inter se pectine junctis,' Ovid, *Metam.* ix. 299. Wringing the hands, also, can hardly be adduced as a customary symptom of grief at any early period; we have, however, τῷ χεῖρει συντριψας in Heliod. *Æthiop.* vii. p. 307.

¹⁶ Galen in *Hippocr. Epid.* xvii. 2, directs that the doctor shall decide as to the admission of visitors: ταῦτα δὲ πολυπραγμονήσας ὁ ἰατρός αὐτὸν ἐργάσεται καὶ διατρέπει.

¹⁷ The word *πιλίδιον*, which is used to denote such a head-dress for the sick, can hardly be translated otherwise. See Plato, *de Repub.* iii. p. 406: εἰάν δέ τις αὐτῷ (τῷ κάμνοντι) μακρὰν δίαιταν προστάτῃ, πιλιδιά τε περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν περιτιθεῖς καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐπόμενα, κ.τ.λ. Cf. Plut. *adv. Colot.* 33. See Excursus on *The Dress*.

¹⁸ Nothing is harder to translate than the conventional formulæ of salutation. The ordinary Greek greeting, χαῖρε, literally 'rejoice,' or 'joy with you,' answers, doubtless, to our 'Good day,' but this would sound ridiculous if transferred to a classic idiom; while, on the other hand, the literal English equivalent of χαῖρε sounds no less

χαίρειν (κελεύω), was the oldest, and, at the same time, most universal form of salutation among the Greeks, and was used both for meeting and taking leave, and corresponds therefore both to *salve* and *vale*. Though anything but appropriate on some occasions, as in cases of suffering or misfortune, still as being the usual phrase, it was employed all the same, though sometimes with a qualifying ὁμως, as in *Æschyl. Pers.* 845:

ὁμῆς δὲ πρόσβεις, χαίρει', ἐν κακοῖς ὁμως.

In place of this ancient form, others afterwards came into use. Thus from Lucian, *de Saltat.* 76, we learn that καλῶς ἔχε was said to the sick. He tells us that a very lanky dancer appearing on the stage at Antioch, ἐπεβόησαν, Καλῶν ἔχε, ὡς νοσούντι. In Lucian's time a new distinction appears to have arisen between the various salutations that were in use, and this occasioned the treatise ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐν τῇ προσαγορεύσει πταίσματος. He informs us that though ὑγιαίνειν might be said at other times of the day, yet in the morning χαίρει alone was used. ἀφικόμενοι παρὰ σὲ, ὡς προσείποιμι τὸ ἑωθινόν, δέον τὴν συνήθη

salutation; Lucian, § 4 Plato; accord by Epicurus letters. We ment of Phil § 6:

Αἰτῶ δ' ὑγίαιας τρίτον δὲ χαίρει

In the time of the poet χαίρει (ἀφώνησις, *Ec.* seems to have fashioned, and came the morning Aristoph. *Plu*

Χαίρει μὲν ὑμῶς ἀρχαῖον ἤδη προσάσσομαι δέ.

See *Nub.* 1145, Στρεψιάδην ἀπὸ from Herodotus customary to though afterw fashion to kiss knee of a superior ol δὲ σεμνότεροι περιμένοντες, Πέρσαι νόμοι θόντα καὶ ὑπὸ ῥωθεν τὴν ψυχ

the gods transform into lightsome day the dark night now encompasses you¹⁹.' 'Nay,' said Polycles; 'I am not to be deceived. I am not one of those, who, when meet with suffering or misfortune, send for a sophist to solace them²⁰. Rather tell me something of the fate

the words of Atossa when she hears the news of the life of her son (306),

ὁ δὲ ἡμέρ νυκτὸς ἐκ μελαγχίμου, contain a far more natural of the adage, λευκὴ ἡμέρα, far-fetched derivations that have been given. Plutarch, *Pericl.* it originated from an incident in the Peloponnesian war, in which Pericles led the Athenian troops into eight days of rest, and every day one of these days was allowed to rest. They rested for it, and that company saw the one white bean, rested. διὸ καὶ φασὶ, τοὺς ἐν εὐκαιρίᾳ γενομένους λευκὴν ἡμέραν ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ κυάμου προσκαλεῖσθαι. The more usual derivation is from the Scythian or Thracian custom of marking those days on which they had been prosperous with a white bean, the others with a black bean. Suidas says: λευκὴ ἡμέρα.

οἱ γὰρ φησὶ, τοὺς Σκύθας καὶ Θράκας καθεῦδειν ἀγεῖν τὴν φακίδα, εἰ μὲν ἀλύπως τύχοιεν λευκὴν ἐκείνην διαγαγόντες, καθεῦδειν τὴν φασφίδα, εἰ μὲν ἀλύπως τύχοιεν λευκὴν ὀχληρῶς, μέλαιναν. After these were counted. See Plin. *ist.* vii. 40, 41.

the philosophers of antiquity seem to have undertaken of souls, at all events they administered consolation of suffering and sorrow. Epicurus is very explicit. *Or.* 529: πεπόνθασι γὰρ δὴ οἱ

πολλοὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐκ φιλοσοφίας λόγους, ὥσπερ, οἶμαι, πρὸς τὰ τῶν ἰατρῶν φάρμακα. οὔτε γὰρ τις ἐκείνοις εὐθὺς πρόσσεισιν, οὐδὲ ὠνεῖται, πρὶν ἢ περιπεσεῖν φανερῶς νοσήματι καὶ ἀλγῆσαι τι τοῦ σώματος· οὔτε τῶν τοιούτων λόγων ἀκούειν ἐθέλουσιν ὥς τὸ πολὺν, ὅτι ἂν μὴ λυπηρὸν τι ξυμμενεχθῇ καὶ τῶν δοκούντων χαλεπῶν.....Κἀν ἀπολέσας τύχην τινὰς τῶν οἰκείων, ἢ γυναῖκα, ἢ παῖδα, ἢ ἀδελφόν, ἀξιοῦσιν ἀφικνεῖσθαι τὸν φιλόσοφον καὶ παραγορεῖν. See Plutarch, *de Superstit.* 7. It is related of Antiphon: ἐν Κορίνθῳ τε κατεσκευασμένοις οἰκημάτων τι παρὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν προέγραψεν, ὅτι δύναται τοὺς λυπουμένους διὰ λόγων θεραπεύειν. καὶ πυνθανόμενος τὰς αἰτίας παρεμυθεῖτο τοὺς κάμνοντας. Plut. *Dec. Or.* vii. iv. p. 344. See Phot. *Bibl. Cod.* 259. Similar instances occur elsewhere; so Aristoph. *Plut.* 177:

Φιλέσιος δ' οὐχ ἐνεκά σου μύθους λέγει; and we know from Dio Chrysost. *Or.* xi. p. 323, how fond the Greeks were of listening to amusing tales, whether true or not. Many persons turned to their own profit the superstition of others. See Isocrates, *Ægin.* 2, p. 551. Cf. Plato, *de Repub.* ii. p. 364: ἀγύρται δὲ καὶ μάντις ἐπὶ πλουσίων θύρας λόντες πείθουσι, κ.τ.λ. And Dio Chrysost. *Or.* xix. p. 553. Demosthenes taunts Æschines with having pursued an occupation of the kind; *de Coron.* p. 313; and it is related of Epicurus: σὺν τῇ μητρὶ περιϊόντα αὐτὸν ἐς τὰ οἰκίδια καθαρά-

...will bring it immediately,' was t
 exclaimed Polycles ; ' why not Cleobule
 gentlemen were with you,' replied the
 only near friends of the family,' said tl
 need not mind them. I prefer taking
 her.' The slave departed to inform the
 wishes, and the doctor again felt the pa
 the bystanders stood aside.

One of the three, who had been add
 had seized Charicles by the hand, and r
 a corner of the room. His age was
 sixty, and his exterior bespoke affluenc
 and good breeding. Time had furrow
 rendered grey his locks ; but his firm c
 step betokened one still vigorous, and
 all the vivacity of youth. A gentle ear
 humoured benevolence beamed in his cou
 whole appearance was calculated to awak
 attract the beholder²¹.

μοὺς ἀναγινώσκειν. These καθαρι-
 μοι were connected with the recitation
 of mysterious spells. Of the same
 kind were the magic sentences serving
 as amulets, δλεξιφάρμακα. like εὐ-
 χαιαί.

mentioned by
 59. The πιν
 seem to be a
 sortes, and th

As Charicles recounted the misfortunes of his family, Sophilos had listened with sympathy, and, when he now further questioned Charicles about many passages in his life, his glance dwelt on the youth with peculiar satisfaction. Whilst they were engaged in low-toned conversation, the hanging was pushed aside, and Cleobule entered, followed by a female slave. Nearly overcome with timidity, she did not dare to raise her eyes, but kept them fixed on the glass phial²² in her right hand, and she hastened to

²² Though the invention of glass falls in the days of early Phœnician legend, still from this we cannot infer how soon articles of this material came into common use in Greece. It seems to have been long ranked with precious stones, and was always called λίθος, (*Nubes*, 766); whilst later, crystal is called ὕαλος ὁρωρυγμένη, (*Achill. Tat.* ii. 3.) In *Herodot.* ii. 69, where we read, δρτήματά τε λίθινα χυτὰ καὶ χρούσσεα ἐς τὰ ὦτα ἐνθέντες, the name ὕαλος does not seem to be even known, so that it must then have been still a rarity. For these λίθινα χυτὰ are of glass, as is manifest from a comparison of the above passage with *Plato, Tim.* p. 61: τό τε περὶ τὴν ὕαλον γένος ἅπαν ὅσα τε λίθων χυτὰ εἶδη. The first mention of the name, and at the same time of glass utensils, occurs *Acharn.* 73:

ἐπιζέμενοι δὲ πρὸς βίαν ἐπινόμεν
ἐξ ὑαλίνων ἐκπομάτων καὶ χρυσεῶν
ἄκρατον οἶνον ἰδύν.

But here, as in *Herodotus*, it is evident that such vessels are costly rarities, for the ὑαλίνα ἐκπομάτα are mentioned along with vessels of gold, and the passage is descriptive of magnificence and luxury. By degrees glass became more common, and not only drinking-vessels, but also large bowls were made of this material. *Pausan.* ii. 27, 3: γέγραπται δὲ ἐνταῦθα καὶ

CHAR.

Μέθη, Πανσίον καὶ τοῦτο ἔργον, ἐξ ὑαλίνης φιάλης πίνουσα· ἰδοὺς δ' αὖ ἐν τῇ γραφῇ φιάλην τε ὕαλου καὶ δι' αὐτῆς γυναικὸς πρόσωπον. In *Athenæus*, iv. p. 129, in the description of the wedding-feast of Caranos the Macedonian, mention occurs of a glass bowl which measured two cubits in diameter: ὑαλοῦς πίναξ δίπηχυς πού τὴν διάμετρον. But the period when the use of glass became most common, was when its manufacture, and particularly the art of polishing it, arrived at such wonderful perfection in *Alexandria*. *Athen.* xi. p. 1042: κατασκευάζουσι δὲ οἱ ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ τὴν ὕαλον μεταρρύθμιζοντες πολλάκις πολλαῖς ἰδέαις ποτηρίων παντὸς τοῦ πανταχόθεν κατακομιζομένου κεράμου τὴν ἰδέαν μιμούμενοι. Consult *Gallus*, p. 303, and 373. See also the description of a crystal vase in *Achill. Tat.* ii. 3: ὕαλου μὲν τὸ πᾶν ἔργον ὁρωρυγμένης· κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτὸν ἄμπελοι περιέστεφον ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατῆρος πεφυτευμέναι. Οἱ δὲ βότρυς πάντῃ περικρεμάμενοι· ὁμφαξ μὲν αὐτῶν ἕκαστος, ὅσον ἦν κενὸς ὁ κρατῆρ· ἂν δὲ ἐγχέης οἶνον, κατὰ μικρὸν ὁ βότρυς ὑποπερκάζεται καὶ σταφυλὴν τὴν ὁμφακα ποιεῖ. Cf. *Strabo*, xvi. 2, 25.

The commonest drinking vessels were of burnt clay, κεράμεια. Those manufactured in *Attica* were very celebrated, and were exported in con-

CHARICLES.

[SCENE VIII.]

to her sick husband and uncle the potion which it
ed ; the physician having first mingled in it some-
om his drug-box. She next smoothed the pillow,
affectionately over her husband, as if to enquire
he felt any relief.

eyes of all present were fastened on this picture of
affection, but the gaze of Charicles especially,
riveted to the spot. When Cleobule entered, he
versing with Sophilos, with his back to the door,
on her part was so entirely occupied with tending
t man, that her face had not once been turned to-
he group behind her. Yet there was something in
aceful figure that awoke scarcely stifled emotions
breast. It was the very image of the apparition
brook. There was the same delicate structure and
swell of the limbs, though they were now enveloped
ess of more ample folds ; the same profusion of blond
though now gathered in a gold-coloured caul ; and

was also a regular sudatory, and in it the laver²³ used in taking the hotter baths. Orders were given for raising

²³ The Roman baths have been very fully discussed in *Gallus*, pp. 366-397, and as what has there been said is, for the most part, applicable to the baths of Greece, it will not be necessary to repeat it here; and besides the absence of accurate information respecting the Grecian baths of the better age, leaves us to infer many of the details from the analogy of the baths of Rome. Here, therefore, the method of bathing will be alone investigated. The daily bath was by no means so indispensable with the Greeks as it was with the Romans; nay, in some instances the former nation looked on it as a mark of degeneracy and increasing effeminacy, when the baths were much frequented. But so far as the bath was necessary to cleanliness, its neglect was considered a matter of reproach. So *Lysistr.* 280: *ῥυπῶν, ἀπαράτιτος, ἔξ ἐτῶν ἀλουτος*. And *Nubes*, 835:

ὦν ὑπὸ τῆς φειδωλίας
ἀπεκρίπτο' οὐδεὶς πόπον, οὐδ' ἡλείψατο
οὐδ' ἐν βαλανείον ἦλθε λουσόμενος.

It was said in ridicule of the Dardans that they only washed thrice in their lives, *τρὶς ἐν τῷ βίῳ λούονται μόνον, ὅταν γεννῶνται, καὶ ἐπὶ γάμοις, καὶ τελευτῶντες*. Nicol. Damasc. quoted by Stobæus, *Tit.* v. 51. Yet the frequent use of the bath in the *βαλανείοις* was deemed a *τρυφή* in the better period, and persons of simple habits abstained from it. So Plato, *Symp.* p. 174, relates of Socrates, *ἔφη γὰρ οἱ Σωκράτῃ ἐντυχεῖν λελουμένον τε καὶ τὰς βλαύτας ὑποδεδεμένον, ἃ ἐκεῖνος ὀλιγάκις ἐποίει*: and in Plutarch, *Phoc.* 4, we read, *Φωκίωνα γὰρ οὔτε γελάσαντά τις, οὔτε κλαύσαντα ῥαδίως Ἀθηναί-*

ων εἶδεν, οὐδ' ἐν βαλανείῳ δημοσιεύοντι λουσάμενον. Demosth. *adv. Polycl.* p. 1217, speaks of it as a mark of the bad discipline of a ship's crew: *διεφθαρμένον μὲν πλήρωμα καὶ εἰωθὸς, ἀργύριον πολὺ προλαμβάνειν, καὶ ἀτελείας ἄγειν τῶν νομιζομένων ἐν τῇ νηὶ λειτουργίῳ, καὶ λοῦσθαι ἐν βαλανείῳ*. Hence the youth in Sparta was *καὶ λουτρῶν καὶ ἀλειμμάτων ἄπειρος*. Plutarch, *Lyc.* 16. But it was only the *βαλανεία*, that is, the warm baths, *θερμὰ λουτρά*, which were censured, and in early times they were not even allowed within cities. Athen. i. p. 18: *προσφύτως ἐξ καὶ τὰ βαλανεία παρήκται, τὴν ἀρχὴν οὐδὲ ἐνδον τῆς πόλεως ἰώντων εἶναι αὐτά*. So the *Δίκαιος λόγος, Νυβες*, 991, advises the youth *βαλανείων ἀπέχεσθαι*, and maintains this opinion against the question which the *Ἄδικος λόγος* puts, 1045,

καίτοι τίνα γνώμην ἔχων ψέγεις τὰ θερμὰ
λουτρά;
Δ. ὅτι κακιστόν ἐστι καὶ δειλὸν ποιεῖ τὸν
ἄνδρα.

Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 761, wishes to confine the use of warm baths to old people, *γερυντικά λουτρά θερμὰ παρέχοντας*. See Plutarch, *de San.* *Tuend.* i. p. 515: and *Symp.* viii. 9.

The *βαλανεία* were either public, *δημόσια*, (*Xen. de Repub.* 2, 10,) or private establishments, *ἱδία, ιδιωτικά*, though the latter terms may also be supposed to denote baths in private houses, which also naturally existed. In some vase-paintings the bathing tubs bear the inscriptions *ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ* and *ΙΔΙΑ*. See Tischbein, *Coll. of Engr.* i. pl. 58, from which the accompanying cut is taken. A public bath is to be understood in Diog. Laert. vii. 12,

CHARICLES.

[SCENE VIII.]

partment to a moderate temperature, previous to
tient being carried thither. Cleobule hastened to



superintend in person the needful preparations, and as she turned round to go towards the door, her eye fell upon

46, is the leg or foot whereon the vessel rested. Nevertheless we cannot doubt but that there were also tubs in the baths, which one might get into. They were called *πύελοι*, (in Homer *ἀσάμινθοι*). See Schol. on Aristoph. *Equit.* 1060: 'τὰς πύελους καταλήψεσθ' ἐν βαλανεΐφ.' τὰς ἐμβάσεις. πύελοι γὰρ ὄρυγμα, ἐμβατῇ ἐνθα ἀπολούονται, and Pollux, vii. 166, quotes a fragment of Aristophanes: ἀλλ' ἑρτίως κατέλιπον αὐτὴν σμωμένην ἐν τῇ πυλῳ.

Some of them were calculated to contain several persons; as we see from a passage of Eupolis ap. Poll. vii. 168: λέγει γοῦν ἐν Διαιτῶντι, εἰς βαλανεΐον εἰσελθὼν μὴ ζηλοτυπήσῃς τὸν συμβαίοντά σοι εἰς τὴν μάκτραν. So that, in the main points, the *λουτήρ* answers to the Roman *labrum*, and the *πύελοι* to the *alveus*.

In the *βαλανεΐον* there was also frequently a vapour-bath or sudatory, *πυρία*, *πυριατήριον*. Herodot. iv. 75, mentions it as usual; also Eupolis apud Poll. ix. 43; Aristot. *Probl.* ii. 11; 29; and 32. There seems to have been nothing in the Grecian sweating-baths similar to the Roman *concamerata sudatio*, with its *Lacunicum*; but the bathers sat, on the contrary, in separate tub-like compartments. This is what is meant by the *πυρίας χαλκᾶς* in the fragment of Moschion, referred to above. See also Athen. xii. p. 519: παρὰ Συβαρίταις δ' ἐνρήθησαν καὶ πύελοι, ἐν αἷς κατακείμενοι ἱπυριῶντο. These *πύελοι* used in the vapour-baths were also called *πυρίαί*. Phrynich. *Epit.* p. 325. A bathing establishment also was not complete without an anointing room, *ἐλεπτήριον*, which is probably the

same as the *elaothesium* of Vitruvius. See Poll. vii. 166. It is doubtful whether an *ἀποδυτήριον*, in which to deposit the clothes, was an essential portion of the baths; it was probably of later date. Though Lucian talks of such a place, where *ἱματιοφυλάκουντες*, (Lat. *capsarii*), are stationed, yet in Aristotle's time such people were unknown, and the bathers looked after their own clothes: for in discussing the punishment to be awarded, *ἐὰν μὲν τις ἐκ βαλανεΐου κλέψῃ*, he says, *ἐν δὲ τῷ βαλανεΐῳ... ῥάξιον τῷ βουλομένῳ κακουργεῖν. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἰσχυρόν ἔχουσι πρὸς τὴν φυλακὴν οἱ τιθέντες, ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ αὐτῶν ὄμμα.* *Probl.* xxix. 14. See Theoph. *Char.* 8; Diog. Laert. vi. 52; Athen. iii. p. 97.

The question whether there were common baths for women, can only be answered from the monuments. There are many very wanton vase-paintings representing women washing together at a *λουτήρ*. Tischbein, *Coll. of Engr.* iii. 35; iv. 26; 27; 28. Millin, ii. 9, &c. A vessel in the Museum at Berlin is especially interesting; a woman's bath of very remarkable construction is depicted on it. Water descends upon the bathers in a shower, from certain heads of animals fixed to the capitals of the pillars of the bath-room. If these representations do not refer to baths in private houses, it would appear that there were common baths for women, and perhaps even public ones. The almost illegible inscription on the *λουτήρ*, in Tischbein, iv. 28, looks very much like ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ, though this is far from certain. At Athens, it is true that nothing of the

CHARICLES.

[SCENE VIII.]

s, who was standing near it. Suddenly she started
h she had seen the Gorgo's head, or some spectre



risen out of Hades; and the glass phial would have dropped from her hand, had not the doctor caught it. With a

ii. 45; 63. Concerning the oil, see Theophr. *Char.* 11. The *ρύμμα*, however, was mostly provided by the *βαλανεύς*, thus in Aristoph. *Lysist.* 377, the woman says,

εἰ *ρύμμα* τυγχάνεις ἔχων, λουτρόν γέ σοι παρίξω.

Rep. 710: ὁ πονηρότατος βαλανεύς, ὅποσοι κρατοῦσι κυκησιτέφρου, ψευδοσίτρον κονίας καὶ Κιμωλίας γῆς. Schol. ταῦτα τοιαῦτα καθάρματα ἐστίν, οἷς οἱ λουόμενοι χρῶνται τῶν βαλανείων πωλούντων. For the various sorts, i.e., *κονία*, (Plato, *de Repub.* iv. p. 430,) alkaline salts, nitre, *σίτρον*, fuller's earth, γῆ Κιμωλία, &c., see Beckmann's *History of Inventions*. What resemblance the *σμήματα* or *σμίγματα* bore to our soap cannot be determined. See *Gallus*, p. 378.

It was invariably the rule to be soured with cold water immediately after either a warm or a sweating-bath. Plutarch, *de primo. frig.* 10: *ικανῶς δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν μετὰ λουτρόν ἡ πυρίαν περιχεαμένων ψυχρὸν ἀνιών ἀτμός ἐκδείκνυται* κ.τ.λ. Cf. *Fragm. in Hesiod.* περιχόμενοι κατὰ κρατὸς τε καὶ ἄμων, and Paus. ii. 34, 2, complains that at the hot springs of *Metana*, *λουσαμένων δὲ ἐνταῦθα οὔτε ὕδωρ ἐστὶν ἐγγύς ψυχρὸν, οὔτε ἐσπεύοντα ἐς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀκινδύνως νήχεσθαι*. Cf. Plato, *de Repub.* i. p. 344: ὥσπερ βαλανεύς ἡμῶν καταντλήσας κατὰ τῶν ὥτων ἀθρόον καὶ πολὺν λόγον. So Lucian, *Demosth. encom.* 16. This dashing with cold water was performed by the *βαλανεύς* and his assistants, *παραχύται*. Plutarch, *de Invid.* 6: and *Apophth. Lac.* 49. The vessel used for the operation was called *ἀρύταινα*, and perhaps also *ἀρύβαλλος*, as Poll. vii. 166, supposes

from the passage in *Equit.* 1090, though the Scholiast explains it differently. See Athen. xi. p. 1039; and Theophr. *Char.* 9: *δεινὸς δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ χαλκεῖα τὰ ἐν τῷ βαλανείῳ προσελθὼν καὶ βάψας ἀρύταιναν βοῶντος τοῦ βαλανέως αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καταχέασθαι*. In a vase-painting, Tischbein, i. 58, is represented a boy in the character of a *παραχύτης* with the *ἀρύταινα*, and in Moses, *Collect. of Ant. Vas.* p. 14, there is a woman over whom the water is being poured. It may be added, that the *παραχύται* also brought the hot water. See Athen. xii. p. 518.

The hour of bathing was, in the better period, that preceding the chief meal, *δείπνον*, of this no proof need be adduced. In later and more degenerate days, noon is sometimes mentioned. Lucian, *Ilexiph.* 4: *καὶ γὰρ ὁ γνώμων σκιαῖζει μέσην τὴν πόλιν· καὶ δῖος μὴ ἐν λουτρίῳ ἀπολουσώμεθα* κ.τ.λ., and Alciph. *Epist.* iii. 60: *ὥς γὰρ ἐλούσαντο οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ μεσοῦσα ἡμέρα ἦν*. But, even at an earlier period, voluptuaries bathed several times a day. See Menander, quoted by Athen. iv. p. 166:

καίτοι κίος ποτ' ἐγενόμην κάγω, γύναι·
ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐλούμην πεντάκις τῆς ἡμέρας
τότ', ἀλλὰ νῦν.

See also the fragment of Simonides in Meineke, p. 127:

λοῦται δὲ πάσης ἡμέρας ἀπο ῥύπον
δύς, ἄλλοτε τρίς, καὶ μύροις ἀλείφεται.

Still, even then, the bath was regarded for the most part as a preliminary to a meal. See Artemidor. *Oneirocr.* i. 64: *νῦν δὲ οἱ μὲν οὐ πρότερον ἐσθίουσιν, εἰ μὴ λούοντο· οἱ δὲ καὶ ἐμφαγόντες· εἶτα δὴ λούονται μέλλοντες δειπνήσειν. καὶ ἐστὶ νῦν τὸ βαλα-*

sh, and downcast eyes, she rushed hurriedly past the young man, who was himself so surprised and confused, and did not hear the question which Sophilos just put to him. It was now necessary to leave the chamber, and he was not sorry to do so. Approached, he expressed a hope that its tenant would return, and then hastened from the chamber in a tumult of conflicting emotions.

ἄλλο ἢ ὁδὸς ἐπὶ τροφῇν.
 ne, games, such as the cot-
 e played at the baths. See
 rt. vi. 46. In winter, the
 ticularly the firing-place,
 the poor to stay and warm
 , if the βαλανεὺς allowed
 ph. *Plut.* 951:

ἦν, ἐπειδὴ τὴν πανοπλίαν τὴν

ς, ἐς τὸ βαλανεῖον τρέχε·
 ρυφαῖος ἐστηκὼς θέρου.
 τον τὴν στάσιν ταύτην ποτέ.

Cf. also, *ib.* 535, which latter passage is admirably illustrated by Alciphron. *Epist.* i. 23: ἐβουλευσάμην οὖν Ὀδύσσειον βούλευμα, δραμεῖν εἰς τοὺς θόλους ἢ τὰς καμίνους τῶν βαλανείων· ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐκείσε συνεχώρουν οἱ τῶν ὁμοτέχων περὶ ταῦτα κυλινοῦμενοι...ὥς οὖν ἡσθόμεν, οὐκ εἶναι μοι εἰς ταῦτα εἰσιτητέον δραμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ Θρασύλλον βαλανεῖον ἰδιωτικῆς οἰκίας εὗρον τοῦτο κενὸν καὶ καταβαλὼν ὀβολοὺς δύο καὶ τὸν βαλανέα τούτοις ἔλεων καταστήσας ἐθερόμην.

SCENE THE NINTH.

THE WILL.

IT was one of those blustering nights, so common at the commencement of Mæmacterion. The wind blew from Salamis, driving before it the scud of black rain-clouds over the Piræus; and when they opened for a moment, the crescent of the waning moon would peer forth, throwing a transient glimmer on the distant temples of the Acropolis. In the streets of the sea-port, generally so full of bustle, reigned deep repose, only broken by the dull roaring of the sea, or the groaning of the masts, as some more violent gust swept through the rigging of the vessels yet remaining in the harbour. Occasionally too some half intoxicated sailor would stagger lanternless¹ from the wine-shops to-

¹ As the streets were not lighted, (see *Gallus*, p. 80, Note 19,) it was enjoined by custom, or perhaps even by authority, that all who went out after dusk should be preceded by a slave with a light. Torches, *δαῖδες*, *φανοί*, *δεται*, *λαμπάδες*, *λαμπτήρες*, mostly purchased at the time from a *κάπηλος*, were used for this purpose. See *Lysias*, *de Cæde Erat.* p. 27; *Nicostr. ap. Athen.* xv. p. 700; *Plutarch*, *Aral.* 6; *Aristoph. Eccles.* 692, 978; *Vesp.* 1331. They consisted of a bundle of pine-splints, (hence *δεται*, and in *Athen.* xv. p. 700: *ἐκ τινων ζύλων τετμημένων δέσμη*), or of other dried woods, probably made more inflammable by means of pitch. Thus the tendrils of the vine were used. *Lysistr.* 308:

τῆς ἀμπέλου ὃ ἐς τὴν χύτραν τὸν φανὸν ἔκαθεντες,
ἀφαντες εἰς τὴν θύραν κρητὸν ἐμπέσοιμεν.
On which the Scholiast remarks: *ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἀμπελίνων ταῖς λαμπάδας*

κατεσκευάζον εἰς ἔξαψιν, ὡς καὶ ἐν Λημνίαις φησί. In the early times, however, no mention occurs of the pitch-torches of oakum, *funalia*, or the wax-torches, so much used by the Romans. See Note 5, *infra*. They used also lanterns of horn, called *φανοί*, but by the Attics *λυχνούχοι*. Among many other passages we may refer to *Phryn. Ecl.* p. 59: *Φανός· ἐπὶ τῆς λαμπάδος, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἐπὶ τοῦ κερατίνου λέγε.* τοῦτο δὲ *λυχνούχον*. *Phot. Lex.* p. 238: *Λυχνούχον· τὸν κεράτινον φανόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ λύχνου ἐν αὐτῷ περιέχεσθαι· φανός δὲ ἡ ἐκ ξύλων λαμπάς.* *Athen.* xv. p. 699: *ὅτι δὲ λυχνούχοι οἱ νῦν καλούμενοι φανοὶ ὠνομάζοντο Ἀριστοφάνους ἐν Αἰολοσίκωνι παρίστησι·*

Καὶ διαστίλβονθ' ὁρώμεν
ὥσπερ ἐν καινῷ λυχνούχῳ
πάντα τῆς ἔξωμίδος.

Translucent horn seems to have been the usual material for these lanterns. See a fragment quoted by *Athenæus*,

the harbour; or some foot-pad would sneak along the eaves of the houses, ready to pounce on the cloak of a passenger; and hiding cautiously behind a *Hermes* or a statue, whenever the bell of the night-patrol was heard². In a small room of a house situated some distance from the harbour, a young man of unprepossessing exterior lay stretched upon a low couch, which was too short for his body. His hollow eyes and sunken cheeks, the careless and slovenly demeanour, his hasty way of draining the cup in one draught, and the coarse jokes that from time to time fell from his lips, sufficiently marked him as one of those vulgar

ὅταν τε φωσφόρου λύχνου σέλας.
Is., p. 314. In this lantern
 was placed. See *Vesp.* 246.
 presence of such a lantern, a pot
 supplied its place. So *Acharn.*
 ἰδίον διακεκαυμένον λύχνην.
 general the use of such lights
 shown by the manner in which

φασιν, ἀλλὰ εἰκός, ἀσπί τῶν νυκτῶν
 πλανώμενον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἱματίοις δια-
 φθαρῆναι. The nightly patrols, *περί-
 πολοι*, seem to have apprehended sus-
 picious characters whom they found
 in the street, at least so says the para-
 site in a fragment of *Epicharmus*, ap.
Athen. vi. p. 236:

λύχνον δ' οὐκ ἂν ποτὲ μοι σπυγέται.

oués, who were accustomed to waste the day at the ice-board, and devote the night to riot and debauchery. In the table near him, beside the nearly empty punch-bowl, stood a lamp with a double wick, whose light abundantly illumined the narrow chamber. There were also the remnants of the frugal supper that he had just concluded, and a second goblet, which a slave, who sat upon another couch opposite the young man, replenished pretty frequently. Between them was a draught-board which the slave was eyeing attentively, whilst the other surveyed it with tolerable indifference. The game was by no means even. The menial evidently had the advantage; and he now made a move which reduced his adversary to great straits.

‘A stupid game, this!’ exclaimed the youth, as he tossed the pieces all in a heap; ‘a game where it’s all sinking, and nothing won after all. Dicing for me,’ he added with a yawn. ‘But what has got Sosilas? It must be past midnight; and such weather as this, I should not ever-enjoy the walk from the town to the haven.’ ‘He’s gone to Polycles,’ replied the slave. ‘’Twas said he could not live till morning, and Sosilas seems vastly concerned about him.’ ‘I know,’ answered the youth; ‘but even why did he send for me, just at this time of all others? The morning would have done quite as well; and I must needs leave a jolly party, forsooth; and here I am, hang it, and have to stand my own wine; for not a drop had the old hunk provided.’ ‘All I know,’ replied the slave, ‘is, that he bade me fetch you, wherever you were, as he must have speech with you this very night, without fail.’ ‘Then why doesn’t he come?’ retorted the other, peevishly. ‘Did he go unattended?’ ‘Syrus went with him; he’ll do me no harm. And even suppose he didn’t return,’ continued the slave with a smile, ‘why, you’re his next relation and heir, aren’t you? Two houses in the city, besides this here—a carpenter’s shop³, and may be some

³ See Excursus on *The Slaves*.

CHARICLES.

[SCENE IX.]

six talents in ready cash:—in sooth, no such bad
e!’ The youth lolled back complacently on the
‘Yes, Molon,’ said he, ‘when he’s once out of the
en’—At this moment came a violent rap at the
door. ‘There he is!’ cried the slave, as he hastily
up the draught-board and one of the goblets,
ed down the cushion and coverlet of the couch he
n sitting on, and stationed himself at the stripling’s
as if he had been waiting on him.

ps were now audible in the court-yard, and a gruff
as heard giving orders to a slave in harsh accents.
or opened, and in walked a man with a large beard,
k and forbidding features. He was wrapped, after
rtan fashion, in a short mantle of coarse thick tex-
ed wore Laconian shoes. In his hand was a stout
with its handle bent in the form of a cross⁴. The
the drinking cups and the unwonted illumination of
mber made him forget the greeting. He approached
e in a rage. ‘Ah! you knave!’ cried he, raising

without this? And you, Lysistratos'—he here turned to the youth—'seem to make yourself quite at home in my house?' 'Oh! to be sure, uncle,' answered the other, freely; 'wine on credit from the tavern, since yours is safe under lock and key. Do you suppose I'm going to wait

orches. Suidas, very improperly, derives the word from the Greek:—*ἀπὸ τοῦ καίειν δῆλα*.

The lamps were usually of burnt earth, (τροχήλατοι, *Eccles.* 1—5,) or of metal. Their form is well known: they had sometimes one, sometimes two or more orifices for the wick, which from their likeness to the nostrils were called *μυκτῆρες* and *μύξαι*; whence *λύχνοι διμύξοι, τρίμύξοι, &c.* Poll. ii. 72. The wick, Atticè *θρυαλλίς*, otherwise *ἐλλύχνιον* and *φλόμος*, Poll. vi. 103; x. 115,) was, partly at least, made of the woolly leaves of a plant, which was thence called *φλόμος λυχνίτις*. Dioscor. iv. 106; Plin. xv. 10, 74; Hesych. *Φλόμος· πόαις, ἧ καὶ ἀντὶ ἐλλυχνίου χρῶνται· αὐτῇ δὲ καὶ θρυαλλίς*. Also Phot. p. 5: *Θρυαλλίς· ἰσχάρα· λύχνος· ἀκτίς· καὶ βοτάνη πρὸς λύχνον ἀρμόζουσα*. As the lamps were generally small and low, and without feet, they were set upon a stand, *λυχνίον* or *λύχνιον*, also *λυχνία* or *λυχνεῖον*, (Athen. xv. i. 700,) the *candelabrum* of the Romans. What has been said on this subject in *Gallus*, p. 313, need not be here repeated. See especially Athen. v. p. 147: (*ὕψιλυχνοὶ αὐγαί*); xv. i. 700; Poll. x. 118. The word *ὀβελοσκόλύνιον* however requires explanation. Poll. 117, says: *τὸ δὲ ὀβελισκόλύνιον, στρατιωτικὸν μὲν τοι τὸ ρῆμα· εἰρηται δὲ ὑπὸ Θεοπόμπου τοῦ κωμικοῦ ἐν Εἰρήνῃ, ὡς δ' ἀπαλλαγέντος ἐν ἐγκαίῃς τύχαις φελοσκόλύνιον καὶ ξίφομαχάρας πικρὰς*. And Athen. xv. p. 700, refers to the

same expression of Theopompus, which however they both seem to have misunderstood. But Aristot. *de Repub.* iv. 15, p. 1299, explains the military connexion in which Theopompus employs the word. Aristotle is speaking of the necessity of assigning, in small states, several functions to the same individual, there not being persons enough singly to undertake them, and then be succeeded by others. Small states, however, often require as many offices as large ones, though these may not be individually of so much importance. He then says: *διόπερ οὐδὲν κωλύει πολλὰς ἐπιμελείας ἅμα προστάττειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐμποδιοῦσιν ἀλλήλαις, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν ἀναγκαῖον τὰ ἀρχεῖα οἷον ὀβελοσκόλύνια ποιεῖν*. Now as he is talking of the heaping several offices on one person, we might fancy the allusion to be to a *candelabrum*, which, obelisk-like, is set with lamps from bottom to top; but, inasmuch as Theopompus combines it with *ξίφομαχάρα*, a thing which admitted of a twofold use, it seems certain that the comparison refers to something else than the multitude of the offices; and we then arrive at another solution, namely, that a person who is employed first for this and then for that official duty, is like the *ὀβελοσκόλύνιον*, which served both for a spear and a candlestick, and which would thus be a very compendious implement for a soldier, — *στρατιωτικὸν χρῆμα*, as Pollux calls it.

Polycles is dead, and a property of sixty is left without natural heirs.' The nephew and what good is that to us, if we do a share?' 'That's just the question,' answered 'Lysistratos,' he resumed after a short silence, 'be a rich man, if you will.' 'Will? ay! by all means,' and no mistake,' laughed the nephew. 'I tell you,' said Sosilas, 'and you have yet to see how you are connected—very distantly, I grant—for my long-deceased wife and Cleobule were first cousins. Yet this connexion gives you a share of the property. But, now, what if a will were made in my name? I am no heir!' 'You mean a forged one,' answered the nephew, musingly; 'but how will it be accredited without my signet ring? And do you suppose Polycles, after his long illness, has not himself arranged about his property?' The old man quietly opened a cabinet and fetched out of it a box, which he opened and drew forth a document with a seal. 'Look at that,' said he, as he placed it before the nephew, 'the superscription?' 'By Dionysos!' cried the nephew, springing to his feet, "'The last will of Polycles.' Did you come by this?' 'Very simply,' replied the old man. 'When Polycles was starting to Ædepsos

think you could imitate it⁶?’ ‘That would be a dangerous experiment,’ replied the uncle; ‘and, besides, you can perceive by the superscription, in what peculiar shaky characters it is written; so that it would be almost impossible to forge an imitation, nor indeed do we want one.’

Saying this he produced a knife, removed the shell which served as a capsule to the seal⁷, and said, ‘See! that’s Polycles’ seal, and there is just such another beneath the writing⁸; and now look at this,’ cried he, as he placed side by side with it another seal, hanging by a slip of string. ‘By Poseidon! exactly the same,’ exclaimed Lysistratos, in amazement; ‘but I can’t conceive what all this is about.’ ‘You’ll understand presently,’ replied the uncle. He took the knife, and without hesitation severed the string to which the seal was appended, opened the document, and spread it before his nephew. ‘Look,’ he said with a malicious grin; ‘supposing “Sosilas” stood *here* instead of “Sophilos,” and *there*, “Sophilos” instead of “Sosilas.” I should not so much mind then.’ The youth read in astonishment. ‘I’ faith!’ he exclaimed, ‘that were

⁶ Forgery of seals must have occurred early, for Solon enacted a law against it: δακτυλιολύψω μὴ ἐξεῖναι σφραγίδα φυλάττειν τοῦ πραθέντος δακτυλίου. Diog. Laert. i. 57. Afterwards it occurred frequently, as may be concluded from Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 424:

προσὸν μὲν οὖν ἦν ἄλλ’ ὑποῖται τὴν θύραν,
πονησμέναισι δακτύλιον τρωβόλου.

Thucydides, i. 132, also relates that Argilios, the ambassador from Pausanias to Artabazos, opened the letter entrusted to him: καὶ παραποιησάμενος σφραγίδα, ἵνα, ἢν ψευδοῦσθαι τῆς δόξης, ἢ καὶ ἐκεῖνος μεταγράψαι τι αἰτήσῃ, μὴ ἐπιγινῶ, λύει τὰς ἐπιστολάς.

⁷ The custom of keeping a seal in a capsule, κύγχη, lest it should be in-

jured, is only mentioned in a single passage, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 585, but the allusion is clear and decisive:

κἂν ἀποθνήσκων ὁ πατήρ τῃ δ’ ὥφ καταλείπων
παῖδ’ ἐπὶ κληρον,
κλάειν ἡμεῖς μικρὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰπόντες τῇ
διαθήκῃ
καὶ τῇ κύγχῃ τῇ πάνν σεμνῶς τοῖς σημείο-
σιν ἐπούσῃ.
ἴδομεν ταύτην, ὅστις ἂν ἡμᾶς ἀντιβολήσας
ἀναπέσῃ.

And the Scholiast says: ὡς κύγχας ἐπιτιθέντων ταῖς σφραγίσιν ἀσφαλείας ἕνεκα.

⁸ Important documents, although they were to be sealed up, were also, it seems, attested by a seal beneath the writing. Plato, *Leg.* ix. p. 836; cf. Demosth. in *Pantun.* p. 978; and in *Aphob.* p. 837.

CHARICLES.

[SCENE IX.

a master-stroke ; and there are only two letters to
for, as good luck has it, the fathers' names are the
But the seal?' he added, 'the seal? how could you
to break open the deed?'

The old man made a second dive into the mysterious
and drew out something resembling a signet. 'I learnt
to make this substance from a cunning fellow who
about soothsaying. If pressed when soft, upon a seal,
gives all the characters with perfect accuracy, and in
time becomes as hard as stone.' The will had been
before, and the seal appended to it was merely an
evidence of this. 'Can you distinguish between it and
a genuine one?' 'No, that I can't,' answered the nephew.
Then, it will be an easy matter to re-seal the deed,
we have altered the letters in these two places.'
How am *I* to become rich by this?' now interposed
with suspiciously ; '*my* name is not mentioned in the
document.' 'Listen a moment,' replied the uncle ; 'the
ance, as you may have read, is coupled with one

to the bride's house to be betrothed to her, but when I assayed to go away again, the door was fastened, and could not be opened. Two interpreters of dreams, whom I consulted, foretold that I should die on the day of my betrothment¹¹; and that is warning enough: but you shall marry Cleobule, if you will privately cede half the property to me.' The nephew reflected for a moment. 'It's an unequal partition,' he said at last; 'your share is unencumbered, while my moiety will be saddled with the widow.' 'Fool!' retorted Sosilas; 'Cleobule is such a beauty, that many a man would be glad to take her without any dowry at all; besides which it all depends on me, you know, whether you get a farthing.' After some higgling, it was finally settled that the uncle should not receive the five talents over and above his half of the property, but that these should be included in the partition.

'Now hand me the will,' said the old man; 'with this little sponge I erase the two letters, and the more easily, because the paper is so good¹². Look! they are now

¹¹ Artemidor. *Oneirocr.* i. 78: οἶδα δὲ τινα, ὃς ἔδοξεν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς πορνεῖον καὶ μὴ δύνασθαι ἐξελθεῖν. καὶ ἀπέθανεν οὐ μετὰ πολλὰς ἡμέρας.

¹² The observations in *Gallus*, p. 325, on the paper of the ancients, are perhaps open to question; owing chiefly to the uncertainty as to the meaning of the passage in Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xiii. 12, 23, which is the main source of our knowledge about this manufacture. Sprengel, *Allgem. Encyclop.* explains the words, 'Præparantur ex eo chartæ, diviso acu in prætenues, sed quam latissimas philuras;' 'The inner pith was split by a pointed instrument into very thin, but broad slices.' This can hardly be the meaning, for the inner pith of the papyrus appears to be much too porous for the fabrication of paper.

Again, if Pliny had meant that the stalk was cut into plates or slices, he would have used the word *lamina* or *tabella*, certainly not *philura*. Nor were longitudinal sections made of the stalk, for each strip would have then contained all degrees of quality; whereas Pliny says, 'principatus medio, atque inde scissuræ ordine,' that is, the strips were such, that the innermost one was the best, and they gradually became inferior as they got nearer the outer part, *propiores cortici*. This agrees also with what Pliny adds as to the process of manufacture: 'Premitur deinde prelis, et siccantur sole plagulæ atque inter se junguntur, proximarum semper bonitatis diminutione ad deterrimas. Nunquam plures scapo, quam vicenæ.' The old explanation of Winkelman, li. p. 97, seems to be the best, that the many bast-

distinguishable. This ink,' continued he, as he produced a little box¹³, and the writing-reed, 'is of just the

or layers placed one under the other were peeled off, (these are the strips) and thus the strips produced. The paper of the Nile was known in Greece long before the time of Herodotus, for he says, v. 58: *βύβλους διφθέρας καλέονσι παλαιοὺ οἱ Ἴωνες, ὅτι κοτὲ βύβλων ἐχρέωντο διφθέρησι τε καὶ οἰήσιν*. The universal name for the paper, as a writing material, is *βιβλος*; the single leaf is *λίρα*; and when written upon, it is designated for such a purpose, *βιβλίον* or *γραμματεῖον* and *λίδιον*; though these words are sometimes used to mean merely tablets, *πίνακες*, *δέλτοι*, smeared with softened wax, *μάλθη* or *μαλθακή* (Poll. x. 58,) which were also

μαλθακή, ἐν μάλθῃ γεγραμμένην τὴν μαρτυρίαν, ἵνα, εἰ τι προσγράψαι ἢ ἀπαλεῖψαι βουληθῇ, ῥάδιον ᾖ. Nothing could be easier than to alter anything written on a wax tablet, and ink-marks could also readily be effaced. The Nile paper, particularly when good, did not, to any great extent, imbibe the writing fluid, which, as we learn from Pliny, resembled our Indian-ink, and could easily be washed off with a wetted finger, or a sponge. See Chamæleon ap. Athen. ix. p. 407: *ἦκεν εἰς τὸ Μητρώον, ὅπου τῶν δικῶν ἦσαν αἱ γραφαί, καὶ βρέξας τὸν δάκτυλον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος διήλειψε τὴν δίκην τοῦ Ἡγήμονος*. Hence the paper might be cleaned, and then used a second time, as *παλίμψηστον*. See Gallus, p. 328. With regard to

same blackness as the writing. There we have it, all right. Who will assert that it was not always as it now stands?' 'Excellent!' said the nephew; 'now for the seal.' The old man carefully folded up the deed again, moistened some clay¹⁴, tied the string, and impressed the forged stamp upon the clay. 'There!' said he, 'isn't it the same seal?' 'Well, that beats everything,' cried Lysistratos, as he compared the two seals; 'no one will ever dream that it is a forgery.' A rustling outside the door startled the old man. He snatched up the will and the other contents of the box, which he bore off, and fastened the door of the room adjacent, sealing it for greater security. Then taking the lamp, he explored the court, to discover, if possible, the cause of the disturbance. 'It was nothing,' he said, when he came back; 'most likely the storm which made the door shake. It will soon be morning; Lysistratos, come into my bed-chamber, and let us have a short nap.'

The two worthies had not been long gone, when Molon glided softly into the room, and groped about, in the dark,

writing-reed while meditating: καὶ λαβὼν βιβλίον, ὡς γράφειν μέλλων, προσήνεγκε τῷ στόματι τὸν κάλαμον, καὶ δακνὼν, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ διανοεῖσθαι καὶ γράφειν εἰώθει, χρόνον τιμὴ κατέσχεν, εἶτα συγκαλυψάμενος ἀπέκλινε τὴν κεφαλὴν. See also Plutarch, *Dec. Or. Vit.* iv. p. 376. A pointed instrument, γραφεῖον, was used for writing on waxed tablets. Poll. iv. 18; x. 59. Cf. Plut. *Eumen.* 1.

¹⁴ In early times a kind of earth, called *cretula* by the Romans, seems to have been exclusively used for seals, and it continued to be so employed after wax had come into vogue. See Beckmann's *Hist. of Inventions*. The Greeks named this material ῥύπος. Aristoph. *Lysist.* 1199:

καὶ μηδὲν οὕτως
εὖ σισημένθαι, τὸ μὴ οὐχὶ τοὺς ῥύπους
ἐισπράσαι.

The double meaning of the word ῥύπος gave occasion to the witty answer of Lais, recorded by Athen. xiii. p. 635: πρὸς Λαΐδα τὴν Κορινθίαν ἐραστῆς ἀποσφράγισμα πέμψας ἐκέλευε παραγίνεσθαι. ἡ δ', οὐ δύναμαι, εἶπε, πηλὸς ἐστὶ. See Poll. x. 59. The document to be sealed was tied round by a thread, λίνον; or perhaps it was pierced on the open side, and the thread drawn through. See Paul. *Sent.* xxv. 6. The material for the seal was then put on the ends of this thread, part under the knot, part upon it, and then stamped. See Lucian, *Alexand.* 21: βελώνην πυρώσας τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν σφραγίδα μίρον τοῦ κηροῦ διατήκων ἐξήρει καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀνάγνωσιν τῇ βελώνῃ αὐτὴς ἐπιχλιῖναν τὸν κηρὸν, τὸν τε κάτω ὑπὸ τῇ λίνῃ καὶ τὸν αὐτὴν τὴν σφραγίδα ἔχοντα, ῥιζῶως συνεκόλλα.

CHARICLES.

[SCENE IX.]

of the sofas. A gleam of moon-light shone through the open door; and he hastily seized something that lay in the folds of the drapery; and then, as quickly and silently he vanished, his gestures denoting the prize to be one of great value which he set a high value.

When morning dawned on the house of the deceased, the inmates already busy with preparations for the funeral.

An earthen vessel, filled with water, stood before the door, to signify to the passenger that it was a house of mourning¹⁵. Within, the women were occupied in washing and laying out the corpse. Cleobule, inexperienced, and woe-begone like an orphan child, had begged the assistance of Sophilos; who, even without solicitation, would have undertaken to conduct the funeral. She had always looked on Polycles in the light of an affectionate uncle, and indulged her every wish; and now she wept for the loss of a parent; while she applied herself to her funeral duties, assisted by her mother, whom she had

the women, as to the order of the interment, when Sosilas also made his appearance, with sorrow in his aspect, but exultation in his heart. He had hastened, he said, to bring the will which the deceased had deposited in his hands; as, perhaps, it might contain some dispositions respecting his interment¹⁷. He then named the witnesses who had been by, when he received the will, and whose presence would now be necessary at the opening. Cleobule was somewhat disconcerted to find the document that was to decide her future fate, placed in the custody of one, to whom, from early childhood, she had entertained feelings of aversion. Polycles had never been explicit on this head, merely assuring her, in general terms, that she had been cared for. And such she now hoped was the case; but yet she had rather that anybody else had produced the will. Sophilos, on the other hand, did not seem at all put out by the circumstance. He praised Sosilas for

¹⁷ That the will was opened immediately on the testator's death is evident from the fact that it often contained dispositions regarding the burial. See Notes 25 and 26. Cf. Lucian, *Nigrin.* 30, whence it also appears that the opening did not take place judicially, as at Rome, but in private before witnesses. It is true that a more public procedure is mentioned in Lucian, *Tim.* 21: καὶ ὁ μὲν νεκρὸς ἐν σκοτεινῷ που τῆς οἰκίας πρόκειται, ὑπὲρ τὰ γόνατα παλαιᾷ τῇ ὀθύνῃ σκεπόμενος περιμάχτος ταῖς γαλαῖς. ἐμὲ δὲ (πλούτου) οἱ ἐπελπίσαντες ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ περιμένονσι λεχηνότες... Ἐπειδὴν δὲ τὸ σημαντὶν ἀφαιρεθῇ καὶ τὸ λῖνον ἐντμηθῇ, καὶ ἡ ἐέλωτος ἀνοιχθῇ, καὶ ἀνακρυχθῇ μοι ὁ καινὸς δεσπότης κ.τ.λ. We must not, however, infer from this that the practice was prevalent at any early period, for Lucian frequently introduces much that is quite irrele-

vant to earlier Attic customs. On the contrary, we must suppose that the will was opened in private, and not proved before a court till afterwards; and this view is borne out by Demosth. in *Aphob.* ii. p. 837: ἀλλ' ἐχρῆν, ἐπειδὴ τάχιστ' ἐτελεύτησεν ὁ πατήρ, εἰσκαλέσαντας μάρτυρας πολλοὺς παρασημῖνασθαι κελεύσαι τὰς διαθήκας, ἵν' εἴ τι ἐγένετο ἀμφισβητήσιμον, ἵν' εἰς τὰ γράμματα ταῦτ' ἐπανελθεῖν. The μάρτυρας πολλοὺς would not have been required, if the proceedings had been of a judicial character. Nor can we conclude from Demosth. in *Stegh.* i. p. 1104, that wills were opened in the presence of diatetes, for in the case there mentioned the matter was already a subject of litigation, and a copy only of the will could be produced. See Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 259.

CHARICLES.

[SCENE IX.]

actuality, and desired that the witnesses might
be sent to attend; but this the other said was not ne-
cessary, as he had already sent them notices to that

before long, the three made their appearance. 'You
are present,' said Sosilas to them, 'when Polycles com-
mitted his last will to my charge?' They replied in the
affirmative. 'You will be ready then to testify that this
is the deed which he entrusted to me?' 'The superscrip-
tion and the seal,' answered one of them, 'are what prove
its authenticity. All that we can witness to, is that a
document was deposited with you, not, that this is the
original one in question¹⁸; still there is no ground for
any contrary assumption, since the seal is untouched, and
is recognized as that of Polycles.' 'Do you, there-
fore, satisfy yourself, Cleobule, that I have faithfully dis-
charged your husband's behest. Do you acknowledge this
deed?' With trembling hand Cleobule took the deed.
'A single clutching a snake,' said she; 'it is the device

The string was cut, the document unfolded, and the witness read as follows :

“The testament of Polycles the Pæanian. May all be well; but should I not recover from this sickness, thus do I devise my estate¹⁹. I give my wife²⁰ Cleobule, with all my fortune, as set down in the accompanying schedule²¹,—save and except all that is herein otherwise disposed,—to my friend Sosilas, the son of Philo, to which end I

¹⁹ The form in which a will was drawn up is well known to us. We have extracts or epitomes of wills in Demosth. in *Steph.* i. p. 1110; in *Aphob.* i. p. 826. Of much greater value however are the wills of Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastus, Lycon, and Epicurus, which have been preserved verbatim by Diogenes Laertius. They mostly commence by a kind of title; thus Demosth. in *Steph.* p. 1110: *Τάδε διέθετο Πασίων Ἀχαρνεύς*: or as in Diog. Laert. iii. 41: *Τάδε κατέλιπε Πλάτων καὶ διέθετο*. The formula *Ἔσται μὲν εὖ* is a common commencement. Diog. Laert. v. 11: *Ἔσται μὲν εὖ· εἰ δέ τι συμβαίνει, τάδε διέθετο Ἀριστοτέλης*. So *ib.* § 51: *Ἔσται μὲν εὖ· εἰ δέ τι συμβῇ, τάδε διατίθεμαι*: and Lycon's will, *ib.* § 69, commences: *Τάδε διατίθεμαι περὶ τῶν κατ' ἐμαυτὸν, εἰ μὴ δυνήσῃ τὴν ἀρρώστιαν ταύτην ὑπενεγκεῖν*. Certain persons were by a law of Solon incapacitated from making a will. Demosth. in *Steph.* ii. p. 1133: *τὰ ἑαυτοῦ διαθέσθαι εἶναι, ὅπως αὐν ἐθέλῃ, εἰ μὴ παῖδες ὡς γνήσιοι ἄρρῆνες, αὐν μὴ μανίων ἢ γήρως, ἢ φαρμάκων, ἢ νόσου ἔσκεν, ἢ γυναικὶ πειθόμενος, ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ παρανόμων, ἢ ὑπ' αἰσάγκης, ἢ ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ καταληφθεῖς*. This can only refer to cases in which the mind was enfeebled, for bodily infirmity was no impedi-

ment. Thus in Isæus, *de Apollod. her.* p. 160: *εἰ τις τελευτήσῃ μελῶν διέθετο*. Cf. Diog. Laert. iv. 44. The document was superscribed with the name of the testator. Demosth. in *Steph.* i. p. 1106: *γραμματεῖον ἔχειν, ἐφ' ᾧ γεγράφθαι, Διαθήκη Πασίωνος*. At the end, curses were often imprecated against those who should act contrary to its dispositions. Demosth. *Phorm.* p. 960: *ἀλλ' ἐναντία τῇ διαθήκῃ καὶ ταῖς ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἀραῖς γραφαῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλαύνει, διώκει, συκοφαντεῖς*.

²⁰ The Attic laws of inheritance are obscure and difficult. Polycles and Cleobule are here supposed without heirs male, while the latter, as niece of the testator, would be heir at law. There occur instances of a third person being designated as spouse as well as κύριος of the testator's widow. The cases of Demosthenes' father, Demosth. in *Aphob.* may be cited, and perhaps also that of Pasion. *Id.* in *Steph.* p. 1110. Cf. Diog. Laert. x. 19.

²¹ Usually the various goods and chattels are enumerated in the will; here, however, Plato's will has been the model: *σκεύη τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὧν ἔχει τὰ ἀντίγραφα Δημήτριος*. Diog. Laert. iii. 43.

him as my son²². But should he refuse to marry
then I bequeath to him the five talents lying with
the money-changer; but I then constitute him
an of Cleobule, and he shall give her, with the rest
property, to some husband of his own choosing; who
take possession of my house. I give and bequeath
se on the Olympieion to Theron, the son of Callias;
e lodging-house in the Piræus to Sophilos, son of

To the son of Callipides I bequeath my largest
owl, and to his wife a pair of gold ear-rings, and
verlets and two cushions of the best in my posses-
that I may not seem to have forgotten them²³. To
sician, Zenothemis, I leave a legacy of one thousand
æ, though his skill and attention have deserved still

Let my sepulchre be erected in a fitting spot of
den outside the Melitic gate²⁵. Let Theron, toge-
th Sophilos and my relatives, see to it that my
es and monument be neither unworthy of me, nor
too sumptuous a scale²⁶. I expressly prohibit

slaves, I hereby manumit²⁹ Parmeno, and Chares³⁰, with his child; but Carion and Donax must work for four years in the garden, and shall then be made free, if they shall have conducted themselves well during that period³¹. Manto shall be free immediately on Cleobule's marriage³², and shall also receive three minæ. Of the children of my slaves none are to be sold, but are to be kept in the house till they are grown up, and then set free³³. Syrus however shall be sold³⁴. Sophilos, Theron, and Callipides will discharge the duties of executors³⁵. This testament is placed in the keeping of Sosilas. Witnesses: Lysimachos, son

λέτρα καὶ δίδωμι πάντε μνᾶς, καὶ ἱμέτιον καὶ χιτῶνα· ἵνα πολλὰ πεπονηκῶς μετ' ἑμοῦ, βίον εὐσχήμονα ἔχῃ.

²⁹ The manumission of slaves, and of their children, occurs very frequently in wills. So in Aristotle's will, *Diog. Laert.* v. 15. Also a female slave is sometimes assigned to a freed-man. Thus in Lycon's will: *δίδωμι δὲ καὶ Σύρῃ ἐλευθέρῃ ὅντι τέτταρας μνᾶς, καὶ τὴν Μηνοδώραν δίδωμι.*

³⁰ The assertion of Limburg Brower, *Hist. de la Civilisation des Grecs*, i. p. 254, that slaves might not have the same names as free-men, is utterly unfounded. In the above-mentioned wills a host of the most distinguished names are mentioned as being those of slaves, for instance, Dionysios, Philo, Cimon, Callias, Demetrios, Crito, Chares, Euphranor, Agathon, Nicias, &c. Had not this been the case, the law (*Gell.* ix. 2), that no slave might bear the names Harmodius or Aristogeiton, would have been superfluous.

³¹ *Diog. Laert.* v. 55: *Μάνην δὲ CHAR.*

καὶ Καλλίαν παραμείναντας ἔτη τέτταρα ἐν τῷ κήπῳ καὶ συνεργασάμενους καὶ ἀναμαρτήτους γενομένους ἀφίημι ἐλευθέρους. So also *Id.* v. 73: καὶ Ἀγάθωνα δύο ἔτη παραμείναντα ἀφείσθαι ἐλεύθερον.

³² Aristotle's will. *Diog. Laert.* v. 15: *Τάχωνα δὲ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι, ὅταν ἡ παῖς ἐκδοθῇ.*

³³ This humane disposition is also made by Aristotle. *Id.*: *μὴ πωλεῖν δὲ τῶν παιδίων μηδένα τῶν ἐμὲ θεραπυνόντων, ἀλλὰ χρῆσθαι αὐτοῖς ὅταν δ' ἐν ἡλικίᾳ γένωνται, ἐλεύθερα ἀφείναι κατ' ἀξίαν.*

³⁴ Theophrastus' will. *Diog. Laert.* v. 55: *Εὐβιον δ' ἀποδόσθαι.*

³⁵ In Theophrastus' will we have: *Ἐπιμεληταὶ δὲ ἔστωσαν τῶν ἐν τῇ διαθήκῃ γεγραμμένων Ἰππαρχος, Νηλεὺς, Στρατών, κ.τ.λ.* *Diog. Laert.* v. 56. These *ἐπιμεληταί*, or executors, are not quite identical with the *ἐπιτρόποι* in Aristotle's or Plato's wills, for the latter took also the office of guardians. See Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 445.

Cleobule ; ‘fear not that I will lay claim
that Polycles intended for me. I myself
and could easily be dazzled by the tempt
am too old to dream of wedding a young
do I resign the rich inheritance, and sha
husband more suitable in age.’

Cleobule turned away with a shudder
the will, saying, ‘Nothing more is now
attestation of the witnesses, that such
the will, when opened³⁶.’ The witness
their seals to the writing. ‘It is not t
that Polycles has left,’ remarked one o
‘What?’ exclaimed Sosilas, turning pale;
here about the existence of another will.
understand it,’ replied the witness; ‘bu
you received this, Polycles called me and
witnesses, on his depositing another docu
a duplicate of this—in the hands of M
house he had caused himself to be convey

The effects of this disclosure on tho
as might have been expected, extremely
stood like one utterly undone.

other. Sosilas at length broke the silence. 'This will,' said he with some vehemence, 'is genuine; and even supposing that there is another authentic one in existence, its contents will of course be the same.' 'Why! it is indeed hardly to be supposed,' rejoined Sophilos, 'that Polycles would have changed his mind in two days: but we must invite Menecles to produce the copy in his custody, without loss of time.' A slave here entered, and whispered a message in his ear. 'The very thing:' he cried. 'Menecles is not less punctual than you. Two of his witnesses have already arrived, in obedience to his summons; and he will therefore shortly be here in person.' The men now entered. Sosilas walked up and down the room, and gradually recovered his composure. Even should his plans be unpleasantly disturbed by the contents of the second will, still a wide field would be open for litigation, in which he had an even chance of coming off victor. Menecles soon arrived with the other two witnesses, and delivered the will. The superscription and seal were found to be correct, and its contents tallied with those of the first, word for word, with the exception of the two names, which were interchanged. At the end was a postscript, to the effect, that an exactly similar testament was deposited with Sosilas the Piræan³⁷.

³⁷ This custom of depositing several copies of a will in the hands of different persons seems to have been very common. In Demosth. in Steph. ii. p. 1137, where we read: διαθηκῶν οἶδεῖς πῶποτε ἀντίγραφα ἐποιήσατο· ἀλλὰ συγγραφῶν μὲν, ἵνα εἰδῶσι καὶ μὴ παραβῶναι, διαθηκῶν δὲ οὐ. τοῦτον γὰρ ἕνεκα καταλείπουσιν οἱ διατιθέμενοι, ἵνα μηδεὶς εἰδῇ, ἃ διατίθενται, all that is meant is that no open copies were given, whence the contents of a man's will might be divulged in his life-time. This agrees with Isæus, de Apollod. Her. p. 160. But

several copies might be left for additional security. Arcesilaos took this precaution. In a letter to Thaumantias, in which he commits a copy to his keeping, we read, κείμεναι δὲ Ἀθηναῖσιν αὐταὶ παρὰ τισὶ τῶν γνωρίμων, καὶ ἐν Ἑρετρίᾳ παρ' Ἀμφικρίτῳ. Diog. Laert. iv. 44. So Theophrastus had deposited three copies. See his will in Diog. Laert. v. 57: αἱ διαθήκαι κείμεναι ἀντίγραφα τῷ Θεοφράστου δακτυλίῳ σσημασμέναι, μία μὲν, κ.τ.λ. The witnesses might, or might not, be the same; thus in Theophrastus' second will, we have μάρ-

the house, either to attach themselves or merely to be spectators of the pageant before, whilst the corpse lay in state, the by persons who in the course of their life had crossed its threshold. Several too had shown celerity in putting on mourning, being anxious to establish their claims to a distant relationship with the defunct, when they learnt the property was there seemed a prospect of good fishing waters³⁸.

Charicles, however, did not present himself although perhaps the house possessed greater interest for him, than for any of the others. The late unexpected appearance made on the previous day had escaped him, and he held it improper to come to the departed by a second visit. Still he accompanied the funeral procession to the tomb; and in fact Sophilos, who somewhat liked the youth, had himself invited him to be present. The old gentleman had paid him some attention in a significant manner, had described how his life was imperilled by the will, which he was

to him personally; for, in case a fraud were detected, the lady would become the wife of Sophilos; and, as regarded himself, he had made up his mind, that, even under the most favourable circumstances, it would never befit one of his years and condition to marry a widow of such large property³⁹: he was, nevertheless, pained to think that such a fascinating creature might fall into the power of one, who, to judge from all accounts, must be utterly unworthy of her. He had caught only a hasty glimpse of Sosilas at Polyces' house, and therefore was the more inclined to attend the funeral, where he would be sure to obtain a good view of him;—impelled by these reasons, he had repaired to the house of woe at an early hour, but forbore to enter, waiting outside in order to attach himself to Sophilos, as soon as he should come out.

The first ray of the morning sun had not as yet beamed forth, when the procession began to move. In front, the plaintive tones of the flutes resounded in Carian mode; next followed the friends of the deceased, and any others of the male sex who wished to join the train. Behind these came freedmen⁴⁰, bearing the bed, on which lay the corpse, as if asleep, wearing a white robe and garland. The magnificent purple pall was half hidden by numberless chaplets and *tæniæ*⁴¹: beside it walked slaves bearing vessels of ointment, and other needful accessories. Behind the bier followed the women, and among them Cleobule, led by her mother. Never, perhaps, had she appeared

³⁹ So Plutarch, *Amat.* 2, says, with regard to a somewhat similar case: *Παραδόξον δὲ τοῦ πράγματος αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι, ἢ τε μήτηρ ὑφειρώτο τὸ βέρος τοῦ οἴκου καὶ τὸν ὄγκον, ὥς οὐ κατὰ τὸν ἔραστήν.* See Excursus on *The Women*.

⁴⁰ This supposition is the most natural one in the absence of relations. See Excursus on *The Burials*.

⁴¹ The passage of Alciphron, *Epist.* i. 36, quoted in the Excursus on *The Burials*, need not lead us to suppose that the bier of young persons only was thus crowned. Plutarch, *Philop.* 21, speaking of Philopæmen's burial, says: *Αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν ὑδρίαν ὑπὸ πλῆθους ταινιῶν καὶ στεφάνων μόλις ὀρωμένην ἐκόμιζεν ὁ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν παῖς, Πολύβιος.*

them of their natural freshness and colour, which they thus endeavoured to imitate. Thus Ischomachos counselled his young wife to take exercise, that she might do without the rouge which she was accustomed constantly to use. Xenoph. *Æcon.* 10, 10: συνεβούλευον αὐτῇ, μὴ δουλικῶς αἰεὶ καθῆσθαι. Cf. Stob. *Tit.* lxxiv. 61: Εἰ γὰρ μηδὲν τι ὀκνῆσαι αὐτὴν καὶ περὶ γυμνασίας ἔχειν ἀναπείσαις, ἐνταῦθα εὖροις ἂν καὶ, οὐ πάλαι ἐπεθυμοῦμεν, τὸν κόσμον τῷ σώματι. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ ὑγιαίνειν οὐδὲν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ ἄλλο τι περίθημα καὶ περιδέριον κρεῖττον. Πόρρω δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ τοῦ δεηθῆναι γυνὴ ὑγιαίνουσα καὶ ψιμυθίου, καὶ ὑπ' ὀφθαλμῷ ὑπογραφῆς, καὶ ἄλλου χρώματος ζωγραφοῦντος καὶ ἀφανίζοντος τὰς ὀψεις. While the women were engaged in their ordinary domestic avocations, paint may have been partially disused, but it was resumed when they were going out, or wished to be specially attractive. So in Lysias, *de Cæde Eratosth.* p. 15, the woman retouches her complexion when she goes to meet her paramour, and the poet —

νην, πολλῶν
κοτέρα ἔτι δι
δὲ ἐγχούση,
νοίτο τῆς ἀλ
sistr. 48; *Eci*
of Alexis in *A*
συμβέβηκε εἶνα
ψιμυθίῃ.
λευκόχρως λίσσ
βεται.

See *Elymol.* A
folly and repu
are well pict
Xen. *Æcon.* 1
ται τοὺς μὲν
ἀνεξελέγκτως
δὲ αἰεὶ ἀνάγκη
ρῶσιν ἐξαπατ
ἐξ εὐνῆς ἀλίε
πρὶν παρασκε
τος ἐλέγχοντι
σανίζονται, ἡ
κατωπτεύθησε
ing fragment i
xiii. p. 557 :

Μὰ Δί', οὐχὶ περι
οὐδ' ὥσπερ ὑμεῖς
κεχρμέναι. κἂν ἐ
ἀπὸ τῶν μὲν ὀφθα.

The procession soon approached the garden, in the centre of which the funeral pyre had been erected. The bier having been lifted upon it, unguent vessels and other articles were thrown in, and a blazing pine-link was then applied to the pile, which being constructed of the most inflammable materials, took light at once, and the consuming flame shot high aloft, amid the loud lamentations and sobs of those present. Sincere tears of deepest sorrow were shed by Cleobule. With tottering step she approached the blazing pile, to throw into it a vessel of ointment, as a last libation of love; when, in her distraction, a sudden draught of air drove the flame towards her, without her being conscious of the danger. 'For heaven's sake!' screamed several voices, and Charicles, reckless of everything, darted ahead of all the rest, and with his hands smothered the flame, which had already caught the border of her robe; he then led the trembling Cleobule to her mother, who was hastening towards her⁴³.

A part only of the escort tarried till the ashes were collected, and all the rites duly discharged. Of this number was Charicles. But when the bones had been consigned to the ground, and the women had bidden farewell to the new-made grave, he also, with Sophilos, wended his way back towards the city. The possible consequences of the unhappy will formed the topic of conversation. Charicles

It was also called *στίμμις*. Poll. v. 101: *καὶ τὰ ὑπογράμματα καὶ ἡ στίμμις παρ' Ἴωνι ἐν Ὀμφάλῃ καὶ τὴν μέλαιναν στίμμις ὀμματογράφον*. Instances occur of men painting, so Demetrios Phalereus, mentioned by Duris, ap. Athen. xii. p. 542. Ischomachos too asks his wife if she would prefer him painted. Xenoph. *Econ.* 10, 5. The passage however is evidently corrupt, since *ἀνδρείκελον* was never used for painting the eyes. We should probably read *μίλτω ἢ ἀνδρείκελῳ*. In Tischbein's *Engravings*, ii. 58, is

a vase-painting of a female in a sitting posture occupied in rouging with a brush. This is copied in Böttiger's *Sabina*, Pl. ix. The operation was also performed with the finger.

⁴³ After Terent. *Andr.* i. 1, 102:

In ignem imposita est: fietur. Interea hæc soror,

Quam dixi, ad flamam accessit imprudentius. Satis cum periculo: ibi tum exanimatus Pamphilus

Bene dissimulatum amorem et celatum indicat.

Adcurrit, mediam mulierem complectitur, etc.

CHARICLES.

[SCENE IX.

not conceal how very different an impression Sosilas made upon him from what he had expected. To-day he had looked so unassuming and devout, and withal so amiable, that he had well nigh dropped his suspicions. 'I never would believe,' said he, 'that beneath this exterior lurked such knavery!' 'You will meet with plenty of such,' answered Sophilos, 'who go about with the countenance of lambs, but within are the most poisonous scorpions; it is just these that are most dangerous of all.' At the city-gate they separated. A strange slave followed them at a distance all the way. He now stood still for a moment, apparently undecided which of the two he should pursue. 'Youth is more liberal,' he said half aloud, after reflecting a moment, 'especially in love.' With this he struck into the path Charicles had taken, and which led through a narrow lonely street between two garden-walls; here he redoubled his pace and soon overtook Charicles. 'Who art thou?' asked he, retreating back a step. 'A slave, as you see,'

‘Good,’ replied the slave, ‘but the freedman must have the means wherewith to live⁴⁶.’ ‘That also shall you have; five minæ are yours, if you speak the truth.’ ‘Thy name is Charicles,’ said the slave; ‘no one hears your promise, but I’ll trust you. My master is Sosilas, and they call me Molon.’ He opened a small bag, and pulled something out of it with a mysterious air. ‘See, here is the signet,’ said he, ‘with which the forged will was sealed.’ He took some wax, wetted it, and impressed the seal thereon. ‘That is the device of Polycles, an eagle clawing a snake; you will be the eagle.’ He related how he had witnessed the forgery through a crack in the door; how a rustling he had made was near betraying him; and how Sosilas in his haste to bundle up the things had unwittingly let the false stamp drop on the coverlet. ‘Now then,’ said he, ‘haven’t I kept my word?’ ‘By the gods! and so will I,’ cried Charicles, almost beside himself with wonder and joy. ‘Not five—no—ten minæ shalt thou have. And now to Sophilos with all speed.’ ‘No!’ said the slave, ‘I trust to you. Do you go by yourself, and have me called, when you have need of me.’

formed, but the manumission might be otherwise effected. See *Excursus on The Slaves*.

⁴⁶ After Plaut. *Epid.* v. 2, 60:

PE. Optimum atque æquissimum oras: soccos, tunicam, pallium
Tibi dabo. EP. Quid deinde porro? PE. Libertatem. EP. At postea?
Novo liberto opus est, quod pappet. PE. Dabitur: præbebo cibum.

and claim to a greater share of political and a deeper religious significance, than the Parthenon, the Panathenæa and the Eleusinian mentioned object—pleasure—was attained by that feast at which the giver of joy, Dionysos himself, was worshipped. Almost that the original intention of the festival for the noblest gift brought by the gods—had been lost sight of in the tumult of unbridled mirth. On these days all serious occupation was banished, and the people embraced with open arms the myrmidons of Methe and Comos, resigning themselves to their sway. To have their fill of enjoyment, of public spectacle and carouse, and to revel in the transport of delight—such was the aim of young and old, the common goal to which they pressed forward; nay, even the most sober-minded, to the stringency of habit, followed the multitude.

Ne'er blush with drink to spice the feast
And reeling own the mighty wine-god's
The feast of the city Dionysia

at the beginning of spring, with the greatest splendour and festivities, was most popular of all. Not only did it attract the inhabitants of Attica²; but a vast number of strangers, eager for spectacles and diversion, streamed into Athens on these anniversaries to share in the fun and frolic.

The first anniversary of this festival since Charicles had returned to Athens, had now arrived. The milder days of spring had set in early³; the winterly rest and stillness of the port had yielded to new life and animation; craft were beginning to run in from the neighbouring ports and islands; and the merchants were fitting out their ships on any venture that promised a lucrative return⁴. Innumerable guests had poured to the scene of the festival from all the regions of Greece⁵; every house was kept

Ptolemy Dionysios it was thought a crime to remain sober; so at least says Lucian, *de Calumn.* 16: παρά Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐπικληθέντι ἐγένετό τις, ὃς διέβαλε τὸν Πλατωνικὸν Δημήτριον, ὅτι ὕδωρ τε πίνει καὶ μένος τῶν ἄλλων γυναικεῖα οὐκ ἐρεδύσατο ἐν τοῖς Διονυσίοις. καὶ εἰ γε μὴ κληθεῖς ἔωθεν ἐπινέ τε πάντων ὁρώντων καὶ λαβὼν Ταραντινίδιον ἐκυμβάλισέ τε καὶ προσωρχήσατο, ἀπολῶλει αὐν.

² Country folks naturally resorted to the city-Dionysia, though more rarely in early times. Isocrates, *Agesop.* p. 203, says that the ancient inhabitants of Attica were so comfortably off in their farms, (ὥστε) πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν μὴδ' εἰς τὰς ἑορτὰς εἰς ἄστυ καταβαίνειν, ἀλλ' αἰρεῖσθαι μένειν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἀγαθοῖς μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν κοινῶν ἀπολαύειν.

³ By spring is here meant the milder season of the year generally. In Attica this may be supposed usually to have set in some time in March;

though occasionally cold weather might return. Plutarch, *Demetr.* 12: Τῇ δ' ἡμέρᾳ, ἣ τὰ Διονύσια ἐγένετο, τὴν πομπὴν κατέλυσαν ἰσχυρῶν πάγων γενομένων παρ' ὧραν καὶ πάχυνε βαθείας πεσοῦσης ἧς οὐ μόνον ἀμπέλους καὶ συκᾶς ἀπάσας ἀπέκαυσε τὸ ψῦχος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ σίτου τὸν πλεῖστον κατέφθειρεν ἐν χλόῃ.

⁴ Navigation was suspended during the winter. Hesiod, *Opp.* 619. The time of the city-Dionysia was the period when the sea was again considered navigable. Theophr. *Char.* 3: τὴν θάλατταν ἐκ Διονυσίων πλωῖμον εἶναι.

⁵ The Dionysia and other festivals were visited by a very great concourse of strangers. Xenoph. 1, 11: ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων ἕκαστα οἱ μὲν ἰδιῶται ἔρχονται καὶ εἰς πόλεις, ἃς αὐτοὶ βούλονται, θαμάτων ἕνεκα καὶ εἰς τὰς κοινὰς πανηγύρεις. Æschin. in *Ctesiph.* p. 428: Κτησιφῶν δὲ (ἀνακηρύττειν κελεύει) ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ...οὐδὲ ἐκκλησιαζόντων Ἀθηναίων, ἀλλὰ τραγῳδῶν

for the reception of distant friends; every tavern was small to accommodate its crowd of visitors. Many had erected booths in the streets and public places, in order to turn the festival to profit; for, besides the idlers and pleasure-hunters, a mass of the lower classes came, in the hopes of picking up something among the confluence of idlers. Retail-dealers⁶ of all descriptions had arrived; pimps, with their bevvies of Corinthian girls; jugglers, and strolling mountebanks, laden with the apparatus of their art, and the decorations of their trade; all were ready to devote their utmost exertions to the amusement of the public, and the replenishment of their own purses.

Charicles was one of the few who could not be allured by the universal tone of enjoyment. Since the death of his wife more than four months had passed, and these had been to him a period of disquiet and of painful irresolution. His affairs had taken a most happy turn. In addition to the slave's statement, and the production of the

this also testified against Sosilas, and the forgery he had committed was now so manifest, that he might congratulate himself on the magnanimity of Sophilos in not proceeding against him. Charicles had therefore no further cause for alarm about the fate of Cleobule; but he became the more anxious and uncertain respecting his own destiny, particularly as Sophilos delayed his marriage, and had let fall some expressions which seemed to indicate that he had no intention of ever celebrating it; nay, he even hinted that he designed his young friend, whom he treated almost like a son, for the bridegroom of the wealthy widow. This it was that rendered our hero so uneasy.

The heart of Charicles leaned, it is true, towards Cleobule, and it pained him to fancy the possibility of her being the bride of another; but Phorion's warning, not to become dependent on a rich wife, resounded loudly in his ears; and he was the more alive to the truth of his sage monitor's advice, from his own innate love of freedom and independence. His humble patrimony almost vanished in comparison with the dowry which Cleobule would bring her future husband, and her property, not his, would be the basis of the establishment. 'No!' he had mentally ejaculated, "'Look out for a wife befitting you," says the proverb⁹, as Ctesiphon, not without reason, lately reminded me: never will I sacrifice to inclination the position that a free man ought to enjoy.' And thus he fancied that by dint of calm reason he had vanquished the passion that filled his bosom: when, on the day preceding the festival, Sophilos came to him, as he often did, with looks of the sincerest friendship. 'I have a weighty business to discuss with you, Charicles,' said he, after the first salutations, 'and I wish, in the celebration of the festival, to be one care lighter. The will of Polycles makes it

Ἀθήνησι παρὰ τινος τῶν φίλων,
τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἀπέστειλεν εἰς οἶκον,
κ.τ.λ.

⁹ τὴν κατὰ σαυτὸν ἔλα. Plutarch,
de Educ. Puer. 19. See Excursus on
The Women.

lect is unenfeebled by age¹⁰; but, notwithstanding, I am the cares of a husband and a father days with a thousand anxieties¹¹? I have none of them, and am resolved to pass the remainder of my life in peace.' 'But can you resist the temptation of a dower?' enquired Charicles. 'What riches?' said Sophilos gravely. 'Have more than I want, and does not my property which was left by Polycles? But for what purpose? To buy up riches? My sons fell in the wars ago, and the son I still might have, if—but why add to a painful subject? Enough! for Cleobule has put forward any claim to the property she shall not be wedded to an old man whose husband rests with me; but it were better she should have one of her own choosing, you are the man.' 'I!' cried Charicles in a moment the blood mounted to his cheeks; 'Clecis! The thought of being so near happiness, to stretch out his hand to obtain it, has no effect on Charicles that I can describe.'

'I thank you,'—he replied at length in a collected tone, —'for the twofold happiness you design for me; but this marriage would be unsuited to my circumstances.' 'Unsuited?' repeated Sophilos in amazement. 'A young and blooming bride, and good and well-mannered withal, with such a property too, and not suit? Or is it because she is a widow, that you hesitate? Fool that you must be! call her a bride rather, a bride of sixteen, whose bridegroom never escorted her to the thalamos, for he was a dying man from the very hour of the marriage-feast. Search Athens through, and you will not find a damsel who could with more confidence enter the grotto of Pan at Ephesos, where, as they say, the god takes terrible vengeance on the conscious delinquent¹².' 'Not for that,'

¹² Achill. Tat. viii. 6, relates that pure virgins only might enter this grotto, which Pan had dedicated to Artemis, and wherein he had hung up his pipe. Hence, any damsel suspected of incontinence was made to enter it, and the doors were closed; if she was innocent, the clear tones of the flute were heard, the doors flew open of themselves, and the maiden came out scatheless. Were the contrary the case, the flute remained mute, sounds of wailing reached the ears, the doors remained closed, and the female was seen no more. This story may not have been the pure invention of the writer, but may have been founded on some local legend, most likely of considerable antiquity. *Ælian, Hist. Anim.* xi. 6, mentions a similar test of virginity in the dragon's cave at Lanuvium, and this is elsewhere corroborated; as also is what Achilles Tatius relates of the *Στυγὸς ὕδωρ*, by which an oath was tested. Hence the tale about Pan's grotto need not be considered pure fiction. Ordeals were as well known

in antiquity as in the middle ages. The earliest instance of the kind occurs, Sophocl. *Antig.* 264, where the guards over the corpse of Polyneices assert their innocence:

ἡμεν δ' ἑτοιμοὶ καὶ μύδρους αἶρειν χερσὶν
καὶ πῦρ διέρπειν, καὶ θεοὺς ὀρκωμοτέιν
τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι, μήτε τῷ ξυνεῖδέναι
τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλεύσαντι, μήτ' εἰργασμένῃ.

This of course does not refer to torture, or anything of the kind, but is a voluntary offer of the speakers to attest their innocence by lifting hot iron, passing through the fire, and similar acts. Brunk, incorrectly it would appear, compares the *θανμαστὴ λεποπλοῖα* at Soracte. See Strabo, v. 2, 9. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 2, however clearly shews that this was a piece of mummery got up by the priests to deceive the credulous people. A similar imposture took place, according to Strabo, xii. 2, 7, at Castabala in Cilicia, *ὅπου φασὶ τὰς λεπίας γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ δι' ἀνθρακίας βαδίζειν ἀπαθῆναι*. A case much more in point occurs in Pausan. vii. 25, 8, where it is related that the purity of the priestesses in a

she would ever exercise over you would
Come, don't be a fool, and mar C
and your own, by pride and obstinacy
each other, I know full well. I had
you this very day; but since you raise
thereon when the festival is over.'

The Dionysia had begun, and pleased
pursuit of all through the live-long day
citizens paraded the streets in holiday
on their brows; altars and Hermæ with
chaplets; and in every thoroughfare
filled with the gift of the god, inviting

temple in Achaia was put to the proof
by making them drink ox-blood, which
was thought to be deadly poison: πί-
νουνται δὲ αἷμα ταύρου δοκιμάζον-
ται. ἢ δ' ἂν αὐτῶν τύχη μὴ δληθεύ-
ουσα, ἀντίλα ἐκ τούτου τὴν δίκην ἔχει.
Cf. Aristoph. *Equites*, 80; Plutarch,
Themist. 31, and Scholiast thereon.
Another peculiar ordeal was the altar.

Tat. viii. 12 :
τὸν ὄρκον γρ.
μένον περιεθί-
ψεν δὲ τὸν δ
ἢ πηγὴ· ἂν δὲ
ζεται καὶ ἀνι-
καὶ τὸ γραμμ
ὕδωρ ὄρκιον ;
mentioned by

drink to their very heart's content¹³. Everywhere peals of loud laughter and boisterous mirth assailed the ear; nought was to be seen but troops of merry-makers, and reckless swarms of comastæ, impudently caricaturing the pomp and ceremony of the festal procession.

But the most curious sight of all was the mob that beset the theatre. Since early dawn the seats had been crammed with spectators, who attentively followed the solemn contest of the tragedians, previous to being diverted, a little later, by the more lively fare of the comedians¹⁴. From time to time stormy rounds of cheering and applause burst from the serried mass; while at intervals might also be heard a shrill whistling, directed at an obnoxious passage in the play, or the bad performance of some actor, or, perchance, meant for some one among the audience.

Outside the theatre also, sight-seers of more humble pretensions found abundant materials for amusement. Here a puppet-man had set up his little theatre¹⁵, and, with

¹³ A Delphian oracle, quoted by Demosth. in *Mid.* p. 531, enjoined the Athenians,

παυμένης Βάχου καὶ εὐρυχόρου κατ' ἀγυιάς
ιστύναι ἀραίαν Βρομίην χάριν ἄμμιγα πάντας,
καὶ περισσὴν βωμοῖσι, κέρη στεφάνοις πυκνίσαντες.

Cf. in *Macart.* p. 1072: κατ' ἀγυιάς κρατῆρας ιστύνειν. This was also the case at the Dionysia at Pellene in Achaia, and elsewhere. Pausan. vii. 27, 2: τοῦτω καὶ Λαμπτηρίαν ἰορτήν ἔχουσι καὶ δᾶδες τε ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν κομίζουσι ἐν νυκτὶ καὶ οἶνον κρατῆρας ιστύνειν ἀνὰ τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν.

¹⁴ Kannegiesser, *Die alte kom. Bühne in Athen*, has supposed that because the scene of several comedies of Aristophanes is laid early in the

morning, therefore the representation of them commenced at daybreak. But, on the other hand, it is clear from *Aves*, 785, that the tragedy was acted early, and the comedy in the afternoon:

αὐτίχ' ὑμῶν τῶν θεατῶν εἴ τις ἦν ὑπὸ πτερος,
εἴτα πεινῶν τοῖς χοροῖσι τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἤχθετο,

ἐκπτόμενος ἂν οὗτος ἤριστήσεν ἰλθὼν οἴκαδ' κῆρ' ἂν ἐμπλησθεὶς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀδθῆς αὖ κατέπτετο.

¹⁵ Puppets moved by strings, *νευρόσπαστα*, are mentioned by Herodotus, ii. 48, as having been introduced from Egypt: ἀντὶ δὲ φαλλῶν ἄλλα σφί ἐστι ἐξευρημένα ὅσον τε πηχυαία ἀγάλματα νευρόσπαστα, τὰ περιφορέουσι κατὰ κώμας γυναῖκες, νεῦον τὸ αἰδοῖον, κ.τ.λ. See Lucian, *de Syr. dea*, 16; Aristot. *de Mundo*,

time to time opened his mouth wide,
of sparks among the horrified specta-
parent difficulty, gulped down swords
far off a juggler had pitched his tent,
precaution of placing projecting barri-

6: ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ οἱ νευροσπᾶσται
μίαν μῆρινθον ἐπισπασάμενοι ποιοῦσι
καὶ αὐχένα κινεῖσθαι καὶ χεῖρα τοῦ
ζώου, καὶ ὤμον, καὶ ὀφθαλμόν. Cf.
Heindorf, ad Hor. *Sat.* ii. 7, 82. Per-
sons strolled about, exhibiting them
for a livelihood. Xenoph. *Symp.* 4,
55: οὗτοι γὰρ τὰ ἐμὰ νευρόσπαστα
θεώμενοι τρέφουσίν με.

¹⁵ Plant. *Cist.* v. 2, 45:

Nutrix

. . . me spectatum tulor at per Dionysia.

¹⁷ On this κυβιστᾶν εἰς μαχαίρας,
see Note 22 to Scene vi. Cf. Athen.
iv. p. 129; and *Mus. Borb.* iv. 58,
where we actually see represented this
κυβιστᾶν εἰς κύκλον περίμεστον ξι-
φῶν ὀρθῶν.

¹⁸ Xenoph. *Symn.* 7. 2. . . .

iv. p. 129: (
τουργοὶ γι
σαι καὶ πῦ
ζουσαι γυμ

²⁰ Pluta

Athenian, i
tan swords
θαυμαστοὶ
θεάτροις.
performing
same as the
same purpose
where Satyr
καὶ ξίφος τι
στῶν τεσσά
κώπη βραχύ
πλείω τριῶν.
φος ὁ Μενέλ
κατὰ τὸ τοῦ

curious observers from his apparatus-table. Simple rustics and fishermen beheld with wonderment how at first the pebbles lay, one under each of the mysterious cups, then all are under one, after which they all vanished, finally reappearing out of the conjurer's mouth²². But when, after causing them to disappear a second time, he finally drew them all three out of the nose and ears of the nearest spectator, several of them scratched their heads, as not knowing what to make of it; and one plain countryman, shaking his head, said to his neighbour, 'I say, if this chap come near my farm, then good-bye to goods and gear²³.' But the heartiest laughter was heard round the booth of a man who was exhibiting a number of trained monkeys, dressed in motley suits, with masks before their faces, and which performed elaborate dances like so many well-behaved human beings²⁴. The trainer's switch kept

and on Theophr. *Char.* 6, has discussed the ancient jugglers. Cf. Beckmann's *History of Inventions*, from which mainly, Böttiger has compiled his meagre account. He is quite wrong too in supposing the performers had nothing erected to conceal their secret apparatus, for the contrary is expressly asserted by Plato, *de Republ.* vii. p. 514: ὥσπερ τοῖς θαυματοποιοῖς πρὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρᾶσσεται τὰ παραφράγματα, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ θαύματα δεικνύσιν.

²² One of the commonest tricks was that of passing objects from under one cup to another (*παροψίδες μικραὶ*). The performers were hence called *ψηφοκλέπται*, *ψηφοπαῖκται*, *ψηφολόγοι*. Athen. i. p. 19; Poll. vii. 201. Suidas quotes the words of an unknown writer: ὥσπερ οἱ ψηφολόγοι τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῷ τάχει τῆς μεταθέσεως τῶν ψηφῶν ἀπατώντες συναρπάζουσι. See Artemidor. *Oneirocr.* iii. 56; and Alciphron, *Epist.* iii.

20, is still more explicit in his description: Εἰς γὰρ τις, εἰς μέσους παρελθὼν καὶ στήσας τρίποδα, τρεῖς μικρὰς παρτίθει παροψίδας. εἶτα ὑπὸ ταύταις ἔσκεπε μικρὰ τινα καὶ λευκὰ καὶ στρογγύλα λιθίδια, οἷα ἡμεῖς ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις τῶν χειμάρρων ἀνευρίσκομεν. ταῦτα ποτὲ μὲν κατὰ μίαν ἔσκεπε παροψίδα, ποτὲ δὲ, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως, ὑπὸ τῇ μιᾷ ἐδείκνυ, ποτὲ δὲ παντελῶς ἀπὸ τῶν παροψίδων ἠφάνιζε καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος ἔφαιεν. εἶτα καταβροχθίσας τοὺς πλησίον ἐστῶτας ἄγων εἰς μέσον, τὴν μὲν ἐκ ῥινὸς τινος, τὴν δὲ ἐξ ὠτίου, τὴν δὲ ἐκ κεφαλῆς ἀνῃρεῖτο.

²³ Alciphron. *ib.*: Μὴ γένοιτο κατ' ἀγρὸν τοιοῦτο θηρίον' οὐ γὰρ ἀλώσεται ὑπ' οὐδενὸς καὶ πάντα ὑφαιρούμενος τὰ ἐνδον φροῦδι μοι τὰ κατ' ἀγρὸν ἀπεργάσεται.

²⁴ Lucian, *Piscat.* 36, mentions an ape-comedy like this, though his description refers to a somewhat later

great force, and levying contributions
the tables of the pedlars, where all sort
and ornaments, both false and genuine
sale²⁷. Not a few of the purchasers,
pay, discovered themselves to be minui
but it was Dionysia-time, and so nobo
by such occurrences.

Whilst all beside resigned them
joviality, Cleobule sat weeping in h
thoughts were bent on the future ; and

date. Cf. *de Merc. Cond.* 5. Dogs,
horses, and other animals were train-
ed for the same purpose. Plutarch,
Gryll. 9: κόρακαε διαλέγεσθαι καὶ
κύνας ἄλλεσθαι διὰ τροχῶν περιφε-
ρομένων ἵπποι δὲ καὶ βόες ἐν θεά-
τροις κατακλίσσει καὶ χορείαι καὶ
στάσεις παραβόλουε, καὶ κινήσεις οὐδὲ
ἀνθρώποιε πάνυ ῥαδίαις ἀκριβοῦσιν.

²⁸ As with us a person goes round
with a plate to the spectators, so the
Greek θαυμαστοίοι went round to
collect the

See also *Lu*
Symp. 2, 1.

²⁸ Lucian
λοῦ εὐδοκιμε
θεατῆς ἀσπι
ἔχων, ἀφῆκε
θηκοὶ ἰδόντι
ὀρχήσεως τι
ἐγένοντο ἀνι
τρίβον τὰ π
κατεβρήγνευ
τῆς ὀπίρας

wishes secretly cherished in her heart, she had not quitted the house, declining all share in those pleasures which her sex was permitted by custom to enjoy. For a short time she had surveyed the festival from a window, but the merry multitude possessed no attractions for her; there was one only whom she had desired to see, and she had seen him, but alas! only to feel to her sorrow that his thoughts were not occupied with her, for he had directed no kindly gaze toward the house. Charicles had passed moodily by, his eyes cast straight before him. 'He loves me not,' she said to herself, as with tears in her eyes, she left the window; 'I am forgotten, and all the oracles have played me false.' Thus she sat sorrowing in her chamber, her beautiful head leaning on the white arm which rested on the side of the chair. Chloris, her favourite and confidential slave, knelt before her, and beside her stood the aged Manto, trying, with anxious solicitude, to divine the reason of her tears. 'Art thou unwell, my mistress?' she enquired; 'hast thou peradventure been blighted by the evil-eye²⁸? If so, let us send for the old Thessalian crone, who can counteract each spell.' But Chloris understood better than Manto what was passing through her mistress' heart. She had noticed that the youth had found favour with her lady in the adventure of the brook, and that since Polycles' death the inclination cherished in secret had become a consuming passion. Why else would Cleobule have so often stealthily cracked the leaves of the telephilon²⁹? or why did she so repeatedly shoot the slippery

²⁸ It is curious to remark how the belief in the evil-eye has descended to the present time, and the *ὀφθαλμός βάσκανος* of the Greeks corresponds to the *mal-occhio* and *mauvais-œil* of our day. *Δυσμενής και βάσκανος ὁ τῶν γειτόνων ὀφθαλμός*, says Alciphron, *Ep.* i. 15; and Heliod. *Æthiop.* iii. 7, comments on and defends the popular superstition. Plutarch devotes a spe-

cial chapter to the subject. *Sympos.* v. 7: *περὶ τῶν βασκαίνειν λεγομένων καὶ βάσκανον ἔχειν ὀφθαλμόν*. There, as in Heliodorus, the notion is partly derided, partly defended. Not only the person, but his property could be affected by *βασκανία*. Virg. *Ecl.* 103. See Note 3 to Scene VIII.

²⁹ Just as the leaves of the ox-eye

are consulted in Germany as love's oracle—a game immortalized by Göthe's Gretchen—so the Greeks had recourse to more than one *μαντεία* of this sort in affairs of the heart. The usual way was to place the leaf on the ring made by bending the fore-finger to the thumb, and then to burst it with a slap of the other hand. The broad petal of the poppy-flower, hence called *πλαταγώνιον*, was used, as well as that of the anemone; but the *τηλέφιλον* is much more frequently mentioned, though it is uncertain whether this word denotes a particular plant, or was only another name for the *πλαταγώνιον*. See Pollux, ix. 27, who apparently does not distinguish between them: *Τὸ δὲ πλαταγώνιον οἱ ἐρωῶντες ἢ ἐρωῶσαι ἔπαιζον· καλεῖται μὲν γὰρ οὕτω καὶ τὸ κρίταλον καὶ τὸ σείστρον, ᾧ καταβαυκαλῶσιν αἱ τίτθαι ψυχαγωγῶσαι τὰ δυσυπνούντα τῶν παιδίων. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ τοῦ τηλεφίλου καλουμένων φύλλα ἐπὶ τοῖς πρώτοις δύο τῆς λαιᾶς δακτύλους εἰς κύκλον συμβληθέντες ἐπιθέντες τῷ κοίλῳ*

derived by the sl of the sk: principle case of i red. Or word τηλ the leaf (as an ori *Anthol.*

Ἐξότε τηλ
βος
γαστέρα.
ἔγνω, ὡς ἐ
Pollux, ix
thod, by n
Καὶ μὲν
καὶ διάκε
ὡς ὑποπ
μέτωπα μ
παραπλής

so Poll
σπέρμα τ.
τοῖς μήλοι
τοῖς τῆς ἐ
πιέζοντες
ρόν δν, εἰ
μαίνοντο τ

safeguard against the evil-eye. It is merely a transient qualm; go and prepare the potion our doctor prescribed in such a case.'

Away went Manto. Chloris affectionately embraced her mistress' knees, and giving a roguish peep upwards, said in dolorous tone, 'Alas! that odious bath.' 'What mean you?' asked Cleobule, raising herself. 'I mean the journey to Ædepsos,' answered the abigail; 'that's to blame for all. We must go to Argyra, and bathe in the water of the Selemnos²³, the wondrous efficacy of which the byssos-seller from Patræ extolled so much the other day.' 'You silly thing!' scolded the mistress with a deep blush, 'there you go chattering again!' 'Am I not right?' said the slave in coaxing tones; 'but, may be, help is nearer at hand. How runs the proverb? "He who gave

lots, προβασκάνια, as a protection against spells or misfortune. The Phalli and other obscene emblems hung about children, or even affixed to houses, as a safeguard against fascination, are well known. Plutarch, *Sympos.* v. 7, 3: Διὸ καὶ τὸ τῶν λεγομένων προβασκάνιων γίνετο οἶονται πρὸς τὸν φθόρον ὠφελεῖν, ἐλκομένης διὰ τὴν ἀτοκίαν τῆς ὀψείως, ὥστε ἔττον ἐπερείδουσιν τοῖς πάσχουσιν. Rings, also, probably with some secret token, were deemed a security against every danger. Aristoph. *Plut.* 863:

οἶδ' ἐν προτιμῷ σου. φορῶ γὰρ πριήμενος
τὸν δακτύλιον τοῦδε παρ' Εὐδόμου δραχμῆς.

So also a fragment of Antiphanes, *apud Athen.* iii. p. 123:

οὐ γὰρ κακὸν ἔχω μὲν ἔχομαι'. εἰν δ' ἄρα
στρίψῃ με περὶ τὴν γαστήρ' ἢ τὸν ὀμφαλὸν
παρὰ θεοτάτου δακτύλιός ἐστί μοι δραχμῆς.

So again Charicleia possesses a magic ring; Heliod. *Æthiop.* iv. 8. In Lucian, *Philops.* 17, Eucrates, who had been sadly plagued by ghosts, says he is free now, μέλιστα ἐξ οὗ μοι τὸν

δακτύλιον ὃ Ἄραψ ἔδωκε σιδήρου τοῦ ἐκ τῶν σταυρῶν πεποιημένον. An amulet bearing certain Ephesian characters, is mentioned by Anaxilas, *ap. Athen.* xii. p. 548: ἐν σκυταρίοις βακτοῖσι φορῶν Ἐφεσῆϊα γράμματα καλὰ. On the subject of these Ephesian characters, Photius, who gives instances of their efficacy, observes (p. 40): ὀνόματα ἅττα καὶ φωναὶ ἀντιπάθειάν τινα φυσικὴν ἔχουσιν. Hesychius gives the six original words; cf. Eustath. *ad Odyss.* xix. 247: ὅτι ἀσαφῶς καὶ ἀλνιγματωδῶς δοκεῖ ἐπὶ ποδῶν καὶ ζώνης καὶ στεφάνης ἐπιγεγράφθαι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὰ τοιαῦτα γράμματα.

²³ The little river Selemnus, in Achaia, was said, in reference to the myth of its metamorphosis, to be a cure for the love-sick. Pausan. vii. 23, 2: τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Σελέμνου σύμφορον καὶ ἀνδράσιν εἶναι καὶ γυναιξίν ἐς ἔρωτος λαμα λουομένοις ἐν τῇ ποταμῇ λήθην ἔρωτος γίνεσθαι.

ing waxen images, and pronouncing
by the magic virtue of the iynx, and
the hearts of faithless swains back :
' In the name of all the gods, no !' or
heard that such love-charms may in
object.' ' Well then,' continued Chl
more simple methods. A half-faded §
of the damsel, or a bitten apple, has c
' I'm to propose to him myself, then ?'

²⁴ 'Ο τρώσας αὐτὸς λάσεται, ori-
ginally the answer of the oracle to
Telephos, but afterwards employed in
this sense. Charit. vi. 3: φάρμακον
γὰρ ἕτερον ἔρωτος οὐδὲν ἐστὶ πλὴν
αὐτὸς ὁ ἐρώμενος. τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα τὸ
ῥιζόμενον λόγιον ἦν, ὅτι ὁ τρώσας
αὐτὸς λάσεται.

²⁵ That fertile subject, the magic
arts of the ancients, can be merely
touched on here. The *Φαρμακείτρια*
of Theocritus is the most instructive
treatise on this head which Greek lite-
rature supplies. Consult also Theophrastus

billet dou
ing out oi
to Scene
καὶ γραμ
τῆς γυνι
ἡμιμέραν
δηγμένα κ
ποὶ ἐπὶ τ
μικρὸν αἰ
ἔρωτας κ.
xii.; and
i. 36; als
Polyphem
*Ἡρατο δ' οὐ

‘no, Chloris, you are not in earnest, surely!’ ‘Let us have recourse to Sophilos then,’ interposed the indefatigable slave; ‘besides, old Manto, you know, was once Charicles’ nurse. Yes, I have it; she must be our main agent. Just leave it to me, and ere three days have passed I’ll bring the truant back.’

...had commissioned her. The streets
although it was past day-break. A
begun their day's avocations, or were
to the first morning-requirements of th
there tipsy comastæ, their faded bra
tæniæ reeking with ointment, and all
heads, came reeling homewards from
bauch, a female flute-player staggering

Manto hobbled away, without sta
where Charicles dwelt. Who more c
promote his marriage with Cleobule!
to the interests of her mistress, she
Charicles, who had been committed t
from his earliest infancy. But she wa
by a certain cherished mystery, of whi
sole living repository. Nor must it b
moment of Cleobule's marriage was th
manumission, and she hoped to pass the
in the house of Charicles, released from
Yet there was still something else tl
footsteps. An unlooked-for event thre

partly of command, to follow him. Much alarmed she had done so; and when they had escaped from the crowd, he sharply eyed her, and asked who was her master. 'My master is dead,' was her answer. The man demanded more hurriedly, whether he had left a son. 'No,' she replied, somewhat perplexed; 'he had not been married a year, when he died.' The slave looked at her for a moment with attention. 'You are certainly the woman,' he then exclaimed, 'who one-and-twenty years ago took up a boy exposed on the altar of Pity, early in the morning. I watched you; you bore off the vessel¹ with the infant to Nicarete the midwife: she has unfortunately been dead this long while; but I conjure you by the gods, tell me to whom you gave the boy: it was my master's son, and he has no other.' Manto, confused, tried to get off; but her trembling plainly shewed that the slave was not mistaken. He begged, he conjured, he threatened her, and Manto had very nearly lost her self-possession and confessed the truth; but the thought that Charicles—for he, in truth, was the boy—might find his parents again in a manner he least desired, restored her presence of mind. To be sure he could not be of lowly origin; this was proved by the fine linen-cloth that lay by the child, the golden ring with a blue stone ingeniously carved, and also by the collar, and the various gold and silver baubles². But nevertheless, Charicles, who was happy in the recollection of the loved and familiar faces of his supposed parents, and who was, at present, in the independent enjoyment of an ample fortune, might have to make an unpleasant exchange; and Cleobule—there was no know-

¹ Children were exposed in large earthen vessels, *ἐν χύτραις*. Mær. Att. p. 102: *ἐγχυτρισμός, ἡ τοῦ βρέφους ἐκθεσις, ἐπεὶ ἐν χύτραις ἐξετίθευτο*. See Schol. on *Rana*, 1288: *τὸ δὲ ἐν δοτράκῃ, ἐπεὶ ἐν χύτραις ἐξετίθεσαν τὰ παῖδια, διὸ καὶ χυτρί-*

ζειν ἔλεγον. Cf. Schol. on *Vesp.* 228; and Hesych. s. v. The sale of children is also alluded to, *Anthol. Pal.* v. 178.

² See Excursus on Education. See also Heliod. *Æthiop.* iv. 8.

CHARICLES.

[SCENE XI.

at might intervene to thwart her wishes. At all she thought it would be better that the revelation be deferred till after the wedding, and she there-omised to meet the slave the next new-moon, at near the Acharnian gate, making all sorts of excuses not saying more at the present moment. 'But I to trust you,' answered the slave, 'if I don't who you are?' 'I swear to thee by the DioscURI,' assurance. 'Women's oaths are fleeting as the on which they are written³,' he interposed; 'tell whom you belong.' 'What good will that be to answered she. 'To one so distrustful as you, that but a poor satisfaction; for how would you know d whether I were speaking the truth?' Without erving it, she had gradually drawn him back near ctacle, and profited by the lucky moment to dis- in the tumult.

s it was that urged her to the house of Charicles

blue stone, bearing the device of a running satyr, holding a hare, and will bring it to Charicles, the son of Charinos, shall receive the reward of two minæ⁴. Give my address, and add that the ring may easily be recognised, on account of a flaw in the stone right across the satyr's body.'

Manto had only caught the concluding words. 'You have lost a ring?' asked she, approaching Charicles, when the slave had disappeared. 'Yes,' said he, 'a trinket, that my dying mother gave me, with significant but enigmatical words.' 'By all the Gods!' cried the slave, 'surely not the ring with the blue stone?' 'The very same,' he replied; 'but how do you know anything about it?' 'I have seen it on your finger,' said she, trying to hide her confusion. 'Yet I have seldom worn it in Athens,' answered Charicles. 'Yesterday, at the bath, I took it off, and in some incomprehensible manner, it has disappeared; though I, not habitually wearing it, did not discover my loss till I went to bed. I had rather have lost the half of my estate than

⁴ Things lost, stolen, or found, runaway slaves, and commodities for sale, were advertised either by the public crier, a placard on the walls, or a board set up in some frequented spot. See Lucian, *Demon*. 17: 'Ἐπεὶ δὲ ποτε καὶ χρυσοῦν δακτύλιον ἰδὼ βαδίζων εἶρε, γραμμάτιον ἐν ἀγορᾷ προτιθεῖς ἡξίου τὸν ἀπολέσαντα, δεῖτε εἴη τοῦ δακτυλίου δεσπότης, ἥκειν καὶ εἰπόντα ὅλην αὐτοῦ καὶ λίθον καὶ τύπον ἀπολαμβάνειν. Lucian also travesties the form of proclaiming a fugitive slave. *Fugit*. 26: εἰ τις ἀνδράποδον Παφλαγονικόν, τῶν ἐπὶ Σινώπης βαρβάρων, ὄνομα τοιοῦτον, ὅλον ἀπὸ κτημάτων, ὑπαχρον, ἐν χρῶ κοῦριαν, ἐν γενεῇ βαθεῖ, πῆραν ἐξημμένον καὶ τριβώνιον ἀμπεχόμενον, ὀργίλον, ἀμουσον, τραχύφωνον, λοιδορον, μηνύειν ἐπὶ ῥητῶ αὐτονόμῳ. In most cases a fixed reward, μήνυτρα, or σώστρα, was promised in the advertisement. So in

Xenoph. *Memor.* ii. 10, 1. Cf. Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* vii. p. 264. The state also offered large rewards for the discovery of the perpetrators of great crimes. Thus on the occasion of the mutilation of the Hermæ, ἦσαν γὰρ κατὰ τὸ Κλεωνύμου ψήφισμα χίλια δραχμαί, κατὰ δὲ τὸ Πεισάνδρου μύριαι. Andoc. *de Myst.* p. 14. Cf. Plutarch, *Alcib.* 20; Böckh's *Public Econ. of Athens*, p. 248. For the corresponding Roman custom, consult *Galus*, Note 8 to Scene iv. p. 44. The usage of proclaiming commodities for sale some days beforehand is mentioned in the Excursus on *The Markets and Commerce*. In some states this was compulsory in judicial sales. See Theophrast. ap. Stob. *Tit.* xlv. 22: Οἱ μὲν οὖν ὑπὸ κήρυκος κελεύουσι πωλεῖν καὶ προκηρύττειν ἐκ πλειόνων ἡμερῶν. Cf. Demosth. in *Aristocr.* p. 687: οἱ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ κομιδῇ φαῦλα ἀποκηρύττοντες.

CHARICLES.

[SCENE XI.]

g; for, as my mother said, it possesses a secret, the
tion of which is lost for ever along with it. But
the matter? You tremble; and besides, what brings
e at this early hour?' 'Let us go where we are by
es', replied the crone; 'for I must speak with you.'
ow, my good Manto; I must go back to the bath,
I have already dispatched Manes. Rest awhile
nd await my return.'

e city had gradually awakened to its wonted every-
ivity. The market-place was beginning to fill; and
many were missing, who had not yet got over the
ant consequences of yesterday's carouse, the soberer
of the community adhered to the usual custom, and
the regular hour in this focus of city-life. Ctesiphon,
found the Gymnasium very thin to-day, was here in
f meeting some friends. A number of people were
g before a pillar in the arcade of the Trapezitæ,
a notice. 'Go and see what it is,' said he to his

After a vain hunt, Charicles had returned home, and was pacing, out of humour, up and down the peristyle of

the presents, with a knot taught him by Circe. The legends of a later time will not of course prove anything about the customs of the heroic age. Hence the *σφραγίς* of Theseus, ἣν αὐτὸς φέρων ἐτυχεν, mentioned by Pausan. i. 17, 3, or the sealed letters of Agamemnon and Phædra, alluded to by Euripides, *Iphig. in Aul.* 154; *Hippol.* 859, cannot here be adduced in evidence. It is highly probable that the use of the ring, and the custom of sealing, came from the East, where it was common; e.g. at Babylon, as is affirmed by Herodotus, i. 195, and abundantly attested by the hundreds of rings and signet cylinders now in the British Museum, and elsewhere. See Layard, *Discoveries at Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 156, 608. One of the oldest accounts is that of the ring of Polycrates, though it is uncertain whether this stone was cut, and served as a signet, *σφραγίς*. But in Solon's time this use of the ring was common, as is clear from the law he enacted, (see Note 6 to Scene ix.) though, from the existence of genuine signet rings, we cannot infer that they necessarily contained cut stones. In later times rings served also as ornaments, and hence several were often worn, and in the degenerate period the hands were literally covered with them. Hippias wore two. Plato, *Hipp. Min.* p. 368. But people soon went beyond this. So Aristoph. *Eccles.* 632, we read *σφραγιδας ἔχοντες*, and again, *Nub.* 332, we have *σφραγιδων χαρτοκομήταις*, though the Scholiast's explanation is absurd. Demosthenes too adorned his hands with rings in so conspicuous a manner that, at a time of public disaster, it was stigmatized as unbecoming vanity.

Dinarch. in *Demosth.* p. 29: καὶ κατασχύνων τὴν τῆς πόλεως δόξαν χρυσὸν ἐκ τῶν δακτύλων ἀναψάμενος περιεπορεύετο, τρυφῶν ἐν τοῖς τῆς πόλεως κακοῖς. And Diog. Laert. v. 1, says of Aristotle, ἐσθῆτί τε (ἦν) ἐπισήμῳ χρώμενος καὶ δακτυλίοις, καὶ κουρᾷ. Of the cost of these articles we have frequent mention. Thus Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 30, says of the Tarentines, Ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ Εὐπολὺς ἐν τῷ Μαρικᾷ, ὅστις αὐτῶν εὐτελέστατος, σφραγιδας εἶχε δέκα μυνῶν. Hence the luxury of the later ages need not excite our surprise. So Lucian, *Icaromen.* 18: εἰ τινα ἰδοίμι ἐπὶ χρυσῷ μέγα φρονούντα, ὅτι δακτυλίου τε εἶχεν ὀκτώ, κ.τ.λ. Id. *Somn. seu Gall.* 12. ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν ἐκείνου ἔχων καὶ δακτυλίου βαρεῖς ὅσον ἑκακαίδεκα ἐξημμένους τῶν δακτύλων, κ.τ.λ. The value of the ring depended in the first instance on the stone, and more still on the skill of the engraver. The onyx, *Σαρδῶος, σαρδόονξ*, was well adapted for the display of art, and was therefore very highly esteemed. See Lucian, *de Syria dea*, 32; and *Dial. Meretr.* ix.: εἶχε δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς Παρμένων δακτύλιον ἐν τῷ μικρῷ δακτύλῳ μέγιστον, πολύγωνον, καὶ ψῆφος ἐνεβέβλητο τῶν τριχρῶμων, ἐρυθρά τε ἦν ἐπιπολῆς. The golden sling-formed rim, *σφενδόνη*, (Plato, *de Repub.* ii. p. 359; Eurip. *Hippol.* 857,) in which the stone, *ψῆφος, σφραγίς*, was set, was also highly finished and faceted. Some rings had no stone, but were merely of metal, *ἀψηφοί*. Artemidor. *Oneiroc.* ii. 5: Ἀγαθοὶ δὲ καὶ οἱ χρυσοὶ (δακτύλιοι) οἳ γε ψήφους ἔχοντες· ἐπεὶ οἳ γε ἀψηφοὶ ἀκερδεῖς τὰς ἐγχειρήσεις σημαίνουσι διὰ τὸ ἀψηφον. *ψῆφον γὰρ καλούμεν, ὥσπερ λίθον*

art, when Ctesiphon appeared with a face of joy. 'Up,' cried he, 'your ring is found, and won't cost you a minæ. The knave that stole it is already fast in the stocks.' He then recounted briefly how it had been found, and expressed surprise that a cracked ring like that could be worth so large a reward. Charicles was obliged to explain the reason of his setting so high a value

ἐκτυλίφω, οὕτω καὶ τὸν τῶν
ἀριθμῶν. As with us, they
sometimes solid, sometimes only
passed off as solid. Ar-
'Αεὶ δὲ ἀμείνονες οἱ ὀλό-
οὶ γὰρ κενοὶ καὶ θεῖον ἔνδον
δόλους καὶ ἐνέδρας σημαί-
τὸ ἐμπεριέχειν τὸ ἐγκε-
ν, ἢ μείζονας τὰς προσδοκίας
λειῶν διὰ τὸ μείζονα τὸν
βάρους ἔχειν. That women
rings cannot be doubted,
the allusions to the fact are
ly. It would seem that these

of foreign manners, for men to have
their ears bored. Xenoph. *Anab.* iii.
1, 31 : ἀλλὰ τοῦτω γε οὐδὲ τῆς Βοι-
ωτίας προσήκει οὐδὲν, οὔτε τῆς Ἑλ-
λάδος παντάπασιν' ἐπεὶ ἐγὼ αὐτὸν
εἶδον, ὥσπερ Λυδὸν, ἀμφοτέρω τῶν
ῶτα τετρυννημένον. Cf. Diog. Laert.
ii. 50; Aristot. *Probl.* xxxii. 7. Wo-
men and girls, however, not only used
ear-rings, ἐνώτια, ἐλλόβια, ἐλικτή-
ρες, which are seen perpetually on
vases, but they also wore numerous
articles of jewellery about the neck,
(περιδέραια, ὄρμοι,) the arms, (ψέλα-

on it, when a violent knocking was heard at the house-door, and Sophilos hurried through the entrance-hall with hasty steps. Everything about him evinced an anxious state of suspense, so much so that he even forgot the salutation. 'I have just come from the market-place,' said he, turning to Charicles, 'where the crier was proclaiming that you had lost a ring. Tell me who gave you that ring?' 'It's found,' answered the other; 'for which I have to thank my friend Ctesiphon here. Look, here it is.' Sophilos snatched the ring. 'The very same!' he exclaimed vehemently. 'Tell me, how came you by it?' 'An odd sort of question!' replied Charicles. 'My mother gave it me on her death-bed. "Keep it safe," said she, "peradventure it is the best part of thine inheritance. It can lead you to fortune, if it should be found by him who understands its speech."' 'By Olympian Zeus!' shouted Sophilos, 'that man has found it, and I am he. With this very ring I had my third child exposed, because, fool that I was, two male-heirs seemed quite enough to me at that time¹. One-and-twenty years have rolled by since then; that is thine age, and thou art my son!'

The vehemence with which he spoke, and the rejoicing consequent on the discovery, had brought to the spot every creature in the house, and among others, Manto, who had vainly waited to have an interview with Charicles. She now seized his knees, and said, 'It was I that raised thee up from the altar of Pity, and brought thee to thy childless mother, who had long made preparations for passing the cheat upon her husband; and it was no sin to do so, for Charinos was now content, and you found in them two fond parents and careful guardians of your infancy.' 'Manto!' exclaimed Sophilos, astonished, 'you are the woman that artfully dodged my faithful Carion yesterday? But stay! The ring was not the only thing exposed with the child; where are the rest?' Manto was for a moment perplexed,

¹ See Longus, *Pastor*. iv. p. 126.

CHARICLES.

[SCENE XI.]

answered nothing. At last she said, 'There was a
oo, with trinkets, hung round the babe's neck, I

I have kept it back, but still have it all safe.'
ry thing tallies exactly,' exclaimed Sophilos; 'but
use my slave an explanation yesterday?' 'How
I know that it was your slave?' said she. 'I feared
unwelcome father might turn up and oppose the
that I'm longing for.' 'In sooth, that was cunning,'
Sophilos; 'and it is well that you remind me.
s, you are my son, and my first paternal command
you marry Cleobule. How? still refuse?' 'Father,'
overjoyed young man, 'I desire no greater happi-
And you will resign Pasiás' daughter to me now,
ou?' interposed Ctesiphon. 'To you?' asked Cha-
nazed. 'Ha! I see now the cause of your strange
: and would you really have made that sacrifice
me!' 'Willingly,' returned his friend, 'if it would
ade you happier.' 'Excellent young man,' said
; 'I will myself woo her for you, if you like. But

wishes. Giving way to her meditations, she had gone with Chloris into the garden adjoining the house, and whilst the maid gathered into her lap a heap of odorous violets⁹, Cleobule stood in tranquil reverie before a tree, and with

⁹ Little is known of the state of the art of gardening among the Greeks, except that it must have been at a very low ebb, at least as regards the ornamental part. Böttiger groundlessly blames antiquarians and writers on the subject for making a jump from the gardens of Alcinoos and the Paradises of the Persian Satraps to the box-hedges of Pliny, without regarding the art of gardening among the Greeks. What can be said on the subject, when the ancients have left us almost entirely in the dark? The whole series of writers, down to the very latest Roman period, contain hardly a mention of gardens or gardening. Böttiger's treatise on the subject does not contain one word about real Greek gardening; he stops where he ought to begin to instruct. The reason for the neglect of this pleasing art by the Greeks is pretty apparent. Their flora was insignificant, and apart from the improvements of art it was not showy enough to stimulate the industry of the Greek, and who, moreover, evidently had but little sympathy for beauty of landscape. See Note 11 to Scene III. The groves of the gods were the only things of the kind, and these were composed in a great measure of fruit-trees. See Xenoph. *Anab.* v. 3, 12; Sophocl. *Ædip. Colon.* 16, sqq. Pausanias, however, (i. 21, 9,) speaking of a grove of Apollo at Athens, says: *ἔνθα Ἀπόλλωνος κάλλιστον δῖος δένδρων καὶ ἡμέρων καὶ ὅσα τῶν ἐκάρπων ὁσμὴν παρέχεται τινα ἢ θέας ἡδονῆς.* Plato even speaks, though rather problematically, of works on horticulture, *Min.* p. 316: *Τίνων οὖν*

ἐστὶ τὰ περὶ κήπων ἐργασίας συγγράμματα καὶ νόμιμα; If such existed, we may be sure that they treated rather of the operations of agriculture or the kitchen-garden, than of floriculture. The flowers most cultivated were those adapted for chaplets, as violets, roses, parsley, and so on; and in these perhaps there was a regular trade. Thus in Demosth. in *Nicostr.* p. 1251, a rose-plantation, *ῥοδωνιὰν βλαστάνουσαν*, is kept by a man whom we should hardly suspect of doing so for pleasure only. Excepting the *κήπους εὐώδεις*, Aristoph. *Aves*, 1066, there appears to be no other mention made of Greek flower-gardens during the better period. At a later time, under the Ptolemies, and especially at Alexandria, great progress appears to have been made; and the gardeners there studied particularly to have roses and other flowers all the year round, an object which the climate rendered easy of attainment. Callixen. ap. Athen. v. p. 196: *ἡ γὰρ Αἴγυπτος τὴν τοῦ περιέχοντος ἀέρος εὐκρασίαν καὶ διὰ τοὺς κηπεύοντας τὰ σπανίως καὶ καθ' ὥραν ἐνεστηκυῖαν ἐν ἐτέροις φυόμενα τόποις ἄφθονα γεννᾷ καὶ διὰ παντός, καὶ οὔτε ῥόδον, οὔτε λευκίδιον, οὔτε ἄλλο ῥαδίως ἄνθος ἐκλιπεῖν οὐδὲν οὐδέποτε* εἰώθεν. But whether the art advanced in Greece itself cannot be determined; for the parks described by Longus, *Past.* iv. p. 108, and by Achill. Tat. i. 15, are only Asiatic *παράδεισοι*. See Plutarch, *Alcib.* 24; Xenoph. *Æcon.* 4, 21. The Grecian gardens were much simpler affairs, at least so they are represented by Longus, *Past.* ii. p. 36: *Κηπὸς ἐστὶ μοι τῶν ἐμῶν χειρῶν, ... ὅσα ὥραι*

φέρουσι, πάντα ἔχων ἐν αὐτῷ καθ' ὥραν ἑκάστην. Ἦρος ρόδα, κρίνα καὶ ὑάκινθος, καὶ ἴα ἀμφοτέρω· θέρουσι μήκωνες καὶ ἀχράδες, καὶ μῆλα πάντα· νῦν ἄμπελοι καὶ συκαῖ, καὶ ῥοιαί, καὶ μύρτα χλωρά. And Plutarch, *de cap. ex inim. util.* 10, says: ὥσπερ οἱ χαρίεντες γεωργοὶ τὰ ρόδα καὶ τὰ ἴα βελτίω ποιεῖν νομίζουσι, σκόροδα καὶ κρόμμυα παραφυτεύουσι: which shews that the flowers were more grown for cutting than to ornament the garden; for the leeks and onions growing among roses and violets are scarcely compatible with æsthetical gardening. On this subject see *Gallus*, p. 362.

¹⁰ The sentimental lovers' amusement of cutting each other's names in the bark of trees is mentioned at a period a little later than that here in question. See a fragment of Callimachus, preserved in the Schol. to Aristoph. *Acharn.* 144:

Ἄλλ' ἐπὶ δὲ φλοιούσι κεκομμένα τόσσα φορεῖται

φλοιὸς Ἄ. Cf. *Anthi Epist.* i. 1

¹¹ Luci ὦ Παρμένει ἀεὶ γὰρ ἐμ δακρύων.

¹² It was the emotion or καλὴ, as upon a wall toph. *Vesp* Ἀθηναῖοι γ οὕτως· ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοίχῳ τύχῃ. See 8 Cf. also Plutarch *senemilde*, p. 344. The very numerous pillars of the served the of a daily joy false announ

lucky omen! See how my right eye twitches¹³.' She turned to the sun, and sneezed: 'Zeus our preserver¹⁴!' said she, 'or Aphrodite! But where can that Manto be?' she added impatiently. 'I haven't seen her the whole morning,' said Cleobule; 'where is she?' 'She has gone with the clothes to the wash¹⁵,' was the ready subterfuge of the maid.

At this moment a slave hastened in with the message from Sophilos. Cleobule crimsoned. 'And who is the attendant?' queried Chloris hastily. 'The servant who came with the message assured me that he knew no more,' was the slave's answer. 'Suppose it were a stranger,' suggested Cleobule: 'Chloris, to-day you again gave me the chiton without sleeves and lappet. I can't possibly

¹³ The involuntary twitching of the eyelids was held a favourable presage. Theocr. iii. 37:

ἄλλεται ὀφθαλμός μιν ὁ δεξιός· ἀρά γ' ἰδησὼ αὐτόν;

Cf. *Plant. Pseud.* i. 1, 105.

¹⁴ From Hom. *Odyss.* xvii. 645, and numerous other passages, it is plain that an augury was taken from involuntary sneezing. Absurdly enough, it has even been supposed that the *δαιμόνιον* of Socrates consisted in this. Plutarch, *de Gen. Socr.* 11: Μεγαρίκου τισις ἤκουσα, Τερψίωνος δὲ ἐκαίνοσ, ὅτι τὸ Σωκράτους δαιμόνιον πταρμόν ἦν ὃ τε παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παρ' ἄλλων. The superstition was widely spread, and undoubtingly believed in. Thus Aristoph. *Aves*, 719: πταρμόν δρῖθα καλεῖτε. Aristot. *Prob.* xxiii. 7: Διὰ τί τὸν μὲν πταρμόν θεὸν ἡγοῦμεθα εἶναι; So also, *prob.* 9, and *prob.* 11. Cf. *Anthol. Pal.* xi. 375; also Suid. and Hesych. α. ν. *ξυμβόλου*. The importance attached to the omen is clearly seen from Xenoph. *Anab.* iii. 2, 9, where Xenophon asserts in the coun-

cil: σὺν τοῖς θεοῖς πολλὰι ἡμῖν καὶ καλὰι ἐλπίδες εἰσὶ σωτηρίας. Τοῦτο δὲ λέγοντος αὐτοῦ πτάρνυται τις. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ στρατιῶται, πάντες μιᾷ ὁρμῇ προσεκύνησαν τὸν θεόν. καὶ Ξενοφῶν εἶπε· Δοκεῖ μοι, ὦ ἄ., ἐπεὶ περὶ σωτηρίας ἡμῶν λεγόντων οἰωνὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτήρος ἐφάνη, εὐχασθαι τῷ θεῷ κ.τ.λ. The usual form of address in such cases was, Ζεῦ σῶσον.

¹⁵ Concerning the washing or scouring of clothes, see *Gallus*, p. 449. Among the Greeks as well as among the Romans it was done entirely away from home, and by people who made it their exclusive occupation. See Theophr. *Char.* 10; Machon, ap. Athen. xiii. p. 582. Πλύνειν was said of linen clothes, *κναφεύειν* or *γναφεύειν* of woollen ones. Eustath. *ad Od.* xxiv. 148: τὸ δὲ πλύνειν, ὃ νῦν ἐπὶ λινέου φάρους ἐρρέθη, γναφεύειν ἢ κναφεύειν ἐπὶ τῶν ἱριωδῶν λέγεται. See Maer. *Attic.* p. 242; cf. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 470; Plutarch, *de San. Tuend.* 20.

So : now, fasten the sleeves, and give
 that the border of the lappet is le
 The attendant had now finished d
 'We've no time for braiding your
 that coloured kerchief wrapped ro
 quisitely.' Cleobule took the mi
 herself. 'Well, it will do,' was her d
 on some other sandals. No, not thos
 dered in gold ; bring the white pair

Scarcely had Chloris finished her
 los and a young gentleman were ann
 were Charicles !' whispered the abiga
 blushing mistress. And he it was ; a
 such as neither the chisel of the sculp
 pencil, no, nor the style of the poet,
 lineate¹⁷. 'Well I thought,' said
 Cleobule, 'that you liked him better
 let us tarry. The betrothing shall ta
 in three days we'll celebrate the wedd

¹⁶ Citrons or oranges, Περσικά ή | ποιητής



A Bronze from Herculaneum, *Mus. Borb.* II. 4.

The girl is in the act of fastening the Chiton over the right shoulder, and we see how *kappet*, *καππίον*, is caused by this means. On the side where the seam is, joining the *epes*, are two purple stripes.



SCENE THE TWELFTH.

THE WEDDING-DAY.

AND now for one glance at the occurrences of that day whereon Charicles was united to Cleobule. The proposal of Sophilos to hasten the marriage was not at all likely to embarrass a Grecian bride; on the contrary, a courtship lasting several months was a thing quite out of the usual way. All the requisite preparations had been long since made. In like manner as the royal damsel Nausicaa, at the warning of Athena, provided the bridal clothes for herself and her attendants before a husband had been chosen for her¹; so every Grecian house had always a superfluity of such bravery; and how much more therefore one in which plenty and abundance reigned? As it was, however, what with the ceremony of the affiancing as appointed by law, and the customary sacrifices, both parties found enough to occupy them during the few intervening days. Charicles, in compliance with his father's invitation, had for the present, taken up his quarters at his house, in which the women's apartments had been hastily cleaned up, and furnished with everything necessary for the proper reception and convenience of the bride. The wreaths of fresh spring-flowers, ornamenting the door in rich festoons, proclaimed to the passer-by the festal day: while inside the mansion, cooks and slaves were busily making ready for the marriage-feast, which was to be celebrated by a numerous assemblage of the relations and friends of either party. Even Phorion himself, departing from his usual custom, had agreed to be present; and Pasion too, who had already promised Ctesiphon his daughter in marriage, was among those invited.

¹ *Odys.* vi. 27 :

σοι δὲ γάμος σχεδὸν ἔστιν, ἵνα χρηὴ καλὰ μὲν αὐτὴν
ἐννυσθαι, τα δὲ τοῖσι παρασχεῖν, οἳ κὲ σ' ἀγνοῦται.

the chamber of Charicles, Manes had arranged the garments designed for the occasion. These consisted of a chiton of fine Milesian wool, with a himation of a bright whiteness, which had been purposely chosen without the usual purple border. Beside it stood the elegant shoes, their crimson thongs fastened with clasps of silver. Chaplets of myrtle-twigs, with violets interwoven, were ready; and Sophilos had added two silver *alabaster* boxes with costly unguents, in case Charicles might like to make use of them on so special an occasion. The groom himself was still at the bath, with Ctesiphon, who was to go with his friend to fetch away the bride: who else could he have preferred for bridegroom's

the household of Cleobule was not a whit less busy. The sun had sunk half-way from the meridian, yet the wedding array was still unfinished. Cleobule sat upon a couch in her apartment, which was filled with perfume,

Go, Menodora,' she said to another slave, 'go and measure the shadow on the sun-dial³ in the garden.' 'We

called, was, unquestionably, the most ancient means of measuring the day. It consisted of a perpendicular staff or pillar, the length of whose shadow was measured in feet. An untenable hypothesis was started by Salmasius, that the observer measured his own shadow with his feet, and this has been recently revived by Ideler. The whole is a mistake, arising from a misconception of Hesychius, s. v. *ἐπτά-πυτε σκιά*; and of Phot. *Lex.* p. 539. The gnomon is seldom mentioned except in reference to the hour of supper or of the bath: for the first, a shadow ten or twelve feet long is assigned, Aristoph. *Eccles.* 652:

σοὶ δὲ μελήσει

ἵνα ᾖ δεκάπυτε τὸ στοιχείον λιπαρὸν χυρεῖν
ἐπὶ δεῖπνον

on which the Schollast remarks: ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου σκιά ὅταν ᾖ δέκα πηχῶν. θέλει εἶπειν, ὅτε γίνεται ὀψέ. Menander ap. Athen. vi. p. 243; Poll. vi. 44. See also Suidas, and Hesych: Δωδεκάποδος οὕτως ἔλεγον ἔλλειπτικῶν, στοιχείου ἢ σκιάς. οὕτω γὰρ συνετίθειτο ἐπὶ δεῖπνον ἤξειν τοῦ στοιχείου ὅντος δωδεκάποδος, ὡς νῦν πρὸς ἄρας φασί. It seems probable therefore that the gnomon was usually so constructed as to throw a shadow of about twelve feet shortly before sunset, for this was the time at which the δεῖπνον usually took place. A fragment of Eubulos ap. Athen. i. p. 8, throws some light on this question:

ὅν φασι παραλεχθέντ' ἐπὶ δεῖπνον πρὸς φίλον
τινός,
εἰσάγοντες αὐτὸ τοῦ φίλου, ἀπηγία' ἐν
αἰσῇ πεδῶν μετροῦντι τὸ στοιχείον ᾗ,
ῥεον, ὡσθεν αὐτὸν εὐθὺς ἡλίου
μετρεῖν ἀνέχοντες· μακροτέρως δ' οὕσης ἐπὶ
πλάτῃ ἢ δυοῖν πεδῶν παρέραι τῆς σκιάς·

ἔπειτα φα'ναι μικρὸν ὑψηλότερον
δι' ἀσχολίαν ἤκειν παρόνθ' ἂμ' ἡμέρᾳ.

Here the gnomon evidently throws a shadow of twice the length, i. e. of twenty-four feet, and the supper hour corresponds to a twenty-foot, instead of a ten-foot shadow, as before. An accurate division of the day into twelve equal hours would of course be unattainable by a method of measurement such as that just described; no regard being paid to the varying declination of the sun throughout the year. The differences owing to this source would, however, be of less magnitude in the latitude of Greece than in that of England, and were probably disregarded, dinner being served, ὅταν ᾖ δεκάπυτε τὸ στοιχείον. For the hour of bathing, a six-foot shadow is spoken of, at least in the later period. Lucian, *Cronos.* 17: Δουέσθαι μὲν, ὅπότεν τὸ στοιχείον ἐξάπουν ᾗ. Cf. *Somn. seu Gallus*, 9. We must remark, that the word γνώμων was afterwards applied to every ὠρολόγιον, and even to the κλειψύδρα. See Athen. ii. p. 42. The πόλος, or proper sun-dial, also called σκιαθήρας or ἡλιοτρόπιον, is not often alluded to; though, setting aside the allusion of Herodotus, it appears from Poll. ix. 46, that in the time of Aristophanes it was used, and not the mere gnomon only, as Ideler, *Lehrb. d. Chronol.* i. p. 98, would persuade us. Pollux says, τὸ δὲ καλούμενον ὠρολόγιον ἦπον πόλον ἂν τις εἴποι, φήσαντος Ἀριστοφάνους ἐν Γηρυτάδῃ "πόλος τοῦτ' ἐστίν· ἐκασταποστήν ἡλιος τέτραπται;" The πόλος was like a basin, λεκανίς, in the centre of which stood the vertical staff (γνώμων), and on it the δώδεκα μέρη of the day were marked with lines. Poll. vi. 110; and Alciph. *Epist.* iii.

the clepsydra⁴ here,' interposed Chloris; 'see how water there is left in it; it will run off once more sunset.' 'I am sure she's wrong,' said Cleobule;

αἰμων οὐπω σκιάζει τὴν ἑκ-
γὰρ καὶ ὅλην καταβαλοῦ-
κίονα τὴν τὸ πικρὸν τοῦτο
ον ἀνέχουσιν, ἢ τὸν γυνώ-
έχομεν ἐκείσε νέειν, οὐ τα-
ήσεται τὰς ὥρας ἀποσημαί-
ται τὸ βούλευμα Παλαμή-
ιδ.: γυνάμων· τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἡλιο-
πηγνύμενον, ὅπερ ἐφεῦρεν
νῆρος καὶ ἐστήσεν ἐπὶ τῶν
ον. Cf. Lucian, *Lexiph.* 4.

ο κλεψύδρα as little deserves
allation of clock as the gnos-
s. The use of the clepsydra
of law is mentioned by Ari-
s, (*Acharn.* 692; *Vesp.* 93,
such a matter of course, that
ude that in his time it was no

plain, however, that he had not a transparent ball in view; and we have no authority for supposing that at that period glass vessels could be constructed of the size which the clepsydræ ordinarily were. Indeed, a fragment of Bato, ap. Athen. iv. p. 163, precludes the notion of the clepsydra being transparent:

ἔπειθ' ἔωθεν περιάγεις τὴν λήκυθον
καταμασθάνων τοῦλαιον, ὥστε περιφέρειν
ὠρολόγιον δόξει τις, οὐχὶ λήκυθον.

Smaller ones of glass there may have been, and, at a later period, were common. Experience however taught that this instrument could not be relied on, the rapidity with which the water flowed out being influenced by the temperature. Athen. ii. p. 42: συσ-

'it must be later.' Menodora, however, returned with the assurance that the shadow was only eight feet long, and it therefore wanted some time yet to evening.

At last Chloris had drawn the bandeau through Cleobule's luxuriant locks, and had fastened the bridal veil⁵ on her head with a golden tiring-pin; and Menodora twined the white thongs of the embroidered sandals round the feet of her mistress. Her mother then opened an ivory casket, and took out of it a broad necklace of gold, richly set with precious stones, and the serpent-shaped armlets, which completed her attire. Cleobule took the mirror once again, and surveyed herself in it: the clothes-chests were then locked, and she awaited with maidenly timidity the arrival of the escort that was to conduct her away, though her sensations were far from those of her former wedding-day.

The water-clock had emptied itself a second time, the sun had completed his course, and the rooms of the house grew duskier apace, when the carriage destined to carry home the bride, drawn by stately mules and surrounded by a numerous band of attendants, drove up to the door, which was profusely hung with garlands.

The bridegroom and his man, accompanied by the happy father of the former, now entered and received the bride from the hands of her mother, in order to escort her to the carriage, in which Charicles and Ctesiphon took their seats, one on each side of the veiled fair. The mother kindled the marriage-torch, the attendants follow-

πυρριπιδὸν ποιήσαντα ὠρολόγιον εἰ-
καὶ τῷ ὑδραυλικῷ, οἷον κλεψύδραν
μεγάλην λίαν. See also Athen. xiii.
p. 567, where another instance of its
domestic use occurs.

⁵ Numerous as are the extant ac-
counts of marriage solemnities, still
they do not suffice for the construction
of a connected and detailed description
of the ceremony. It is not known
whether, when a widow was re-mar-

ried, the same formalities were ob-
served as at the first marriage; for
instance, the festive escort to her
abode, the veiling, the procession
with torches, the *Anacalypteria*, and
so on. Some of these ceremonies
were probably omitted; but the ex-
cuse for their introduction in this place,
must be, that the first marriage might
be considered to have hardly taken
place at all.

ing her example, and thus the procession moved on to the music of the flutes and the merry song of Hyacinthus to the house of Sophilos, where the pair were received, entering, according to an ancient custom, with a liberal rain of sweet-meats and small coins. They proceeded at once to the hall, which was brightly lighted up for the festival; the couches of the males were arranged on one side of it, and on the other the couches of the females.

After the bride-cakes had been partaken of, a night began to approach, Cleobule's mother accompanied the pair to the quiet thalamus: again the loud strains of Hymenæus re-echoed before its closed doors, and perhaps had the god hovered more delightedly over the bridal-chamber.



APPENDIX.



EXCURSUS TO SCENE I.

EDUCATION.

IN attempting to combine a multitude of scattered allusions into a connected account of education among the Greeks, it will be desirable to investigate not only their system of intellectual culture and training in the higher sense of the word, but also to consider the corporeal nurture, the first occupations of the children, their general habits and behaviour, their toys, the ballads and fairy tales of the nurses and attendants, with all the minutiae of the nursery. Such petty domestic traits are quite as deserving of attention as the instruction conveyed in the public gymnasia, and the schools of the Grammarians.

In this sense the *παιδεία* commences with the hour of birth; it is the training and bringing up till the moment when the youth became an independent burgher, and under the immediate control of the law. Plato, *Leg.* ii. p. 659. Cf. Heliod. *Æthiop.* i. 13.

Throughout Greece, except in Sparta, (Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 16,) the new-born babe was wrapped in *σπάργανα*, immediately after the first bath. So Plato, *Leg.* vii. p. 789: *μέχρι δυοῖν ἐτοῖν τὸ γενόμενον σπαργανᾶν*. Whether these *σπάργανα* were mere swaddling-clothes is not quite clear. See Aristot. *de Republ.* vii. 17: *πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ διαστρέφεισθαι τὰ μέλη (τῶν παιδίων) δι' ἀπαλόγητα χρώνται καὶ νῦν ἓνια τῶν ἐθνῶν ὀργάνοις τισὶ μηχανικοῖς, ἢ τὸ σῶμα ποιεῖ τῶν τοιούτων ἀστραβές*. On the fifth day, according to Suidas, the first festival in honour of the family-event was held, the *ἀμφιδρόμια*, or *δρομιάμφιον ἡμαρ*, as it is called by Hesychius, who places it on the seventh day: *ἔστι δὲ ἡμερῶν πταὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γεννήσεως, ἐν ᾗ τὸ βρέφος βαστάζοντες περὶ τὴν στίαν γυμνοὶ τρέχουσι*. The midwife, or some of the women present at the birth, carried the babe round the hearth of the house; hence the name. Plato, *Theæt.* p. 160: *μετὰ δὲ τὸν τόκον τὰ ἀμφιδρόμια αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐν κύκλῳ περιθρεκτέον τῇ οἴῳ*. The house-door was ornamented with garlands, and a feast was given, at which cabbage, *ράφανος*, was a standing

s appears from a fragment of Ehippus preserved by
us, ix. p. 370 :

ἔπειτα πῶς

οὐ στέφανος οὐδεὶς ἐστὶ πρόσθε τῶν θυρῶν,
οὐ κνῖσα κρούει ῥινὸς ὑπεροχὰς ἄκρας,
Ἀμφιδρομίων ὄντων ; ἐν οἷς νομίζεται
ὅπταν τε τυροῦ Χερρόνησίτου τόμους,
ἔψειν τ' ἐλαίῳ ράφανον ἡγλαῖσμένην.

account of Suidas is as follows: 'Αμφιδρόμια' ἦν πέμπτην
ἐπὶ τοῖς βρέφεσιν. ἐν ᾗ ἀποκαθαίρονται τὰς χεῖρας αἰ
μεναι τῆς μαιώσεως. τὸ βρέφος περιφέρουσι τὴν ἐστίαν
τες καὶ δῶρα πέμπουσιν οἱ προσήκοντες ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖ-
λύποδας καὶ σηπίας. It would almost appear from Plato
e father did not declare, until this ceremony, whether he
ear the child ; for on him it depended whether the infant
be brought up or exposed ; a barbarity which was actu-
horised by law. See Petit. *Leg. Att.* p. 144. Thebes,
; , was an honourable exception to this rule. *Ælian, Var.*
7 : (νόμος) ὅτι οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀνδρὶ Θηβαίῳ ἐκθεῖναι παιδίον,
ἐρημίαν αὐτὸ ῥίψαι, θάνατον αὐτοῦ καταψηφισάμενος.

Chrysost. *Orat.* xv. p. 447: ἐπίσταμαι γὰρ, ὅτι αἱ μὲν ἐλεύθεραι γυναῖκες ὑποβάλλονται πολλάκις δι' ἀπαιδίαν, ὅταν μὴ δύνωνται αὐταὶ κυῆσαι. This is well illustrated by the words of Demosth. in *Mid.* p. 563: ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀπέδοτο εὐθὺς γενόμενον, ἡ δ' ἐξὸν αὐτῇ βελτίω πρίασθαι τῆς ἴσης τιμῆς, τοῦτον ἠγόρασε. Cf. *Æschin.* in *Timarch.* p. 160: Κηφισόδωρον τὸν τοῦ Μόλωνος καλούμενον: such children were called σκότιοι. Eustath. *ad Il.* vii. 24. So Eurip. *Troad.* 256: λέκτρων σκότια νυμφευτήρια. Thus *Œdipus* is called πλαστός by Sophocles, *Œd. Tyr.* 780.

The grand festival was the δεκάτη, celebrated on the tenth day, when the relations and friends were invited to a sacrifice and banquet (δεκάτην θύειν, and ἐστιᾶν); and this ceremony was held as a legal proof that the child was recognised as γνήσιος by its father. *Isæus, de Pyrrhi Hered.* p. 60: ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ δεκάτῃ ταύτης κληθέντες συνεστιᾶσθαι (φάσκοντες). See Demosth. *adv. Boet.* ὄνομ. p. 1001; also Aristoph. *Aves*, 493; Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 784. On this occasion presents were made to the child by the father and mother, the relatives, and even by the slaves, and then also the infant received its name. Aristoph. *Aves*, 922. But according to Aristotle, *Hist. An.* viii. 11, this took place also on the seventh day: τὰ πλείεστα δ' ἀναιρεῖται πρὸ τῆς ἐβδόμης, διὸ καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα τότε τίθενται: and sometimes perhaps even at the Amphidromia, if we are to believe Hesychius, and the Scholiast on the *Theætetus* of Plato; Suidas, however, expressly fixes it on the tenth day: τῇ δεκάτῃ δὲ τοῦνομα τίθενται. The father mostly chose the name, though it could not have been unusual for the mother to do so, as we see from Eurip. *Phæniss.* 57, where Jocasta says:

τὴν μὲν Ἰσμήνην πατὴρ
ὠνόμασε. τὴν δὲ πρόσθεν Ἀντιγόνην ἐγώ.

Sometimes the parents fell out on this point; see the complaint of Strepsiades, the Aristophanic George Dandin; *Nub.* 60:

Μετὰ ταῦθ', ὅπως νῦν ἐγένεθ' υἱὸς οὐτοσί,
ἐμοὶ τε διὴ καὶ τῇ γυναικί, τῇ 'γαθῇ,
περὶ τοῦνόματος διὴ ταῦτ' ἐλοιδορούμεθα.

Strepsiades wished to name the boy Φειδωνίδης, after his grandfather, as was most usual. Cf. Eustath. *ad Il.* v. 546: Ἰστέον δὲ καὶ ὅτι παλαιάτατον ἔθος ἦν, τοὺς ἐγγόνους καλεῖσθαι τοῖς τῶν πατρῶν ὀνόμασιν. This was particularly the case with the eldest

appears from Demosth. *adv. Boeot.* *ὀνόμ.* p. 1002: ἀξιοῖ
ὡς δὴ πρεσβύτερος ὢν, τοῦνομ' ἔχειν τὸ τοῦ πρὸς πατρὸς

See also Plutarch, *Cimon.* 4. But the son was often
after his father; as were Demosthenes and Demades; or the
was slightly changed; thus we have *Νανσίφιλος* *Νανσινί-*
Καλλίστρατος *Καλλικράτους*. So also brothers' names
were varied but slightly, as Diodotos and Diogeiton; Ly-
Diogit. Lastly, we meet with regular patronymics, as
Φώκου.

will now digress for a moment to the surnames. The
had no family or clan names, as is well known; a single
son serving for an individual. But as many persons
bear this name, to avoid confusion, the father's name was
added, and this was called *πατρόθεν ὀνομάζεσθαι*. Xenoph.
Memorab. 3. Cf. Pausan. vii. 7, 4: ἐπεὶ καλοῦνται γε οὐ πατρό-
νομῶν κατὰ τὰντὰ Ἕλλησιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρία, ὅποτε ἢ
καὶ ἔτι πλείονα ὀνόματα ἐκάστω τίθενται. Attic wit
took abundant recourse to nick-names, derived either from
personal peculiarity, or owing to accidental circumstances.
Demosthenes was called *Βάταλος*, even from childhood.

As regards the τροφή, Plutarch says, *de Educ. Puer.* 5, that mothers should suckle their own children : δεῖ δὲ αὐτὰς τὰς μητέρας τὰ τέκνα τρέφειν καὶ τούτοις ὑπέχειν τοὺς μαστούς. This rule, however, was seldom observed by the wealthy classes, and wet-nurses were in general requisition. But the τίτθη or τιτθὴ (Eustath. *ad Iliad*, vii. 329—τιθήνη means the attendant merely,) was frequently not a slave, but one of the poor ἀσται, who gave her services for hire. Demosth. *adv. Eubulid.* p. 1309 : καὶ γὰρ ὦν ἀστὰς γυναῖκας πολλὰς εὐρήσετε τιτθενούσας. Spartan nurses, who were in great repute for their skill in managing children, were sometimes bought, as for Alcibiades. Plutarch, *Lyc.* 16 : ἦν δὲ περὶ τὰς τροφῶν ἐπιμέλειά τις μετὰ τέχνης, ὥστ' ἀνευσπαργάνων ἐκτρεφούσας τὰ βρέφη . . . διὸ καὶ τῶν ἔξωθεν ἔνιοι τοῖς τέκνοις Λακωνικὰς ἐκτρέφοντο τιτθὰς. καὶ τὴν γε τὸν Ἀθηναίων Ἀλκιβιάδην τιτθεύσαν Ἀμύκλαν ἰστοροῦσι γεγενῆσθαι Λακωναν. Plutarch (*de Educ.* 5,) requires for the purpose, τοῖς ἡθεσιν Ἑλληνίδας. Besides being suckled, the children were also fed with honey. See Böckh, *ad Pind. Olymp.* vi. When they could take more substantial nourishment, the τίτθη first chewed the food, and then gave it to the infant, μασωμένη ἐσίτιζεν. Theophr. *Char.* 20 : τὸ παιδίον τῆς τίτθης ἀφελόμενος μασώμενος σιτίζει αὐτός. See Aristoph. *Equites*, 717. This was also called ψωμίζειν. *Lysistr.* 19. An absurd story of some one who retained this habit during his whole life for convenience sake is related by Athenæus, xii. p. 530 : Σάγαριν τὸν Μαριανδυνὸν ὑπὸ τρυφῆς σιτεῖσθαι μὲν μέχρι γήρως ἐκ τοῦ τῆς τίτθης στόματος, ἵνα μὴ μασώμενος πονήσειεν.

Cradles are first mentioned by Plutarch, *Fragm. in Hesiod.* 45 : Ὁ δὲ Πλούταρχος φησιν, ὅτι μὴ δεῖ τὰ νεογνὰ ἀκίνητα εἶναι καὶ ἀποτίθεσθαι ἐν ἀκινήτοις . . . οἷά τις ἐν κλινίδι μεμηχάνηται πρὸς τὴν τῶν παιδίων εὐνήν. Plato knew nothing of them, or he would certainly have mentioned them, *Leg.* vii. p. 789. The σκάφη is often mentioned, it is true ; cf. Aristot. *Poet.* 16 ; but though used for a similar purpose, we can in no passage suppose a regular cradle to be meant. See Theocr. *Id.* xxiv. 10. Doubtless mothers and nurses went about dandling the baby in their arms, and singing the while. See Plato, *Leg.* vii. p. 790 : ἡνίκα γὰρ ἂν πονοβουληθῶσι κατακοιμίζειν τὰ δυσπνούντα τῶν παιδίων αἱ μητέρες, οὐχ ἡσυχίαν αὐτοῖς προσφέρουσιν, ἀλλὰ του-

EDUCATION.

[EXCURSUS.

κίνησιν, ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις αἰεὶ σείουσαι· καὶ οὐ σιγὴν, ἀλλὰ
 ῥοδίαν. See Aristot. *Probl.* xix. 38. These lullabies were
 κατακαλήματα, or καταβανκαλήσεις. Athen. xiv. p. 618:
 ἐν τιτθενοῦσῶν ῥοδαὶ καταβανκαλήσεις ὀνομάζονται. See
 Aesch. *Id.* xxiv. 6, where Alcmena is hushing her twins to

Ἀπτομένα δὲ γυνὰ κεφαλᾶς μυθήσατο παῖδων·
 εὐδετ' ἐμὰ βρέφεια γλυκερόν καὶ ἐγέρσιμον ὕπνον·
 εὐδετ' ἐμὰ ψυχὰ, δὴ ἀδελφεῶ, εὖσοα τέκνα·
 ὄλβιοι εὐνάζοισθε, καὶ ὄλβιοι ἀῶ ἴκοισθε.

toph. *Nubes*, 1383; *Lysistr.* 1410; Lysias, *de cæde Era-*
 . 10—15.

children were not encouraged to walk very early. The dis-
 drawn by Eustathius, *ad Il.* ix. 518: παιδίον τὸ τρεφό-
 τὸ τηθῆς, παιδάριον τὸ περιπατοῦν καὶ ἤδη λέξεως ἀντι-
 μενον, is doubtful, though Pollux, ii. 9, says that παιδά-
 is the after-appellation of the two. According to Plato,
 p. 794, the boys remained under the hands of the mother
 nurses till their sixth year, and up to that time were
 along with the girls.

with ivory, said to have been a plaything, *παίγνιον*, of Hippodamia's. Children would sometimes try their hand at constructing similar nick-nacks; Aristoph. *Nubes*, 878:

εὐθὺς γέ τοι παιδάριον ὦν τυννουτονί
ἐπλαττεν ἔνδον οἰκίας, ναῦς δ' ἐγλυφεν,
ἀμαξίδας τε σκυτίνας εἰργάζετο,
κάκ τῶν σιδίων βατράχους ἐποίει.

See also Lucian's account of himself, *Somn.* 2: ἀποξέων ἂν τὸν κηρὸν ἢ βόας, ἢ ἱππους, ἢ καὶ νῆ Δί' ἀνθρώπους ἀνέπλαττον. Cf. Suidas, s. v. *φορμίς*. Dolls, *κόραι*, were usual playthings, and the *κοροπλάθου*, or *κοροπλάσται*, had always a supply on sale in the market; they were however different from those in use now, being made of clay and painted. Cf. Plato, *Theæt.* p. 146: *πηλὸς ὁ τῶν κοροπλάθων*. Demosth. *Phil.* i. p. 47: ὥσπερ γὰρ οἱ πλάττοντες τοὺς πηλίους, εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν χειροτονεῖτε τοὺς ταξιάρχους καὶ τοὺς φυλάρχους, οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν πολεμόν. Lucian. *Prom.* in *Vers.* 2: καὶ τὸ μὲν ὅλον ἐν πηλῷ ἢ πλαστικῇ κατὰ ταῦτὰ τοῖς κοροπλάθοις. *Lexiphan.* 22: ὡς νῦν γε ἐλελήθεις σαυτὸν τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κοροπλάθων εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν πλαττομένοις ἐοικώς, κεχρωσμένοις μὲν τῇ μίλτῃ καὶ τῷ κυανῷ, τὸ δ' ἔνδυσεν πηλινός τε καὶ εὐθρυπτος ὢν. Böttiger, in his *Sabina*, confounds *κοροπλάσται* with *κηροπλάσται*; having followed Ruhnken without independent investigation. Wax, it is true, is mentioned, but only by late writers; Timæus and Suidas say, *κηρῷ ἢ γύψῳ*, and Harpocration has: *κοροπλάθους λέγουσι τοὺς ἐκ πηλοῦ τινας, ἢ κηροῦ, ἢ τοιαύτης ὕλης πλάττοντας κόρας ἢ κούρους*: but these are the only writers who say a word about wax in the manufacture of these dolls; all speaking only of *πηλός*. The very passage in Pollux, (x. 189,) descriptive of this art, has been wrongly interpreted by Böttiger; the *πλασθέντα κήρινα* there mentioned are merely the cores for the moulds, over which the *πηλός* was laid, and this wax was afterwards melted out, in order to preserve the hollow form, *λίγδος*, or *ἡμίλιγδος*. From the above passages we learn that these clay-figures were not merely children's dolls (also called *νύμφαι*), but images of all sorts; and indeed the words of Demosthenes will be devoid of sense unless we understand figures of warriors, generals, and the like. Mythological subjects were also common, such as Marsyas bound to the tree; Achill. Tat. iii. 15: οἷον ποιούσιν οἱ κοροπλάθοι τὸν Μαρσύαν ἐκ τοῦ φυτοῦ

ν. There were other amusements, as the hoop, τροχός, ρόμβος, στρόβιλος, not to mention the cockchafer fastened read. Aristoph. *Nubes*, 763:

λινόδετον ὥσπερ μηλολόνην τοῦ ποδός.

pl. on *Vesp.* 1341: χρυσομηλολόνηιον δὲ ζωῦφίον τί ἐστὶ ἀνθαρὸν, ξανθὸν, ὃ καὶ κατέχοντες οἱ παῖδες δεσμεύουσιν ποδός καὶ ἀφίᾳσι πρὸς τὸν αἶρα. Among a number of games mentioned by Pollux, ix. 122, is the χαλκῇ μυῖα, a blind-man's-buff: Ἡ δὲ χαλκῇ μυῖα, ταινίᾳ τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ γξάντες ἐνὸς παιδός, ὃ μὲν περιστρέφεται κηρύττων· χαλκὸν θηράσω· ὃ δὲ ἀποκρινάμενοι, θηράσεις ἀλλ' οὐ λήψει, βυβλίνοις παίουσιν αὐτὸν, ἕως τινὸς αὐτῶν λήψεται. In the rough manners of Sparta it is interesting to find Agelaid about among his children astride of a cane: μικροῖς αἰδίοις οὔσι κάλαμον περιβεβηκώς, ὥσπερ ἵππον, οἴκοι συνέ-

Plutarch, *Ages.* 25; cf. *Ælian*, *Var. Hist.* xii. 15.

erally, however, great caution was exercised in the keeping of one's dignity before children, as is evident from Theocr. 11, where Praxinoe having called her husband a φθονερόν

to these beings we learn from the story in Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll. Tyann.* iv. 25: ἡ χρηστὴ νύμφη μία τῶν Ἐμπουσῶν ἐστίν, ὥς Λαμίας τε καὶ Μορμολυκίας οἱ πολλοὶ ἡγοῦνται. ἐρῶσι δ' αὐταὶ οὐκ ἀφροδισίων μὲν, σαρκῶν δέ, καὶ μάλιστα ἀνθρωπείων ἐρῶσι, καὶ πάλλουνσι τοῖς ἀφροδισίοις, οὓς ἂν ἐθέλωσι δαίσασθαι. See also what Libanius, in the life of Æschines, says about that person's mother. The general term for all these creatures was μορμολυκεῖα, also βρίκελοι. Eustath. *ad Od.* i. 101. An instance of the way children were thus terrified occurs in Theocritus, xv. 40, where Praxinoë says to the child, who runs after her crying, when she wants to go out:

οὐκ ἄξω τὸ, τέκνον· Μορμῶ, δάκνει Ἰπποι.
δάκνει, ὅσσα θέλεις· χελὼν δ' οὐ δεῖ σε γενέσθαι.

Naturally enough, superstitious terrors were much increased by such nonsense.

The nurses and attendants had a store of tales (μῦθοι) for the amusement of the children, and γραῶν or τιτθῶν μῦθοι have grown into a proverb. Plato, *Gorg.* p. 527; *Hipp. Maj.* p. 286; Lucian, *Philops.* 9. As these legends narrated, for the most part, the actions of the gods and demigods of the popular superstition,—the ancient mythology embracing the entire domain of the marvellous—the telling of them might have the greatest influence on the moral education of the children; and hence Plato (*Leg.* x. p. 887,) enlarges much on the care to be used in their selection, and repudiates even Hesiod and Homer, *de Republ.* ii. p. 377: οὗτοι γάρ που μύθους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ψευδεῖς συντιθένται ἑλεγόν τε καὶ λέγουσι. Plutarch, *de Educ. Puer.* 5, thinks the nurses should be restrained, μὴ τοὺς τυχόντας μύθους τοῖς παιδίοις λέγειν, ἵνα μὴ τὰς τούτων ψυχὰς ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνοίας καὶ διαφθορᾶς ἀνατίμπλασθαι συμβαίῃ; and Aristotle wishes to place these matters under the supervision of the Paidonomoi; *de Republ.* vii. 17: καὶ περὶ λόγων τε καὶ μύθων ποίους τινὰς ἀκούειν δεῖ τοὺς ηλικούτους ἐπιμελὲς ἔστω τοῖς ἄρχουσιν, οὓς καλοῦσι παιδονόμοι. With regard to the character of these fables, see Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1182: ὡς οὕτω ποτ' ἦν μὲν καὶ γαλῇ. See also Philostr. *Vit. Apoll. Tyann.* v. 14; whence we conclude that the fables of Æsop were among those most in vogue. Frequently such legends were handed down in the shape of ballads; see Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 781, where the chorus sings two such songs, after saying,

EDUCATION.

[EXCURSUS.]

μῦθον
 βούλομαι λέξαι τῶν ὑμῖν, ὅν ποτ' ἤκουσ'
 αὐτὸς ἔτι παῖς ὢν.

as well as children took pleasure in them, so that there were persons who recited such legends for a livelihood: Philep-
 naps was such an one, see Aristoph. *Plutus*, 177, on which
 Philo-
 poliast says: οὗτος πένης ὢν λέγων ἱστορίας ἐτρέφετο.
 In the process of time the children were entrusted to the care of
 a slave, called a pedagogue. Plato, *Leg.* vii. p. 808. At what age this took
 place is uncertain, though Plato (*Ib.* p. 794,) seems to have
 placed his eye the end of the sixth year, at which period the
 children were first separated from the girls. Plato, however, only
 expresses his own ideas on the subject, so that we must be careful
 not to reason from his words as to the actual practice, though
 in this instance he appears to be supported by other authorities.
 The pedagogue was a slave. Intelligent and honest persons, and
 of good manners, were obtained if possible, though this could
 not always be accomplished. Thus the pedagogues of Menexe-
 ras and Lysis are described (Plato, *Lysis*, p. 223,) as ὑποβαρ-

hours, under pain of death. *Æschin. in Timarch.* p. 38: καὶ μὴ ἐξέστω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν παίδων ἡλικίαν οὖσιν εἰσιέναι τῶν παίδων ἐνδον ὄντων, εἰ μὴ υἱὸς διδασκάλου, ἢ ἀδελφός, ἢ θυγατρὸς ἀνὴρ. εἰ δέ τις παρὰ ταῦτ' εἰσὶν, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω. At a later period this law does not seem to have been strictly observed; for in *Theophr. Char.* 7, one of the traits of a *λάλος* is to enter the *palæstræ* and schools, and interrupt master and pupils by talking. Young persons remained under the surveillance of pedagogues till they reached the age of *ephebi*. *Terent. Andr.* i. 1, 24; *Plut. de Aud.* i. p. 141. In *Plaut. Bacch.* i. 2; iii. 1, 3, is a specimen of a pedagogue of the old stamp, whom the lad will no longer obey.

After this age the instruction took place entirely away from home, namely, at the schools and gymnasia. *Plato, Prot.* p. 320, does not in the slightest allude to private instruction at home, as *Cramer* supposes. It is nowhere definitely stated at what year the boy commenced going to school. *Plato, Leg.* vii. p. 794, τοὺς μὲν ἄρρενας ἐφ' ἵππων διδασκάλους καὶ τόξων καὶ σφενδομήσεως, seems to restrict lads to the bodily exercises of the gymnasium merely, until their tenth year, which time he fixes for their commencement ἐν γράμμασι: but this could scarcely have been actually the case; and boys were doubtless sent early to school, as now-a-days, to keep them out of mischief at home. Indeed, *Lucian* says as much, *Hermotim.* 82: ἐπεὶ καὶ αἱ τίτθαι τοιαῦτε λέγουσι περὶ τῶν παιδίων, ὡς ἀπιτέον αὐτοῖς ἐς διδασκάλον. καὶ γὰρ ἂν μηδέπω μαθεῖν ἀγαθόν τι δύνωνται, ἀλλ' οὖν φαῖλον οὐδὲν ποιήσουσιν ἐκεῖ μένοντες. *Aristotle, de Republ.* vii. 17, in the main agrees with *Plato* in thinking the age μέχρι πέντε ἐτῶν as unfit either πρὸς μάθησιν, or πρὸς ἀναγκαίους πόρους. During the next two years he thinks, δεῖ θεωροῦς ἤδη γίγνεσθαι τῶν μαθήσεων, ὥς δεήσει μαθάνειν αὐτούς. He also thinks gymnastics ought to precede mental instruction, καὶ περὶ τὸ σῶμα πρότερον ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν, though he does not explain when the beginning ἐν γράμμασι should take place. *Ib.* viii. 3.

The state had but little concern with the schools. So *Socrates* says: τῆς δὲ σῆς γενέσεως, ὧς Ἀλκιβιάδῃ, καὶ τροφῆς, καὶ παιδείας, ἢ ἄλλου ὅτουοῦν Ἀθηναίων, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, οὐδενὶ μέλει. *Plato, Alcib.* i. p. 122. There were laws, it is true, respecting instruction, ἢ οὐ καλῶς προσέταττον ἡμῶν οἱ ἐπὶ τούτοις τεταγ-

EDUCATION.

[EXCURSUS.]

οἱμοι, παραγγέλλοντες τῷ πατρὶ τῷ σῷ, σὲ ἐν μουσικῇ καὶ ποικίῃ παιδεύειν, (Plato, *Crito*, p. 50,) but the expression ἐλλειν, used here, does not enable us to ascertain how far they were carried out; the laws of Solon, mentioned by Æschines, were intended to prevent moral abuses; and if there did exist a law at Athens which prescribed, τοὺς παιδας διδάσκειν ὁπῶτον νεὶν τε καὶ γράμματα, (Petit. *Leg. Att.* pp. 12, 239,) no control was exercised.

The state never thought of erecting public institutions, to be maintained at the general expense. In Demosthenes, in *Bæot.* 1001, we read, it is true: ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὶν ἡμέτερος φάσκειν εἶναι εἰς Ἴπποβοωντίδα ἐφοῖτα φύλην εἰς παιδας χορεύσων. Even if we adopt the inference drawn from this passage by *Public Econ. of Athens*, p. 121, that the tribes had partly provided for the instruction of their youth in music and bodily exercises, by the appointment of teachers for this purpose, still the association would always bear the character of a private one. The whole passage may, however, with more probability be understood of Choregia: see Antiph. *de Choreut.*

Troezen at the time of the Persian invasion, the inhabitants, besides supporting them, paid persons to teach the children. Plutarch, *Themist.* 10: Καὶ τρέφειν ἐψηφίσαντο δημοσίᾳ, δύο ὀβολοὺς ἐκάστῳ διδόντες, καὶ τῆς ὀπίρας λαμβάνειν τοὺς παῖδας ἐξεῖναι πανταχόθεν, ἔτι δ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν διδασκάλοις τελεῖν μισθούς. See also Ælian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 15, where we read that the Mitylenæans, when masters of the sea, punished those allies who revolted, by not allowing their children to be taught, deeming this the severest penalty they could inflict: γράμματα μὴ μαυθάνειν τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν μηδὲ μουσικὴν διδάσκεισθαι, πασῶν κολάσεων ἡγήσάμενοι βαρυντάτην εἶναι ταύτην, ἐν αμαθίᾳ καὶ ἀμουσίᾳ καταβιῶναι. The selection of a teacher rested entirely with the parents, and, as might be expected, the choice often fell on incompetent persons. Plutarch, *de Educ. Puer.* 7.

The tutors were, in some degree, under the surveillance of the state, and certain ἀρχαί, probably the παιδονόμοι mentioned by Aristotle, *de Repub.* iv. 15, were appointed by Solon to inspect them, as we are informed by Æschines, in *Timarch.* p. 35; and Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 765, requires: ἄρχων ὁ τῆς παιδείας ἐπιμελητῆς πάσης. But the functions of these persons were confined to the administration of certain laws respecting morality, while the state exercised but little supervision over the qualifications of the tutors or their method of teaching: perhaps the only requirement was that they should be above a certain age, and thus also the χορηγοὶ παίδων were required to be more than forty. Persons therefore taught the elements, not so much from choice and qualifications, as from having no other means of livelihood; hence the amusing reference in Lucian, *Necyom.* 17, to those who might be supposed to be reduced to this condition in Hades: πολλῶ δ' ἂν οἶμαι μᾶλλον ἐγέλας, εἰ ἐθεάσω τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν βασιλέας καὶ σατράπας πτωχεύοντας παρ' αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἤτοι ταριχοπωλοῦντας ὑπ' ἀπορίας, ἢ τὰ πρῶτα διδάσκοντας γράμματα. Others were in the service of teachers of repute, as, for instance, was the father of Æschines, as appears from Demosth. *de Coron.* p. 313, a passage which affords many curious details as to the arrangements of an Athenian school-room: δι' ἣν (τύχην) παῖς μὲν ὢν μετὰ πολλῆς ἐνδεείας ἐτράφη, ἅμα τῇ πατρὶ πρὸς τῇ διδασκαλείᾳ προσεδρεύων, τὸ μέλαν τρίβων, καὶ τὰ βάρη σπογγίζων, καὶ τὸ παιδαγωγεῖον κορῶν, οἰκέτου τάξιν, οὐκ ἐλευθέρων παιδὸς ἔχων. Cf. *Ib.* p. 270.

what similar tale is told of Epicurus and his father; Diog. 4: καὶ σὺν τῷ πατρὶ γράμματα διδάσκειν λυπρὸν τινοῖς οὐκ ἔστιν. It appears that the calling of teachers of the rudiments τὰ πρῶτα γράμματα διδασκόντων, stood in no great esteem, and this will elucidate Plutarch, *Alcib.* 7. The children of the wealthy parents of course went to better teachers. Demosthenes relates with honest pride how he went εἰς τὰ προσήκοντα ἀειδίᾳ. *De Coron.* p. 312.

In default of direct evidence as to the fees ordinarily received by schoolmasters, we must not be misled by the sums extorted by Sophisticians and Sophists. The schoolmaster's income would depend on the number of his scholars. See Æschin. in *Timarch.* 10: οἷς ἔστιν ὁ μὲν βίος ἀπὸ τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, ἡ δὲ ἀπορία ἐκ τῶν μαθημάτων. The customary times of payment are also unknown, but they would appear to have been monthly, from Theophr. 10: καὶ τὸν Ἀνθεστηριῶνα τὸν ὅλον μὴ πέμπειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ μαθήματα διὰ τὸ θέας εἶναι πολλὰς, ἵνα μὴ τὸν χρόνον κτήνῃ. A deduction would seem to have been made, proportionate to the time of absence, *Ib.*: καὶ τῶν νύκτων δὲ μὴ πορευομένων.

Justin, xxi. 5, relates of Dionysius : 'novissime ludimagistrum professus pueros in trivio docebat ;' and this has given rise to the opinion that teaching in the roads and crossways was of common occurrence ; but the notion will certainly not hold good of Athens, notwithstanding that Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* xx. p. 264, says, οἱ γὰρ τῶν γραμμάτων διδάσκαλοι μετὰ τῶν παιδῶν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καθήνται. The proverb, ἐκ τριόδου, *i. trivio*, said of anything very common and ordinary, had a different origin, such a spot being συγχῶς πεπατημένον. See Lucian, *de morte Peregrin.* 3.

Instruction began with the early morning, children as well as adults rising at this time. So Plato, *Leg.* vii. p. 808 : ἡμέρας δὲ ὄρθρον τε ἐπαπύοντων παιδας μὲν πρὸς διδασκάλους πονεῖν χρεῖν. A law of Solon's enacts that the schools should open μὴ πρότερον ἡλίου ἀνιόντος, and close again, πρὸ ἡλίου δύνοντος. Æschin. in *Timarch.* p. 37. We learn from Thucyd. vii. 29, that this was the case elsewhere ; for he tells us that the Thracians surprised Mycaleasos ἅμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, and butchered the children assembled in a school, ὅπερ μέγιστον ἦν αὐτόθι. It appears also from the law above cited that the schools were opened again in the afternoon, μετὰ τὸ ἄριστον· and so also Lucian, *de Parasito*, 61, says : καὶ σοι λοιπὸν, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες, ἀφίξομαι καὶ ἑῷος, καὶ μετ' ἄριστον, μαθησόμενος τὴν τέχνην. See Excursus on *The Gymnasia*.

Instruction was in three branches : γράμματα, μουσική, γυμναστική. Plato, *Theag.* p. 122 : οὐκ ἐδιδάξετό σε ὁ πατήρ καὶ ἐπαίδευσεν, ἅπερ ἐνθάδε οἱ ἄλλοι παιδεύονται οἱ τῶν καλῶν κάγαθῶν υἱεῖς ; οἷον γράμματα τε καὶ κιθαρίζειν καὶ παλαίειν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀγωνίαν. Plutarch, *de Audit.* 17 : ἐν γράμμασι καὶ περὶ λύραν καὶ παλαίστραν. Cf. Plato, *Clitoph.* p. 407. But the chief passage is in Aristotle, *de Republ.* viii. 3, who adds a fourth branch, drawing or painting : ἔστι δὲ τέτταρα σχεδόν, ἃ παιδεύειν εἰῖθασι, γράμματα καὶ γυμναστικὴν, καὶ μουσικὴν, καὶ τέταρτον ἔνιοι γραφικὴν δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ γραφικὴ χρήσιμος εἶναι πρὸς τὸ κρίνειν τὰ τῶν τεχνιτῶν ἔργα κάλλιον. We will first consider the γράμματα, as being the most indispensable part of instruction ; for, as is evident from the context, we must take in a higher sense the words of Isocrates, *Panathen.* 83, who says, speaking of the Spartans, οὐδὲ γράμματα μαθάνουσιν. Cf. Plutarch, *Lyc.* 16. In its simplest signification, γράμματα comprehended reading,

and arithmetic. See, however, Plato, *Leg.* vii. p. 309. ing to read, the method of dividing into syllables, συλλαβὰς was used. Dionys. Halic. *de admir. vi dic. in Demosth.* τὴν γὰρ (τὴν γραμματικὴν) ὅταν ἐκμάθωμεν, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὰ τῶν στοιχείων τῆς φωνῆς ἀναλαμβάνομεν, ἃ καλεῖται στοιχεῖα. ἔπειτα τύπους τ' αὐτῶν καὶ δυνάμεις. ὅταν δὲ ταῦτα μάθωμεν, τότε τὰς συλλαβὰς αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ περὶ ταῦτα πάθη. After this, the pupils were next instructed on the component parts of a sentence: κρατήσαντες δὲ τούτων τὰ τοῦ λόγου μέρη· λέγω, καὶ ῥήματα, καὶ συνδέσμους; and then they commenced reading, properly so called: ὅταν δὲ τὴν τούτων ἀπάντων τὴν περιλάβωμεν, τότε ἀρχόμεθα γράφειν τε καὶ ἀναγιγνώσκειν τὰ συλλαβὴν μὲν καὶ βραδέως τὸ πρῶτον. See Athenæus, B, where we have a metrical alphabet:

Ἔστ' ἄλφα, βῆτα, γάμμα, δέλτα, θεοῦ παρ' εἰ,
ζῆτ', ἦτα, θῆτ', ἰῶτα, κάππα, λάβδα, μῦ,
νῦ, ξῦ, τὸ οὐ, πῖ, ῥῶ, τὸ σάν, ταῦ, ὕ παρόν,
φῖ, χῖ τε τῷ ψῖ εἰς τὸ ὦ.

then proceeds: ὁ χορὸς δὲ γυναικῶν ἐκ τῶν σύνδου πεποιη-
τῶ ἐστὶν ἑμμέτρος ἅμα καὶ μεμελοπεποιημένος τὸνδε τὸν

according to their place on the counting-board. Polyb. v. 26 : ἐκεῖναί τε γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ψηφίζοντος βούλησιν ἄρτι χαλκοῦν καὶ παραντίκα τάλαντον ἴσχουσιν. See also a *bon-mot* ascribed to Solon by Diog. Laert. i. 59 : ἔλεγε δὲ τοὺς παρὰ τοῖς τυράννοις δυναμένους παραπλησίους εἶναι ταῖς ψήφοις ἐπὶ τῶν λογισμῶν. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων ἐκάστην ποτὲ μὲν πλείω σημαίνειν, ποτὲ δὲ ἥττω. See also Plutarch, *Apoph. reg.* p. 691 : καθάπερ οἱ τῶν ἀριθμητικῶν δάκτυλοι νῦν μὲν μυριάδας, νῦν δὲ μονάδα τιθέναι δύνανται, κ. τ. λ. The fingers were also used to express numbers by placing them in different positions. Aleiph. *Epist.* 26 : οἱ περὶ τὰς ψήφους καὶ τῶν δακτύλων τὰς κάμψεις εἰλινδούμενοι.

When the children could read, and understand what they read, the works of the poets were put in requisition, to exercise their minds, and awaken their hearts to great and noble deeds. Plato, *Leg.* vii. p. 810, approves of this, and also recommends committing whole poems, or select passages, to memory ; and this method of instruction appears to have been universal ; see Strabo, i. 2, 3 : λέγουσι πρώτην τὴν ποιητικὴν . . . καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων πόλεις πρώτιστα διὰ τῆς ποιητικῆς παιδεύουσιν. See too the discourse of Protagoras, Plato, *Prot.* p. 326 : οἱ δὲ διδάσκαλοι τούτων τε ἐπιμελοῦνται, καὶ ἐπειδὰν αὐτὰ γράμματα μάθωσι καὶ μέλλωσι ξηρήσειν τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὥσπερ τότε τὴν φωνήν, παρατιθέασιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν βάθρων ἀναγιγώσκειν ποιητῶν ἀγαθῶν ποιήματα, καὶ ἐκμανθάνειν ἀναγκάζουσιν. Above all, the poems of Homer were thought to contain, by precept and example, every thing calculated to awaken national spirit, and to instruct a man how to be καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθός. See Isocr. *Paneg.* 95. So in Xenoph. *Symp.* 3, 5, Niceratos says of himself : Ὁ πατήρ ἐπιμελούμενος ὅπως ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς γενοίμην, ἠνάγκασέ με πάντα τὰ Ὀμήρου ἔπη μαθεῖν· καὶ νῦν δυναίμην ἂν Ἰλιάδα ὅλην καὶ Ὀδύσειαν ἀπὸ στόματος εἰπεῖν. For the continuance of the custom in later times, see Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* xi. p. 308 : κακέεινον μὲν (Ὁμηρον) ὑπολαβεῖν θεῶν ἄνδρα καὶ σοφόν, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὰ ἔπη διδάσκειν.

The study of music began somewhat later ; according to Plato, with the thirteenth year. *Leg.* vii. p. 809. Aristotle, *de Republ.* viii. 3, speaks admirably of the study of music, as considered from the point of view of his own time ; he says it should not merely be pursued ἡδονῆς χάριν, which he confesses mostly

the case, but πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ σχολῇ διαγωγὴν, or in order to σχολάζειν. It was not a necessary portion of the παιδεία, ἀναγκαῖον (οὐδὲν γὰρ ἔχει τοιοῦτον) οὐδ' ὡς χρήσιμον, τὰ γράμματα, but was accounted a noble and worthy leisure (ἐλευθέριον καὶ καλὴν) for the hours of recreation and

The λύρα or κιθάρα, for the distinction is sometimes made, were the chief, or rather the only, instruments which were thought suited for an ἐλεύθερος. At one period, at Athens, the flute was also a great favourite, but it soon fell into disuse, not only because it distorted the face, but especially because it did not allow the accompaniment of the voice. Aristot. *de Mus.* viii. 6. To this victory of the lyra over the flute, the story of Marsyas unquestionably alludes. These observations, however, apply chiefly to Athens, for elsewhere, as at Thebes, the flute maintained its ground. Maxim. Tyr. *Diss.* xxiii. 2: ἀλύτικὴν ἐπιτηδεύουσι, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ δι' αὐλῶν μουσική, ὡς τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς. Cf. Plutarch, *Pelop.* 19.

There is no mention of regular vacations at fixed intervals, but naturally the numerous public festivals, as for example

early to some trade, whilst the wealthier kept theirs at school longer; and this is expressly asserted by Plato, *Protag.* p. 326. This more advanced instruction was imparted by teachers of a higher order, the Rhetoricians and Sophists, whose charges only the rich could defray. Thus Aristippos demanded one thousand drachmæ, (Plutarch, *de Educ. Puer.* 7; Diog. Laert. ii. 72,) and according to Plutarch, *Dec. Orat. vit.* 4, Isocrates required a like sum; and when Demosthenes offered him two hundred, ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὸ πέμπτον μέρος ἐκμάθη, he answered, οὐ τεμαχίζομεν, ὦ Δημοσθένης, τὴν πραγματείαν ὥσπερ δὲ τοὺς καλοὺς ἰχθῦς ὅλους πωλοῦμεν, οὕτω καὶ γὰρ σοι, εἰ βούλοιο μαθητεῦν, ὁλόκληρον ἀποδύσσομαι τὴν τέχνην. The same author tells us: οὐκ αἰσχύνονται τέτταρες ἢ πέντε μνᾶς ὑπὲρ τούτων αἰτοῦντες. See also Böckh's *Public Econ. of Athens*, pp. 121, 122. The Sophists seem to have insisted most rigidly on their fees, without abating one jot to their poorer pupils. See a lively, though of course highly-coloured scene in Lucian, *Hermotim.* 9: ἐκέινον αὐτὸν, ἐπεὶ τὸν μισθὸν, οἶμαι, μὴ ἀπεδίδου κατὰ καιρὸν, ἀπήγαγε παρὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα ἑναγχοῦ, περιθείς γε αὐτῷ θοιμάτιον περὶ τὸν τράχηλον, καὶ ἐβόα, καὶ ὠργίζετο, καὶ εἰ μὴ τῶν συνήθων τινὲς ἐν μέσῳ γενόμενοι ἀφείλοντο τὸν νεανίσκον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ, εὖ ἴσθι, προσφῶι ἂν ἀπέτραγεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ῥῖνα ὁ γέρων, οὕτω ἡγανάκτει. But this did not prevent the lovers of knowledge from purchasing their instruction even at the greatest sacrifices. Thus Cleanthes, (Diog. Laert. vii. 168,) and Menedemos and Asclepiades, (Athen. iv. p. 168,) worked by night in gardens and mills, in order to be able to attend by day the classes of the philosophers.

This account of the method of instruction applies chiefly to Athens itself, but of course there were schools in the small towns and villages. Thus Protagoras was said in early life, διδάσκειν ἐν κόμῃ τινὶ γράμματα. Athen. viii. p. 354. Little is known of the schools of other cities, but the παιδεία, except at Sparta, was in the main the same. Theophr. *Char. proem.*, πάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως παιδευομένων. With the Spartans mental culture was a secondary consideration, and Aristotle, *de Republ.* viii. 4, justly upbraids them for bringing up their offspring like animals, θηριώδεις ἀπεργάζονται, though this perhaps applies rather to a later period. Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 50, says, certainly without ground: Λακεδαιμόνιοι μουσικῆς ἀπείρως εἶχον,

With regard to Thebes, we have a sad report from Phanias the Bœotian, apud Plutarch, *de Herod. Malig.* 31. He wished to open a school there, τοῖς νέοις διαλέγεσθαι καὶ ἀζειν, but the magistrates forbade him: ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχέκωλύθη δι' ἀγροικίαν αὐτῶν καὶ μισολογίαν. Dio Chrysostom, *orat.* x. p. 306, makes Diogenes express himself in still stronger terms: ἐγὼ δὲ ἤκουσα λέγοντος, ὅτι ἡ Σφίγξ ἡ ἀμαθία αὐτὴν οὖν καὶ πρότερον διαφθεῖραι τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς, καὶ νῦν, οὐκ ἔωσαν εἰδέναι, ἅτε ἀνθρώπων ἀμαθεστάτους. What measure of truth these accounts may contain, it is at least certain that less was done at Thebes for education than at Athens; for otherwise the more sensible Theban parents would have sent their sons to school at Athens, as they did. See *Epist.* 12, p. 699.

What has been said hitherto refers to the instruction of the males only. We nowhere hear anything of educational institutions for girls; and, indeed, they would have been incompatible with the universal training of the female sex. Plato, it is granted, does not seem to have gymnasia for the boys and girls, separate of course.

οὕτως ἀναλαβεῖν. Also *Id. de Educ. Puer.* 7: τῇ μὲν δεξιᾷ συνεθίζειν τὰ παῖδια δέχεσθαι τὰς τροφὰς, κἂν προτείνειε τὴν ἀριστεράν, ἐπιτιμᾶν. Cf. *Id. de Fort.* 5: τοὺς παῖδας διδάσκωμεν τῇ δεξιᾷ λαμβάνειν τοῦ ὄψου, τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ κρατεῖν τὸν ἄρτον. This custom of always using the right hand for everything is ridiculed by Plato, *Leg.* vii. p. 794, and to this Aristotle alludes, *De Republ.* ii. 12. When walking in the streets, boys were required to look straight before them on the ground, with head downcast, κεκυφότες, as Plutarch says. See *Diog. Laert.* v. 82. Modesty and respect towards their elders was one of the first duties inculcated on youth. Plato, *Leg.* ix. p. 879: πᾶσι ἡμῖν αἰδέσθω τὸν ἑαυτοῦ πρεσβύτερον ἔργῳ τε καὶ ἔπει. He also assumes, as a matter of course, that νεώτεροι should be silent in the presence of their seniors. *De Republ.* iv. p. 426: σιγὰς νεωτέρων παρὰ πρεσβυτέροις, ὡς πρέπει. See a pretty fragment of Menander, in Plutarch, *de San. Tuend.* 18. There is no finer instance of this juvenile αἰδώς than that of Autolycos in Xenophon's *Symposion*, 3, 12. He takes no part in the conversation, and the blushing modesty with which he replies to a question, is very beautifully depicted. That Autolycos is present at a banquet, away from his father's house, is quite an exception to the general custom, the reason being that his ἐραστής has given the banquet in honour of his victory, νικητήρια ἐστιγᾷ. He also leaves earlier than the rest, Αὐτόλυκος δὲ, ἥδη γὰρ ὥρα ἦν αὐτῷ, ἐξανίστατο εἰς περίπατον. When the father entertained guests at home, the son sometimes appeared and sat at table—the adults reclined, Αὐτόλυκος μὲν οὖν παρὰ τὸν πατέρα ἐκαθέζετο, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι, ὥσπερ εἰκός, κατεκλίθησαν, but even this did not usually take place (*Theophr. Char.* 5); and the children were often sent away to the women's apartments for want of room. Lucian, *Somn. seu Gall.* 11: τὸν υἱὸν γὰρ ἐγὼ κελεύσω ἐν τῇ γυναικωνίτιδι μετὰ τῆς μητρὸς ἐστιαθῆναι, ὡς σὺ χώραν ἔχῃ.

In more ancient times it was accounted highly improper for youths, even long after they had emerged from childhood, to take part in public business. This was strictly observed at Sparta. Plutarch, *Lyc.* 25: Οἱ μὲν γε νεώτεροι τριάκοντα ἐτῶν τὸ παράπαν οὐ κατέβαινον εἰς ἀγορὰν. At Athens this was not so rigorously the case, yet the feeling of αἰδώς acted as a power-

αἰσίου. 1, 2, 1, mentions Euthydem
 ἀγορὰν εἰσιόντα. The change may
 from the Peloponnesian war, and he
 cides, in *Alcib.* p. 123: τοιγάρτοι γ
 τοῖς γυμνασίοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς δικαστη
 very bitter on the alterations in ed
 ing the old habits with the new,
 the Δίκαιος and Ἄδικος λόγος. *Nu*
 may refer to the beautiful portrait of
 well-ordered youth, as drawn by L
 ἀναστὰς ἐκ τῆς ἀζύγου κοίτης τὸν ἐ
 ὕπνον ἀπονιψάμενος ὕδατι λιτῷ, καὶ
 ἐπωμίαις περόναις συρράψας ἀπὸ τῆς
 κάτω κεκυφῶς, καὶ μηδένα τῶν ἀπαντε
 πων. ἀκόλουθοι δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγοί, χε
 τὰ σεμνὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐν χερσὶν ὄργαν
 κτενὸς ἐντομὰς κόμην καταψήχειν δυ
 ἀντιμόρφων χαρακτήρων ἀγράφους εἰκ
 δέλτοι κατόπιν ἀκολουθοῦσιν, ἢ παλαι
 τουσαι βίβλοι. καὶ εἰς Μουσικοῦ δέ
 But this picture could hardly have
 young persons even in earlier times;
 premature debauchery as Alcibiades

eral expression for this interval was ἐπὶ διετέες ἡβῆσαι. These two years had elapsed, the youth was admitted among the βίβη, and, with the exception of having to serve the state at the twentieth year as περίπολος, he now entered at once on his course of action, and, at least if he belonged to the upper class, he could follow his own inclination in the selection of an occupation. Many fathers of substantial means endeavoured to turn their sons to business, as is clear from the comic poets; many youths who could afford it mostly devoted themselves to the pursuit of pleasure;—to the chase, charioteering, and the combats of hetærae,—or they became disciples of the philosophers; the passage is clearer on this head than Terent. *Andr.* i. 1, 28:

Quod plerique omnes faciunt adolescentuli,
Ut animum ad aliquod studium adjungant, aut equos
Alere, aut canes ad venandum, aut ad philosophos, etc.

Ant. Merc. Prol. 40, 61; and *Xenoph. Memor.* i. 6, 14: ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ ἵππων ἀγαθῶν, ἡ κυνῶν, ἡ ὄρνιθιν ἡδεύεται. Nor must we omit the passionate fondness for cock and quail-fighting, and on rearing birds immense pains were frequently bestowed. The state made no objection to all these amusements; nay, the Areopagus allowed the rich to pursue them, quite as much as it did the poor to do so. *Isocr. Areopag.* 17, p. 201: τοὺς δὲ βίον ἱκανὸν κέκτημένους καὶ ἵππικὴν καὶ τὰ γυμνάσια, καὶ κυνηγέσια καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὁρῶσαν διατρίβειν. It was regarded with favour, not only as a harmless way of diverting the unruly passions of youth, but also, if they obtained prizes at the Olympian or other games, it opened a source of honour and renown to the state. *Isocr. Panth.* 14, p. 509: τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαστάς γιγνομένας τῶν νικούντων. *de Bon. Aristoph.* p. 661: αὐτίκα ὅτε ἵππενεν, οὐ μόνον ἐκτέθησάν τε λαμπρούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀθλητάς ἐνίκησεν Ἴσθμοι καὶ ὥστε τὴν πόλιν κηρυχθῆναι καὶ αὐτὸν στεφανωθῆναι.

Sparta, where every individual pursuit was entirely discouraged and where all were brought up after one rule, and for the most part there was but little scope for indulging these private tastes. Elsewhere, also, the youth became a man at eighteen; but the name ἀνὴρ imposed upon him, εἶρην, which means ἄρχων generally, and which entirely denotes his position among the public. *Plutarch, Lyc.* 1: ἄρνας δὲ καλοῦσι τοὺς ἔτος ἤδη δεύτερον ἐκ παιδῶν γενομένους. μελλείρνας δὲ τῶν παιδῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτάτους. Οὗτος

Hellenen zur Sittlichkeit, by Fr. Jacobs

EXCURSUS TO SCENE II.

THE HETÆRÆ.

IN a general survey of Greek customs, it will be impossible to omit giving an account of a class of the community which the moderns have denounced as most abandoned, and have branded with the utmost contumely; this will be apparent to any one who has merely gained from the Roman comic poets a faint notion of the prominent position which the hetæræ occupied in Grecian life. After the excellent treatise on this subject by Jacobs, it might be supposed that further elucidation was needless; but that writer, vivid and truthful though his sketch may be, instead of investigating the matter in all its bearings, has preferred to dwell on the brighter side of his subject. The present writer, on the contrary, has determined not to shrink from a further scrutiny; his intention in this work being to paint the individual traits of character, and not to omit even the minutest features requisite to complete the picture.

In one point he certainly differs from Jacobs, namely, as to the expression of public opinion on the intercourse of married men with hetæræ. Doubtless it was the young unmarried men who chiefly indulged in this vice; but it is also true that men frequently resorted to their old practices after marriage, and this without losing grade in the popular opinion, unless they threw aside all propriety and respect for their wives, as was the case with Alcibiades. *Andoc. in Alcib.* p. 117. In no instance are such proceedings reprehended, but, on the contrary, the language held everywhere plainly shews that it was considered nothing uncommon. See *Demosth. in Neær.* p. 1351. Plato himself, who, in his ideal State, wished to see realized much that was impracticable, nevertheless despaired of the possibility of restricting his citizens to the lawful intercourse of marriage. *Leg.* viii. p. 841. The manner in which these vices were regarded by the women is seen from *Aristoph. Eccles.* 720:

[CHAR.]

ΠΡ. ἔπειτα τὰς πόρνas καταπαῦσαι βούλομαι
 ἀπαξαπλάσας. ΒΛ. ἵνα τί; ΠΡ. ὁῦλον τουτογί·
 ἵνα τῶν νέων ἔχωμεν αὐταὶ τὰς ἀκμάς.
 καὶ τὰς γε δοῦλας οὐχὶ δεῖ κοσμουμένας
 τὴν τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὑφαρπάζειν Κύπριν.

though the wife could, and often did, reproach her offending
 husband, yet probably she could not institute a *κακώσεως δίκη*
 against him. The instances adduced by Petit, *Leg. Att.* p. 543,
 contain no reference to hetæræ, and the only passage which is
 in point is Alciph. *Epist.* i. 6, where the wife says to
 her husband: ἡ οὖν πέπανσο τῆς ἀγερωχίας... ἡ ἴσθι με παρὰ
 τέρρα οἰχνησομένην, ὅς οὐδ' ἐμὲ περιόψεται, καὶ σὲ γράψε-
 ρα τοῖς δικασταῖς κακώσεως. But here, in addition to the
 causes of complaint, the husband had entirely neglected
 his family; and it would be rash to build an hypothesis on a
 testimony, especially on one of such a date as that just
 quoted. We have moreover the testimony of Plautus, that
 the exact contrary was the case; *Merc.* iv. 6, 3:

Nam si vir scortum duxit clam uxorem suam,
 Id si rescivit uxor, impune est viro.
 Uxor viro si clam domo egressa est foras,

Uxor si clam egressa sit, impune est uxori.

It was thus by an Attic euphemism that those females who did not belong to the very lowest class were termed *ἐταῖραι* rather than *πόρναι*. Plutarch, *Solon*, 15; Athen. xiii. p. 571: *καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τὰς μισθαρνούσας ἐταῖρας καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ συνουσίαις μισθαρνεῖν ἐταιρεῖν, οὐκ ἔτι πρὸς τὸ ἔτυμον ἀναφέροντες, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ εὐσχημονέστερον.*

Jacobs is right in his remark that these women, with the exception of the Milesian Aspasia, were never respected; though the more decent portion of them were not exactly despised. It will be convenient to class them in certain grades and divisions. The lowest were the common prostitutes kept in the public *πορνεία*, state-institutions, which were first established by Solon. Athen. xiii. p. 569: *καὶ Φιλήμων δ' ἐν Ἀδελφοῖς προσιστορῶν ὅτι πρῶτος Σόλων διὰ τὴν τῶν νέων ἀκμὴν ἔστησεν ἐπὶ οἰκημάτων γύναια πριάμενος.* The passage of Philemon here referred to is as follows:

καὶ μοι λέγειν τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἄρμοστόν, Σόλων,
μεστὴν ὄρωντα τὴν πόλιν νεωτέρων,
τούτους τ' ἔχοντας τὴν ἀναγκαίαν φύσιν
ἀμαρτάνοντάς τ' εἰς ὃ μὴ προσῆκον ἦν,
στῆσαι πριάμενόν τοι γυναῖκας κατὰ τόπους
κοινὰς ἅπασι καὶ κατεσκευασμένας.

Cf. Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* vii. p. 271. The state also countenanced the proceedings of all such females by levying a tax upon them, which was annually farmed out. The evidence on this point is satisfactory and conclusive; Æschin. in *Timarch.* p. 134: *θαυμάζει γὰρ εἰ μὴ πάντες μέμνησθ', ὅτι καθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιστατὸν ἢ βουλὴ πωλεῖ τὸ πορνικὸν τέλος· καὶ τοὺς πριάμενους τὸ τέλος τοῦτο οὐκ εἰκάζειν, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῶς εἰδέναι τοὺς ταύτῃ χρωμένους τῇ ἐργασίᾳ.* See Böckh's *Public Econ. of Athens*, p. 333. In these public *πορνεία* the *πόρναι* were accustomed to stand lightly clad, *γυμναῖ*. So Xenarchos ap. Athen. xiii. p. 568:

ἄς ἔξεσθ' ὄρων
εἰληθερούσας στέρν' ἀπημφισμένας,
γυμνάς, ἐφεξῆς τ' ἐπὶ κέρως τεταγμένας·

or, according to Eubulos, ἐν λεπτοπήνοις ὕφεσιν ἐστῶσας. The admittance fee was but an obole. See Philemon, ap. Athen. *Ib.*: *ἡ θύρα 'στ' ἀνεφγμένη. εἰς ὀβολός· εἰσπηδήσον.* A step removed from these were the houses of the *πορνοβοσκοί*, *lenones* and *lenæ*, who gained a livelihood by keeping a number of girls, and into

hands children, exposed by their parents, often fell. See h. in *Neær.* p. 1351, where we read that Nicarete, a freed-
 , having obtained seven children of this sort in their
 infancy, now supported herself by means of them. Cf.
Cistell.; and Isæus *de Philoctem.* *Hered.* p. 134. These
 es, who were more contemned than the hetærae themselves,
 let out the girls for long periods together, and even to
 persons at the same time, and this does not seem to
 cited jealousy. Demosth. in *Neær.* p. 1353: μετὰ ταῦτα
 ἐν τῇ Κορίνθῳ αὐτῆς ἐπιφανῶς ἐργαζομένης καὶ οὐσης
 ς, ἄλλοι τε ἐρασταὶ γίγνονται, καὶ Ξενοκλείδης ὁ ποιη-
 "Ἰππαρχος ὁ ὑποκριτής. καὶ εἶχον αὐτὴν μεμισθωμένοι
 e πόρνοι were sometimes purchased outright from the
 οσκόρ, either by one or more persons, as was the case
 eæra herself. Demosth. in *Neær.* p. 1354: μετὰ ταῦτα
 αὐτῆς γίγνονται ἐρασταὶ δύο, κατατιθέασιν αὐτῆς
 ες) τιμὴν τριάκοντα μνᾶς τοῦ σώματος τῇ Νικαρέτῃ καὶ
 αὐτὴν παρ' αὐτῆς νόμῳ πόλεως καθάπαξ αὐτῶν δούλην
 Another case, where there were also two joint purchasers,

Demosth. in Neær. p. 1354. See also *Demosth. in Neær.* p. 1354.

among these comes the numerous class of freed-women, comprehending the flute-players, αὐλητρίδες, and the cither-players, κιθαρίστριαι, who were hired to assist at the domestic sacrifices, (Plaut. *Epid.* iii. 4, 64; Millin, *Peint. de Vas. Gr.* i. 8,) and, like the ὀρχηστρίδες, or dancing-girls, served to give zest to the pleasures of the symposia. But these girls generally followed the profession of hetærae also; and that this was often the purpose of their presence at such drinking-scenes, is manifest from numerous antiques. The younger men often assembled at the houses of these persons. See Isocr. *Areop.* 18, p. 202: Τοιγαρὺν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς σκιραφείοις οἱ νεώτεροι διέτριβον, οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς αὐλητρίσιν, οὐδ' ἐν τοῖς τοιοῦτοις συλλόγοις, ἐν οἷς νῦν διημερεύουσιν. Others frequented taverns, as appears from the expression, προσεταιρίζεσθαι ἐς παρδοχεῖον, used by Lucian, *Philopatr.* 9.

Many of those in this class were probably distinguished for wit and vivacity; but those remarkable personages, who by their intellect and powers of fascination perhaps, rather than by their beauty, exerted such an extensive sway over their age, and who, by the position in which they stood to the greatest men of the day, have secured an historic celebrity, were sprung from a different order. For Aspasia and the Corinthian Lais, as well as Phryne and Pythionice, were aliens, ξέναι, and Lamia was the daughter of a free Athenian citizen. Many penniless and unbeloved maidens who went to Athens, Corinth, and the larger cities without any intention of becoming hetærae, were afterwards, by degrees, borne away into the vortex. So the Andrian, Chrysis; Terent. *Andr.* i. 1, 42. Others, on the contrary, probably repaired to the great cities with the express object of making their *début* in this character. Among such may be reckoned the Thais and the two Bacchides of Terence, as well as the Bacchides and Phronesium of Plautus, with several mentioned by Athenæus and by other writers. The lives and characters of nine of the most renowned have been capitally sketched by Jacobs.

Corinth seems to have surpassed all other cities in the number of its hetærae, to whom the wealth and splendour of the place, as well as the crowd of wealthy merchants, who were not very scrupulous in their habits of life, held out the prospect of a rich harvest. Nor was it in numbers only that this city

e-eminent; but in magnificence, elegance, and luxurious
ent, if not in genuine cultivation of mind also, its hetærae
even those of Athens; so that Κορινθία κόρη became an
expressive of the acme of voluptuousness. So Plato, *Re-*
p. 404, after condemning Συρακουσία τράπεζα, Ἀττικὰ
α, &c., proceeds: ψέγεις ἄρα καὶ Κορινθίαν κόρην φίλην
δράσι μέλλουσιν εὖ σώματος ἔξειν. Cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 149.
viii. 6, 20, relates that the temple of Aphrodite numbered
a thousand hetærae as hierodulæ, whom he describes as
of foreigners: τό τε τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἱερὸν οὕτω πλούσιον
, ὥστε πλείους ἢ χιλίας ἱεροδούλους ἐκέκτητο ἑταίρας, ἃς
ταν τῇ θεῷ καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες. Καὶ διὰ ταύτας οὖν
γλείτο ἡ πόλις καὶ ἐπλουτίζετο· οἱ γὰρ ναύκληροι ῥαδίως
σκοντο καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἡ παροιμία φησὶν,

Οὐ παντὸς ἀνδρὸς ἐν Κόρινθόν ἐσθ' ὁ πλοῦς.

κορινθία κόρη was a synonym for an hetæra, so κορινθιάζεσθαι
ἢ ἑταιρεῖν. Eustath. *ad Il.* ii. 570. Equally significant is
the ἀνδροκόρινθος applied to the infamous town Heraclea.
viii. p. 351. So Dio Chrysos. *Orat.* xxxvii. p. 119, says to

house of Theodota, as well as all its inmates, appear, according to Xenophon's description, to have been perfectly decent and proper. *Memor.* iii. 11, 4: Ἐκ δὲ τούτου ὁ Σωκράτης ὁρῶν αὐτὴν τε πολυτελῶς κεκοσμημένην, καὶ μητέρα παροῦσαν αὐτῇ ἐν ἐσθῇτι καὶ θεραπείᾳ οὐ τῇ τυχούσῃ, καὶ θεραπαίνας πολλὰς καὶ εὐεεῖς, καὶ οὐδὲ τὰς ἡμελημένως ἐχούσας, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τὴν οἰκίαν ἀφθόως κατεσκευασμένην, εἶπε, κ. τ. λ. But the very surprise of Socrates proves that he expected to find the usual absence of decency and comfort. So Terence, *Eun.* v. 4, 12, mentions, 'Harum inluviem, sordes, inopiam.' If we add to this, that they could have seldom felt any genuine affection, and that beneath the mask of devotion lurked trickery and avarice, with constant scheming to plunder their besotted admirers—there is left only a wretched, disconsolate picture of existence, darkened by the gloomy perspective of a time when their charms should have faded away. And this was, generally, the character of professional hetære, of whom Thais, as drawn by Menander, (*Meineke*, p. 75,) may be taken as a representative:

θρασεῖαν, ῥαίαν δὲ καὶ πιθανὴν ἄμα,
ἀδικοῦσαν, ἀποκλείουσαν, αἰτοῦσαν πυκνά,
μηθεὶς ἐρῶσαν, προσποιουμένην δ' ἀέλ.

The first rule of life was, 'assimulare amare oportet,' (*Plaut. Cist.* i. 1, 98,) and this principle is well carried out in the *Truculentus*, i. 2; and ii. 1. Cf. *Isocrat. de Pace*, 33, p. 242. So again, *Dicæarchos* says, speaking of Athens, φυλακτέον δ' ὡς ἐνὶ μάλιστα ταῖς ἐταίρας, μὴ λάθῃ τις ἡδέως ἀπολόμενος. *Stat. Gr.* p. 10. What credit their admirers attached to the sincerity of their professions may be gathered from the quaint words of *Aristippos*, as reported by *Plutarch*, *Amat.* 4: ὡς ἐμαρτύρησεν Ἀρίστιππος τῷ κατηγοροῦντι Λαΐδος πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς οὐ φιλούσης, ἀποκρινάμενος, Ὅτι καὶ τὸν οἶνον οἶεται καὶ τὸν ἰχθὺν μὴ φιλεῖν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἡδέως ἐκατέρωφ χρῆται. Cf. *Athen.* xiii. p. 588.

Alexis, apud *Athen.* xiii. p. 568, recounts the expedients of the hetære for heightening their charms, or replacing those which they had lost. See Note 42 to Scene ix. Many, however, increased their attractiveness by wit and humour, as well as by intellectual acquirements. Though not perhaps possessed of very profound scientific attainments, yet at all events they displayed a degree of

much above that of the ordinary run of Greek women, this some prided themselves not a little. Athen. xiii. p. 583: αἱ δὲ ἑταῖραι μέγα ἐφρόνον ἐφ' αὐταῖς, παιδείας ἀντεχόμεναι τοῖς μαθήμασι χρόνον ἀπομερίζουσαι. Thus the Aristheneia was a pupil of Plato, (Athen. xii. p. 546,) and a hearer of Epicurus (*ib.* xiii. p. 588). Still the witty, if a Lamia, a Mania, or a Gnathæna, of which Athenæus served so many specimens, are coarse, though pointed, and would argue that they often descended into real grossness and modesty in their conversation.

The price paid by Hipparchos and Xenocleides for Neæra was twenty minæ, or three thousand drachmæ. Gnathæna, on the other hand, demanded one thousand drachmæ as the price of a daughter's society for a single night; but these μεγάλα ἑταῖραι had to stoop to lower prices when their beauty began to wane. See the fragment of Epicrates respecting which has been preserved by Athenæus, xiii. p. 570:

ἰδεῖν μὲν αὐτὴν ῥᾶόν ἐστι καὶ πτόσαι.
ἐξέρχεται δὲ πανταχόσ' ἡδὴ πιομένη,

names were often given them; thus two Athenian hetære, and they τῶν οὐκ ἀσήμεν, in addition to their own names of Melissa and Nicion, bear the sobriquets of Θεατροτορύνη and Κυνάμνια. Athen. iv. p. 157. So Nico was yclept Αἶξ, Callisto Ὑς, (Athen. xiii. p. 582,) Lais Ἀξίνη, (Ælian, *Var. hist.* xii. 5,) and Phanostata Φθειροπούλη, for the amusing reason, ἐπειδὴ περ ἐπὶ τῆς θύρας ἐστῶσα ἐφθειρίζετο. Athen. xiii. p. 586. They were beyond the pale of the ordinary law in all cases of μοιχεία, βία, and προαγωγεία; cf. Demosth. *Mid.* p. 525; Lysias in *Theomn.* p. 361; and Plutarch, *Sol.* 23. See Excursus on *The Markets and Commerce*, where these passages are all discussed at length.

It has been asserted that they were compelled to wear a peculiar dress, and were specially distinguished by garments of divers colours. See Petit. *Leg. Att.* p. 576. Suidas, it is true, says, νόμος Ἀθήνησι τὰς ἐταίρας ἄνθινα φορεῖν: but the word νόμος here decidedly means nothing more than custom, or habit; and there certainly never was any law of Solon's to this effect, nor does a single author of the better period hint at any such distinctive attire. The very passages quoted by Petit from Artemidorus and Clemens Alexandrinus contain no proof. The words of the latter, (*Pædag.* iii. 2,) οὕτω τὴν μοιχαλίδα δεικνύνουσι τὰ ἀνθίσματα, mean nothing more than his previous assertion, οὐ γὰρ γυναικός, ἀλλ' ἐταίρας τὸ φιλόκοσμον: and the laws of Zaleucos, (Diod. Sic. xii. 21,) as well as the Syracusan ordinance, (Phylarch. apud Athen. xii. p. 521,) contained sumptuary restrictions for free women merely, and were not designed for the regulation of the dress of the hetære. And Clemens Alex. *Pædag.* ii. 10, plainly alludes to something of the same kind when he says: Ἀγαμαὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων τὴν πόλιν τὴν παλαιάν, ἣ μόναις ταῖς ἐταίραις ἀνθίνας ἐσθῆτας καὶ χρυσοῦν κόσμον ἐπέτρεψε φορεῖν, ἀφαιρουμένη τῶν δοκίμων γυναικῶν τὴν φιλοκοσμίαν, τῇ μόναις ἐφεῖναι καλλοπιῆσθαι ταῖς ἐταιρούσαις. The courtesan, desirous of looking as attractive as possible, would naturally adopt a gayer and more pretentious dress than the sober habiliments of the Grecian dame, just as she bestowed more pains on the dressing of her hair, though this was certainly not done after any particular fashion prescribed by law. Lucian, *Bis Accus.* 31: κοσμουμένην καὶ τὰς τρίχας εὐθετίζουσιν εἰς τὸ ἐταιρικόν. So

. *Ver. Hist.* ii. 46: γυναῖκες πάντ' ἐταιρικῶς κεκοσμημέναι.
hetæræ had been really forced by law to wear a party-
d dress, the wonder would be why this was never adduced
the point, when the question was raised as to whether
an was an hetæra or not; and in that case it would have
possible that such an error or dispute could have arisen as
between Stephanos and Epænetos; Demosth. *in Neer.*
it is evident that the mistake has been made of supposing
t of dress to have been compulsory by law, while, in fact,
only voluntarily adopted by the hetæræ. Respecting the
coloured garments, see Excursus on *The Dress*.

EXCURSUS I. TO SCENE III.

THE GRECIAN HOUSE.

IN the total absence of any remains of a Grecian house, in the scarcity of trustworthy descriptions, and the great confusion of the terms used for its various parts, to re-construct it in a satisfactory manner is no easy task. That the house had its Thyroreion, Peristyle, Gynæconitis and Andronitis, its Thalamos and Amphithalamos, we know, but their relative positions are not so clear. Many writers have blindly followed Vitruvius' hasty account of a Grecian house of his own day, though the construction he describes was certainly not, even then, in universal use, and they utterly disregard the contradictions he meets with from other and more trustworthy authorities; while others throw him overboard, and insist, in direct opposition to his statements, that the front of the house was the ἀνδρωνίτις, the back the γυναικωνίτις.

The translators of Vitruvius,—Perrault, Galiani, Ortiz y Sanz, Newton, and Rode,—do little or nothing towards solving the difficulties which present themselves. There are also recent English translations by Wilkins and Gwilt. Of the editors, Stratico and Marini are commonplace and incompetent, but Schneider's is a truly valuable critical edition. But neither in this, nor in his other work, *Epimetrum ad Xenoph. Mem.* iii. 8, 9, does he give any plan, or attempt to explain the construction of the whole house, *dispositio singularum partium*, as Vitruvius expresses it, p. 485. The other works on this subject are Scamozzi, *Architettura*, uncritical in the extreme; Stieglitz, *Archäol. d. Baukunst*, in which Vitruvius is blindly followed; Hirts, *Gesch. d. Bauk.* a poor affair; Barthélemy, *Anachars.* Vol. ii.; and lastly, Böttiger, *Prol. i. de Medea Eurip.*, which contains some good remarks interspersed with a few errors. Such being the state of the subject, we can hardly hope to present a complete and satisfactory restoration of the Grecian house; it will not be difficult, however, to rectify many of the absurdities and errors which have been again and again repeated by successive writers.

THE GRECIAN HOUSE.

[EXCURSUS I.]

Grecian house at the time of our story was entirely different from the palaces of the Homeric chiefs, in which the female apartments were invariably in the upper story, *ὑπερῶον*, a custom which was the exception, and not the rule, in after times. Hence Voss' plan of the house of Odysseus requires no alteration here. Of the changes which took place in the period between Homer and the Peloponnesian war, we know next to nothing; but there is no reason to suppose that the houses at that period differed materially from those in the time of the Persians and the Pisistratidæ. So that the hundred years from the beginning of the war, to the time of Alexander, will be the period now under investigation. After this latter date great changes probably took place.

Of course the writers who flourished during this epoch are our authorities; yet the information which we derive from them is so detached and disconnected, that it will be better to begin, in the first place, to re-construct the house from the description of Vitruvius, (vi. 7,) which these scattered notices may serve to elucidate or correct. The passage in Vitruvius is

According to this account, the house-door opened into an entrance-hall, on either side of which were the porter's lodge and the stables. Except with respect to the stables, this agrees with Poll. i. 77: εἰσιόντων δὲ πρόθυρα, καὶ προπύλαια καὶ τὸν μὲν πυλῶνα καὶ θυρῶνα καλοῦσι. This πυλῶν or θυρῶν is the *θυρῳρεῖον* of Vitruvius. According to him, the entrance-hall was again provided with a door towards the interior, 'locus inter duas januas.' There must have been, from the nature of the case, an opening from it into the peristyle, but whether this was usually closed by an inner door, as Vitruvius asserts, is doubtful. The house-door itself was called αὔλειος, or αὐλία θύρα. See a fragment of Menander (Meineke, p. 87):

τοὺς τῆς γαμετῆς ὄρουσι ὑπερβαίνει, γύναι,
τὴν αὐλίαν· πέρας γὰρ αἰθρῆς θύρα
ἐλευσθῆρα γυναῖκα νυνόμιστ' οἰκίας.

Cf. Pind. *Nem.* i. 19; Eustath. ad *Iliad.* xxii. 66: πρῶτας θύρας λέγει τὰς αὐλείους. Now a second door, before the αὐλή, is nowhere mentioned; but directly the αὔλειος is opened, you always entered at once into the peristyle. Nay, from Plutarch, *de Genio Socr.* 17, it is clear that the house-door was visible from the peristyle. Caphisias, standing in a corner of the peristyle, τινὰ γωνίαν τοῦ περιστύλου, exclaims: Καὶ τίς οὐτος, ὁ πρὸς ταῖς αὐλείοις θύραις ἐφεστὼς πάλαι καὶ προσβλέπων ἡμῖν; So that at all events such an inner door must not be considered indispensable. Vitruvius makes the passage lead immediately to the peristyle; Pollux, however, says: εἴτα πρόδομος, καὶ προαύλιον, καὶ αὐλή τὸ ἔνδον, ἣν αἰθρῶσαν Ὅμηρος καλεῖ. From this it would appear that the peristyle was not separated from the entrance-lodge, θυρῳρεῖον, by a mere wall, but that there were rooms on that side of the peristyle with doors opening into it. Suidas, Hesychius, and Photius, moreover say: πρόδομος· ἡ τοῦ οἴκου παστάς, or προστάς. This, compared with what Vitruvius says on the προστάς in the peristyle, may throw some light upon the subject.

In Pollux αὐλή means the same as περιστύλιον, and it corresponds to the *cavum ædium* of the Roman house, comprehending the open court in the middle, ὑπαιθρον, and the surrounding arcades: and from it access was gained to the other parts of the house. See Plato, *Symp.* p. 212; Plutarch, *de Gen. Socr.* 32: Ὡς δὲ ἀπαγγέλλας καὶ κελευσθεὶς ἀνοῖξαι τὸν μοχλὸν ἀφείλε καὶ μικρὸν ἐνέδωκε τὴν θύραν, ἐμπεσόντες αἰθρῶσι καὶ ἀνατρέψαντες τὸν

ον ἱεντο δρόμῳ διὰ τῆς αὐλῆς ἐπὶ τὸν θάλαμον. That it was a promenade appears from Plato, *Protag.* p. 311: ὅρῳ ἐξαναστῶμεν εἰς τὴν αὐλήν, καὶ περιῶντες αὐτοῦ δια-
 νεν, ἕως ἂν φῶς γένηται. Meals were also taken there, as
 from Demosth. in *Euerg.* p. 1155: ἔτυχεν ἡ γυνὴ μου μετὰ
 ἰδῶν ἀριστῶσα ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ. Here, too, the altar for do-
 sacrifice was usually placed. Plato, *de Republ.* i. p. 328:
 γὰρ ἐτύγχανεν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ. Böckh assumes from Cic.
 v. 2, that there were special *sacraria* in Greek private
 but the instance adduced in that passage being from
 and at a comparatively late period, affords by no means
 conclusive proof as to early Greek customs as is derived
Leocr. p. 155: οὐ γὰρ ἐξήρκεσε τὸ σῶμα τὸ
 καὶ τὰ χρήματα μόνον ὑπεκθέσθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ
 ἃ τοῖς ὑμετέροισι καὶ πατράσι εἴθεσιν οἱ πρόγονοι παρέ-
 ὑπὸ ἰδρυσάμενοι, ταῦτα μετεπέμψατο εἰς Μέγαρον καὶ
 ἐκ τῆς χώρας. As D'Orville, ad *Charit.* iii. 2, has
 l, portable altars were employed for the purpose of

positions that have been often made. First, all the houses have been universally assumed to have been free and isolated, and in no way connected with other buildings. Those in the suburbs and ἐν ἀγροῖς, nay many in the town, may have been so, but the majority of houses must have been built close together, and even with party-walls. So Thucydides, ii. 3, speaking of Plataea, says : καὶ ξυνελέγοντο διαρύσσοντες τοὺς κοινὸν τοίχους παρ' ἀλλήλους, ὅπως μὴ διὰ τῶν οἰῶν φανεροὶ ᾖσιν ἰόντες. Also Isæus, *de Philoctet.* *Hered.* p. 143 : τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἐνδοθεν ξεφορήσαντο μετὰ τῆς ἀνθρώπου εἰς τὴν ὁμότοιχον οἰκίαν, ἣν ᾤκει μεμισθωμένοι εἰς τούτων. Plaut. *Mil. Glor.* ii. 1, 62 ; Demosth. *Androt.* p. 609 : τέγος ὡς τοὺς γείτονας ὑπερβαίνειν. None of the restorations yet proposed will apply to houses such as these.

Secondly, it is frequently assumed that Vitruvius' description applies not to the ancient houses, but merely to those of later date ; and that in earlier times the houses consisted of two stories, the andronitis being on the ground-floor, and the upper floor, ὑπερφῶν, being appropriated to the gynæconitis. Now as regards the period from Homer to the time of the Persian invasion there is absolute lack of all evidence on the one side or the other, and the scanty notices extant which refer to the time of the Peloponnesian war, sufficiently prove that at that epoch the apartments of the women were not generally above stairs. The often-quoted passage in Lysias, *de Cæde Eratosth.* p. 12, runs : οἰκιδίων ἐστὶ καὶ διπλοῦν, ἴσα ἔχον τὰ ἄνω τοῖς κάτω, κατὰ τὴν γυναικωνίτιν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀνδρωνίτιν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τὸ παιδίον ἐγένετο ἡμῖν, ἡ μήτηρ πρὶν εἰθίλαξεν. ἵνα δὲ μὴ, ὅποτε λούεσθαι δεοί, κινδυνεῦοι κατὰ τῆς κλίσμακος καταβαίνουσα, ἐγὼ μὲν ἄνω διητώμην, αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες κάτω. To this we may add Aristoph. *Eccles.* 961 : καταδραμοῦσα τὴν ὄραν ἀνοixon. These passages no doubt refer to an upper story ; but this does not necessarily shew that such was of usual occurrence. What Plutarch relates, *ad Princ. Iner.* 4 ; *Arat.* 26 ; and *Pelop.* 35, has reference to the two tyrants, Aristippos, and Alexander of Phæræ, who take special precautions for their personal safety ; and from this therefore we cannot infer the general practice. Achilles Tatius, ii. 26, says : καὶ ὁ Κλεινίας, ἐν ὑπερφῶν γὰρ τὸν θάλαμον εἶχε. But this cannot be quoted as an authority, on account of the late time at which the author wrote. Now the house mentioned by Lysias, *supra*, was a small one, and therefore

defined plan might have made it necessary for the gynæceion to be constructed on the upper floor, which would then be in a suitable position. Moreover Euphiletos need not have explained to the judges, οἰκιδίον ἔστί μοι διπλοῦν, if houses were only so constructed. In another passage Lysias mentions a gynæceion which is certainly not in a ὑπερῶον; *adv. Simon.* ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τὴν ἐμὴν νύκτωρ μεθύων, ἐκκόψας εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῆτιν. Again, in the house of Andronikos, the andronitis and gynæceonitis adjoin each other; *Æcon.* 9, 5. So in Demosth. in *Euerg.* p. 1155, Mnestheus and Euergos, passing through the back-door, arrive at the gynæceonitis, and find the women in the αὐλή. Cf. Antipho, *de re p.* 611. Nay, even the tragic poets seem sometimes to have had in view not the houses of the heroic age, but those of their own; see *Ædip. Tyr.* 1241-1262, where the λέχη νυμφῶν and therefore also the chambers of Jocasta, can only be supposed to be on the ground-floor.

These citations go to prove that, in the historic period, the gynæceia and apartments were not in the ὑπερῶον, except under pecu-

ironitis, and was separated from it by a single door, else-called μέταυλος, μέσαυλος, or μεσαύλιος. The introduction door is the crucial test of all correct restorations of the house; and it must carefully be remembered, that one and the same door are denoted by μέταυλος and μέσαυλος, but that the latter in its strict meaning, could not be used in every house of the more general word μέταυλος: for Schneider is quite (*Epim.* p. 279,) in stating that μέταυλος was only the earlier Attic form of μέσαυλος. Without forgetting the connection between μέσος and μετά, there appears to be a distinct reason why μέταυλος is preferred by earlier writers. The best passage in which μέταυλος occurs, is in Lysias, *de Cædæ* §. p. 20: ἀναμνησκόμενος, ὅτι ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ νυκτὶ ἐψόφει ἡ ἐκ τῆς θύρας καὶ ἡ αὐλειος. All however that we learn from this is that in order to arrive at the gynæconitis it was necessary to go through an interior door: but the point here to be noticed is though this door does not, in this case, connect the andronitis with the gynæconitis, (for the latter is in the ὑπερφῶν,) yet it is called μέταυλος. Whereas Mær. Att. p. 264, says: καὶ ἡ μέση τῆς ἀνδρωνίτιδος καὶ γυναικονίτιδος θύρα, Ἀττικῶς μέταυλος, Ἑλληνικῶς. See Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod. iii. 335: ἡ ἐκ τῆς θύρας φέρουσα εἰς τὴν ἀνδρωνίτιν καὶ γυναικωνίτιν. Cf. *Symp.* vii. 1: ἡ δὲ μέταυλος αὕτη (ἡ ἐπιγλωττικὴ) κλίσιν ὅτε λαμβάνουσα φθεγγόμενον μὲν ἐπιπίπτει τῷ στομαχῷ καὶ πινόντων τῇ ἀρτηρίᾳ. But the greatest weight is attached to a quotation from Ælius Dionysius in Eustath. *l.* xi. 547: οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ σημειοῦνται, ὡς Ἀττικοὶ μὲν τὴν ἑστῶσαν μέσαυλὸν φασί, μάλιστα μὲν οὖν τὴν μέσῃ δυοῖν αὐλαῖν, ἡ δὲ Αἴλιος Διονύσιος, ἣν καὶ μέταυλον αὐτὸς λέγει πρὸς ὁμοίωσιν μεθόριον καὶ μεταίχμιον. This explanation, taken in connection with the passage in Lysias, enables us to determine the meaning of μέταυλος, and its relation to μέσαυλος. In early times when a private citizen passed most of his time amid the ruins of the public edifices, his own abode was simple enough, and he mainly did not possess two peristyles. Through the αὐλειος was the entrance into the αὐλή, which was in the front of the house and which was in fact the peristyle, and was surrounded by apartments appertaining to the andronitis. Beyond the αὐλή, and separated from it by a door, was the gynæconitis.

or was called μέταυλος, not because it connected the two
 ents of the house, but because it lay opposite to the
 across or behind the αὐλή. But when houses were built
 re extensive plan, with a separate peristyle for both andro-
 d gynæconitis, the door that joined them both still con-
 o be μέταυλος in reference to the αὐλειος; but in so far as
 d the passage from one αὐλή into the other, it was also at
 e time μέσανυλος, and hence the words of Ælius Dionysius
 oted from Eustathius: μάλιστα τὴν μέσῃν ὀνοῖν αὐλαῖν.
 in which there was but a single αὐλή appear to be alluded
 lutarch, *de Curios*. 3: ἀλλὰ νῦν μὲν εἰσι θυρωροί, πάλαι δὲ
 κρουόμενα πρὸς ταῖς θύραις αἴσθησιν παρέϊχεν, ἵνα μὴ τὴν
 τοιναυ ἐν μέσῳ καταλάβῃ ὁ ἀλλότριος, ἢ τὴν παρθένον, ἢ
 ενον οἰκέτην ἢ κεκραγνίας τὰς θεραπαινίδας.

n all this it is clear that in the best period the women as
 the men lived on the ground-floor, and the latter always
 out of the house. But we must not suppose that the lady
 house was excluded entirely from the men's apartments;
 contrary it was only on the arrival of strangers that she

ven in the time of Vitruvius, such a disposition cannot be the ordinary one; and moreover, the description of this appears to belong more to the mansions of the opulent than residences of ordinary citizens.

still remains to inquire why Vitruvius treats first of the *andronitis*, as if it were the principal part of the house, when the *gynaecoonitis* would seem naturally to claim an earlier notice, as from its greater size and more pretentious appearance, as from the part that was probably first entered. The reason may have been because the former still retained the original form of the house, while the latter had the appearance of a mere adjunct. Indeed the women's apartments were in reality the most important part of the edifice, containing, as they did, the *treasures*, and the household stores and other valuables. With regard to the *gynaecoonitis*, we may rest assured that the description of Vitruvius will also very well suit the period here in question, except that in his account the *μέσαυλος* is not opposite to the *andronitis*, but on the side against which the *andronitis* was built. The remainder of the Roman architect's description contains nothing of moment, and will therefore only supply an occasional note as we proceed.

In building a house a great point was to have as much sun as possible in winter, and in summer very little. Hence the main front mostly faced the south, or at least the porticoes on this side were built higher. Xenoph. *Æcon.* 9, 4: καὶ σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν ἐπέδειξα αὐτῇ, ὅτι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἀναπέπταται, ὥστε εἶναι, ὅτι χειμῶνος μὲν εὐήλιός ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὐ-
Memor. iii. 8, 9: οἰκοδομεῖν δεῖ ὑψηλότερα μὲν τὰ πρὸς ἡβρίαν, ἵνα ὁ χειμερινὸς ἥλιος μὴ ἀποκλείηται. χαμαλωτέρα πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἵνα οἱ ψυχροὶ μὴ ἐμπίπτωσιν ἄνεμοι. Cf. *Æcon.* i. 6; so also Vitruvius: 'una (porticus) quæ ad spectat excelsioribus columnis constituitur.' A peristyle sort was called *Rhodiaceum*.

In Athenian residences at the time of the Peloponnesian war certainly neither large nor stately structures. According to Plutarch, ii. 14, the Athenians preferred living on their estates in the country to residing in the city, and hence the country-houses were superior to those in the town. Isocr. *Areop.* 20, p. ὥστε καλλίους εἶναι καὶ πολυτελεστέρας τὰς οἰκῆσεις καὶ

σκευὰς τὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν, ἢ τὰς ἐντὸς τείχους. Cf. ii. 65: οἱ δὲ δυνατοὶ (ἐλυποῦντο) καλὰ κτήματα κατὰ τὰς οἰκοδομίας τε καὶ πολυτελέσι κατασκευαῖς ἀπολωλέσθαι. That the houses in the town were not remarkably comfortable or handsome appears from Dicaearch. *Stat. Græc.* p. 8: πολλὰ τῶν οἰκιῶν εὐτελεῖς, ὀλίγαι δὲ χρήσιμαί. It was in the Macedonian era, when public spirit had gradually declined and private persons, not satisfied with participating in the glory of the state, became desirous of emulating it at home, that private buildings became more spacious and magnificent, while public structures were proportionably neglected. Demosth. iii. p. 36: ἔνιοι δὲ τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων σεμνοτέρας εἰσὶ κατασκευασμένοι. ὅσῳ δὲ τὰς τῆς πόλεως ἀρχαίας γέγονε, τοσούτῳ τὰ τούτων ἡϋξήται. Id. in *Aristocr.* p. 10: οἱ δ' ἰδίᾳ μὲν, ἐκάστω τῶν τὰ κοινὰ πραττόντων τοσαύτη οἰκία ἐστίν, ὥστε τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν πολλῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων σεμνοτέρας τὰς ἰδίας κατασκευάσασιν οἰκίας.

The Grecian house had not, as the Roman had, a vestibulum, or a space before the house-door. This is clear from the

10. Sometimes a laurel was planted beside it. Cf. Thucyd. vi. 27; Aristoph. *Plut.* 1153. Perhaps some steps led to the house-door, over which, *boni ominis causa*, or as a sort of *βασκάνιον*, an inscription was often placed. Plutarch, *Fragm. Vit. Crat.* v. p. 874: ἐπὶ τούτου φασὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἐπιγράφειν τοῖς ἐαυτῶν οἴκοις ἐπὶ τῶν προπυλαίων “Εἴσοδος Κράτητι Ἀγαθῷ Δαίμονι.” Cf. Diog. Laert. vi. 50: Νεογάμου ἐπιγράψαντος ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν “Ὁ τοῦ Διὸς παῖς Ἡρακλῆς Καλλίνικος ἐνθάδε κατοικεῖ, μηδὲν εἰσὶτω κακόν,” ἐπέγραψε “Μετὰ πόλεμον ἢ συμμαχία.”

In all houses of consequence there was a porter, *θυρωρὸς*: and though Plutarch, *de Curios.* 3, denies that this was the case in ancient times, still at the period of the Peloponnesian war the custom had become very general. The duty of the *θυρωρὸς* was not only to let people in, and announce them to his master, but also to see that nothing was secretly or irregularly carried out of the mansion. Aristot. *Æcon.* i. 6, p. 1345: δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις οἰκονομίαις χρήσιμος εἶναι θυρωρὸς, ὃς ἂν ἢ ἀχρηστος τῶν ἄλλων ἔργων, πρὸς τὴν σωτηρίαν τῶν εἰσφερομένων καὶ ἐκφερομένων. The behaviour of this personage is capitally portrayed by Plato, when describing the reception Socrates met with at the door of Callias; *Prot.* p. 314: Δοκεῖ οὖν μοι, ὁ θυρωρὸς, εἰσοῦχος τις, κατήκουεν ἡμῶν. κινδυνεύει δὲ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν σοφιστῶν ἀχθεσθαι τοῖς φοιτῶσιν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν. ἐπεὶ δὲ γούν ἐκρούσαμεν τὴν θύραν, ἀνοίξας καὶ ἰδὼν ἡμᾶς, “Ἐα, ἔφη, σοφισταί τινες. οὐ σχολὴ αὐτῷ. καὶ ἅμα ἀμφοῖν ταῖν χεροῖν τὴν θύραν πάντῃ προθύμως ὡς οἶοντ’ ἦν ἐπήραξε. καὶ ἡμεῖς πάλιν ἐκρούομεν· καὶ ὅτε ἐγκεκλεισμένης τῆς θύρας ἀποκρινόμενος εἶπεν, Ὡ ἄνθρωποι, ἔφη, οὐκ ἀκηκόατε, ὅτι οὐ σχολὴ αὐτῷ; Ἀλλ’, ὦ ἄγαθὲ, ἔφην ἐγὼ, οὔτε παρὰ Καλλίαν ἤκομεν, οὔτε σοφισταί ἐσμεν, ἀλλὰ θάρρει. Πρωταγόραν γάρ τοι δεόμενοι ἰδεῖν ἤλθομεν, εἰσάγγειλον οὖν. μόγις οὖν ποτε ἡμῖν ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἀνέφξε τὴν θύραν. A dog also was often placed at the door, who kept watch when the porter was away. Apollod. ap. Athen. i. p. 3; cf. Theocr. xv. 43:

τὰν κύν’ ἴσω κάλεσον, τὰν αὐλείαν ἀπόκλαξον.

See also Aristoph. *Thesm.* 416; *Equit.* 1025; *Lysistr.* 1215: ὦλαβεῖσθαι τὴν κύνα, a warning which was often written up like the *cave canem!* of the Romans.

In the accompanying plan, which is intended to represent a

*and plan of a large Greek Dwelling-house, with double Peristyle for
Andronitis and Gynæconitis.*

λειος θύρα.

υρωρεῖον or θυρών.

λή of the Andronitis.

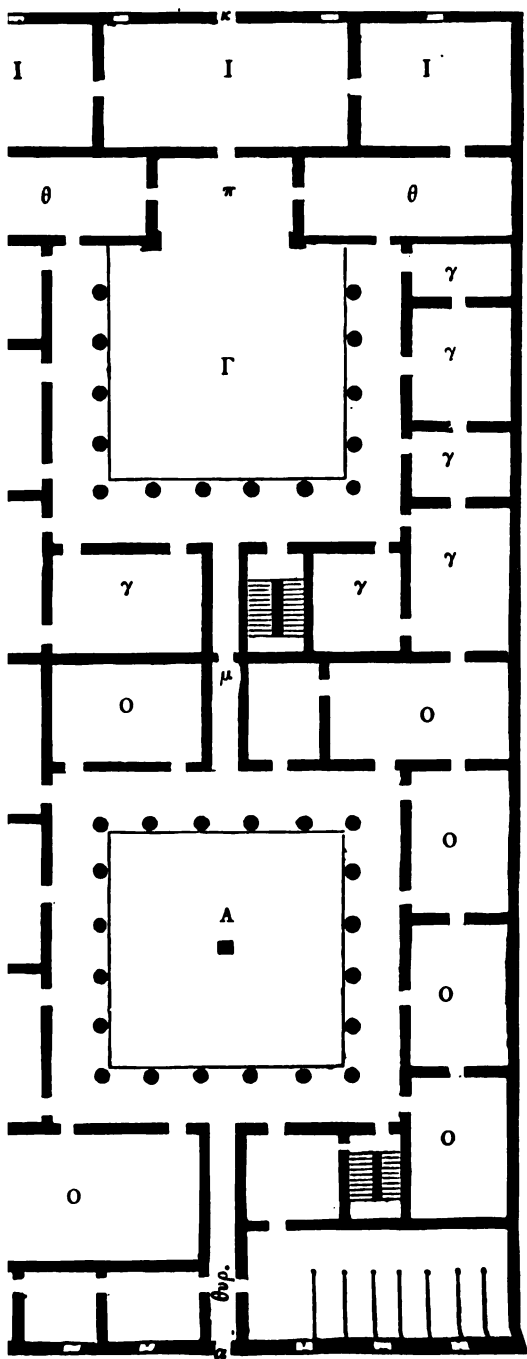
the various saloons and chambers of the Andronitis.

σαντος, here a regular μέσαντος, forming the only communication between
Andronitis and Gynæconitis.

part of the Gynæconitis.

the various divisions of the Gynæconitis with the ordinary eating and store-
kitchen, &c.

ραστής, παστής, or προστής.





large dwelling-house with a double peristyle, such as might have been in vogue at the date of our story, everything not essential has been omitted; while at the same time the particular arrangement of the various rooms and chambers must of course be entirely hypothetical. Passing through the entrance-hall, or thyroreion, you first enter the front αὐλή, or peristyle of the andronitis, on all four sides of which are arcades, στοαί. See Poll. i. 78. That nearest the entrance, and perhaps also that opposite to it, was called πρόστυον. Plato, *Prot.* p. 314: 'Επειδὴ δὲ εἰσῆλθομεν κατελάβομεν Πρωταγόραν ἐν τῷ προστόφ περιπατοῦντα. *Ib.* p. 315: Τὸν δὲ μέτ' εἰσενόησα, ἔφη Ὁμηρος, Ἰππίαν τὸν Ἥλειον καθήμενον ἐν τῷ καταντικρὺ προστόφ ἐν θρόνῳ. Around the peristyle were situated the larger saloons, οἶκοι, designed for the symposia of the men, (τρίκλινοι, ἐπτάκλινοι, τριακοντάκλινοι, Plutarch, *Symp.* v. 5, 2,) and hence they were also called ἀνδρῶνες. In Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 2, we also meet with a ἐστιατόριον, though this appears to have been a building specially designed for such convivial meetings. In the best period, ἀνδρῶν is the usual expression. See Xenoph. *Symp.* i. 4, 13; Aristoph. *Eccles.* 676:

τὸ δὲ δεῖπνον τοῦ παραθήσει;

τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς στοὰς ἀνδρῶνας πάντα ποιήσω.

Besides these there was a room with seats for the reception of visitors, ἐξέδρα, and there were also smaller chambers, δωμάτια, (Lysias, *de Cæd. Erat.* p. 28; Aristoph. *Eccles.* 8,) called also κοιτῶνες, (Poll. i. 79,) and frequently οικήματα, (Plato, *Prot.* p. 316; Achill. Tat. ii. 19). Here also there may have been store-rooms, as was the case at Callias's father's. Plato, *Protag.* p. 315. Cf. Aristoph. *Eccl.* 14:

στοὰς τε καρποῦ βακχίου τε νύματος

πλήρεις.

In the centre of the arcade which faced the entrance, called by Plato, τὸ καταντικρὺ πρόστυον, may be placed with the greatest probability the μέταυλος θύρα; which may here be taken in its proper meaning of μέσανυλος, as already explained. Besides this there was a third principal door, usually called κηπαία θύρα, (Poll. i. 76,) because there was a plot of garden adjoining most houses. See Demosth. in *Euerg.* p. 1155: καταβαλόντες τὴν θύραν τὴν εἰς τὸν κήπον φέρουσιν. Cf. Plaut. *Mos.* v. 1, 4; so also Lysias, in *Eratosth.* p. 393: ἔμπειροι γὰρ ὦν ἐτύγχανον τῆς οἰκίας, καὶ ᾗδεν, ὅτι ἀμφίθυροι εἴη. Lysias also mentions a third,

a fourth door, *τριῶν δὲ θυρῶν οὐσῶν, ἃς ἔδει με διελθεῖν, ἀνεωγμέναι ἔτυχον*. The context plainly shews that the cannot have been one of the three doors here mentioned; in question may possibly have been one leading out of ten into the street.

the time of Vitruvius, and probably also at an earlier the gynæconitis was so built that the peristyle had por- a three sides only. On the fourth side was the *προ-* rmed by the two *antæ* (see Plan): behind this were the or female industry, which terminated the mansion; but right and left of the *προστάς*, and opening into it, were *εἰσόδος* and *ἀμφιθάλαμος*, and on the three remaining sides peristyle the daily eating-rooms, and all the offices re- for household purposes. This tallies very well with the of Pollux: *ὁ δὲ γυναικωνίτης, θάλαμος, ἰστίων. ταλα- οἶκος, σιτοποῦϊκός, ἵνα μὴ μυλῶνα, ὡς οὐκ εὖφημον, ὀνομά- εῖται ὀπτανεῖον, τὸ μαγειρεῖον, ἐρεῖς, ὡς ἀποθῆκαι, ταμεῖα, φ, φυλακτήρια*.

θάλαμος is the matrimonial bed-chamber. Schneider erro- supposes that at Athens *θάλαμος* was used to denote a

of stairs leading from the street, (see *Gallus*, p. 4,) and these perhaps are the ἀναβαθμοὶ taxed by Hippias. Aristot. *Œcon.* ii. p. 1347. If the upper story was used for strangers, a separate access of this kind must have been very commodious. Frequently these upper stories may have projected over the area of the ground-floor, like balconies or oriels; these also, τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τῶν ὑπερφῶν, were taxed by Hippias. See Poll. i. 81: εἴτα ὑπερφῶ οἰκήματα. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ διήρη. αἱ δὲ προβολαὶ τῶν ὑπερφῶν οἰκημάτων, αἱ ὑπὲρ τοὺς κάτω τοίχους προὔχουσαι, γεισιποδίσματα· καὶ τὰ φέροντα αὐτὰς ξύλα γεισιποδας. The ὑπερφῶν was sometimes assigned or let to strangers, as appears from Antipho, *de Venef.* p. 611: Ὑπερφῶν τι ἦν τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας ὃ εἶχε Φιλόνεως, ὅπου· ἐν ᾧ αἰεὶ διατρίβει. Vitruvius, however, speaks of special apartments for guests, adjoining the main building, which was doubtless occasionally the case in large houses: 'Præterea dextra ac sinistra domunculæ constituuntur habentes proprias januas, triclinia et cubicula commoda, uti hospites advenientes non in peristylia, sed in ea hospitalia recipiantur.' Cf. Eurip. *Alcest.* 564: ἐξώπιοι ζενῶνες. But this cannot have been the rule, for no such *hospitalia* are to be found in the house of Callias, in which the guests all lodge under their host's roof. Plato, *Protag.* p. 315. Vitruvius also speaks of *hospitalia* separated from the main building by passages, μέσσυλοι, but the text is evidently corrupt, and has been satisfactorily emended by Schneider. Most likely the μέσσυλος to which Vitruvius alludes is only the passage leading from the andronitis to the gynæconitis, in which was the μέσσυλος θύρα; and the dubious expression *isinaera*, must be taken to mean only a single passage, as Schneider has remarked.

The roofs were usually flat, so as to afford a place for walking on. Lysias, *adv. Simon.* p. 142; Plaut. *Mil.* ii. 2, 3. But there were also pitched roofs, and though gables are restricted to temples, (*Aves*, 1108,) still this is only to be understood of pediments fronting the street, as appears from Galen. So Pollux, i. 81, speaking exclusively of private houses, says: ἀμείβοντες δὲ εἰς, ξύλα ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν τοίχων ἀλλήλοις ἀντερειδόμενα, πρὸς τὸ τοὺς μέσους ὑψηλοὺς ὀρόφους ἀνέχειν δύνασθαι.

The exterior of dwelling-houses, as seen from the street, could not have been very imposing. Not faced with marble, as among

for a fourth door, *τριῶν δὲ θυρῶν οὐσῶν, ἃς ἔδει με διελθεῖν, ἀνευγμέναι ἔτυχον*. The context plainly shews that the cannot have been one of the three doors here mentioned; in question may possibly have been one leading out of den into the street.

At the time of Vitruvius, and probably also at an earlier time the *gynæconitis* was so built that the peristyle had porches on three sides only. On the fourth side was the *προαύλη* formed by the two *antæ* (see Plan): behind this were the rooms for female industry, which terminated the mansion; but on the right and left of the *προστώς*, and opening into it, were the *ἀμφιθάλαμος*, and on the three remaining sides of the peristyle the daily eating-rooms, and all the offices reserved for household purposes. This tallies very well with the description of Pollux: *ὁ δὲ γυναικωνίτης, θάλαμος, ἰστίων. ταλαοικὸς, σιτοποῦκός, ἵνα μὴ μυλῶνα, ὡς οὐκ εὐφημον, ὀνομάζειν. οὔτε ὀπτανεῖον, τὸ μαγειρεῖον, ἐρεῖς, ὡς ἀποθῆκαι, ταμεῖα, ἢ, φυλακτήρια*.

θάλαμος is the matrimonial bed-chamber. Schneider erro-

of stairs leading from the street, (see *Gallus*, p. 4,) and these perhaps are the ἀναβαθμοὶ taxed by Hippias. *Aristot. Œcon.* ii. p. 1347. If the upper story was used for strangers, a separate access of this kind must have been very commodious. Frequently these upper stories may have projected over the area of the ground-floor, like balconies or oriels; these also, τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τῶν ὑπερφῶν, were taxed by Hippias. See *Poll.* i. 81: εἴτα ὑπερφῶα οἰκήματα. τὰ δ' αὐτὰ καὶ διήρη. αἱ δὲ προβολαὶ τῶν ὑπερφῶν οἰκημάτων, αἱ ὑπὲρ τοὺς κάτω τοίχους προὔχουσai, γεισιποδίσματα· καὶ τὰ φέροντα αὐτὰς ξύλα γεισιπόδας. The ὑπερφῶν was sometimes assigned or let to strangers, as appears from *Antipho, de Venef.* p. 611: Ὑπερφῶν τι ἦν τῆς ἡμετέρας οἰκίας ὃ εἶχε Φιλόνεως, ὅπου ἐν ἄστει διατρίβοι. *Vitruvius*, however, speaks of special apartments for guests, adjoining the main building, which was doubtless occasionally the case in large houses: 'Præterea dextra ac sinistra domunculæ constituuntur habentes proprias januas, triclinia et cubicula commoda, uti hospites advenientes non in peristylia, sed in ea hospitalia recipiantur.' Cf. *Eurip. Alcest.* 564: ἐξώπιοι ζενῶνες. But this cannot have been the rule, for no such *hospitalia* are to be found in the house of *Callias*, in which the guests all lodge under their host's roof. *Plato, Protag.* p. 315. *Vitruvius* also speaks of *hospitalia* separated from the main building by passages, μέσανλοι, but the text is evidently corrupt, and has been satisfactorily emended by *Schneider*. Most likely the μέσανλος to which *Vitruvius* alludes is only the passage leading from the andronitis to the gynæconitis, in which was the μέσανλος θύρα; and the dubious expression *itinera*, must be taken to mean only a single passage, as *Schneider* has remarked.

The roofs were usually flat, so as to afford a place for walking on. *Lysias, adv. Simon.* p. 142; *Plaut. Mil.* ii. 2, 3. But there were also pitched roofs, and though gables are restricted to temples, (*Acæ*, 1108,) still this is only to be understood of pediments fronting the street, as appears from *Galen*. So *Pollux*, i. 81, speaking exclusively of private houses, says: ἀμείβοντες δὲ εἰς, ξύλα ἐξ ἐκατέρων τῶν τοίχων ἀλλήλοις ἀντεριδόμενα, πρὸς τὸ τοὺς μέσους ὑψηλοὺς ὀρόφους ἀνέχειν δύνασθαι.

The exterior of dwelling-houses, as seen from the street, could not have been very imposing. Not faced with marble, as among

mans, the usual material was common stone, brick, or
 Xenoph. *Mem.* iii. 1, 7: λίθοι καὶ κέραμος κάτω καὶ ἐπι-
 ἐν μέσῳ δὲ αἱ τε πλίνθοι καὶ τὰ ξύλα. Over this there
 coating of plaster, κονίαμα, in the preparation of which
 eeks were certainly adepts. Demosth. *de Ord. Rep.* p.
 lutarch, *Comp. Arist. et Cat.* 4. In Plutarch, *Phoc.* 18,
 1: ἡ δ' οἰκία τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἔτι νῦν ἐν Μελίτῃ δείκνυται,
 λεπίσσι κεκοσμημένη, τὰ δ' ἄλλα λιτὴ καὶ ἀφελής.

remaining arrangements, and the decoration of the in-
 were also characterised by great simplicity, although even
 nophon's and Plato's time more care was expended on
 particulars. The floor was decidedly mere plaster; flags
 not used till late, and the first mention of mosaic occurs
 the kings of Pergamus. Nevertheless, in elegant houses
 aster-floor was sometimes executed tastefully in divers

Cf. Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 25, 60: 'Pavimenta ori-
 apud Græcos habent elaborata arte, picturæ ratione, donec
 ota expulere eam.'

walls, until the fourth century B. C., seem to have been

been generally supposed. All the store-rooms, the thalamos, and the various sitting-rooms, had them of course, and perhaps they were only wanting in the saloons and the apartments which all might enter; these were provided with hangings, *παραπετάσματα*. Poll. x. 32: *Πρὸ μὲν οὖν κοιτῶνος ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις παραπετασμάτων σοι δεῖ, εἴτε ἀπλοῦν εἴη τὸ παραπέτασμα λευκὸν ἐξ ὀθόνης, εἴτε καὶ τρίχαπτόν τι βαπτόν, εἴτε πολύχρουν.* The *αὐλαία ἔχουσα Πέρσαις ἐνυφασμένους*, mentioned by Theophrastus, § 5, meant perhaps the same thing. Cf. Poll. iv. 122.

It has been already stated that the house-door sometimes opened outwards; but it was far more usual for it to open inwards, as is apparent from the term *ἐνδοῦναι*, used of opening, and *ἐπισπᾶσθαι*, or *ἐφελκύσασθαι*, of shutting. Plutarch, *Pelop.* 11: *ἅμα τῇ πρῶτον ἐνδοῦναι καὶ χαλάσαι τὰς θύρας ἐπιπεσόντες ἄθροοι.* Id. *de Gen. Socr.* 32: *τὸν μοχλὸν ἀφείλε καὶ μικρὸν ἐνέδυκε τὴν θύραν.* He says elsewhere, however, *οἱ μὲν ἔξω τὰς θύρας ἐπισπασάμενοι κατεῖχον*, (*Dio*, 57,) and hence the rings or handles on the doors were called *ἐπισπαστήρες*. Cf. Note 32, p. 54. That the door usually opened inwards in the time of the Peisistratidæ is clear from the tax already mentioned, though the passages quoted, do not, it is true, refer to Athens. Neither is it probable that any change was made afterwards, for, from the time of Themistocles, everything tending to narrow the street was prohibited. It has usually been supposed, however, that the door opened outwards, though there are only two passages that can support this notion; first, the explanation given by Helladius of the words *κόπτειν* and *ψοφεῖν*, discussed in Note 32, p. 54; and secondly, Vitruv. iv. 6, 6, 'et aperturas habent in exteriores partes,' but he is here speaking of temple doors only, 'de ostiorum sacrarum ædium rationibus.'

There are no passages which satisfactorily decide whether the outer-door was locked in the day-time, or merely shut, though the latter would seem more probable. It is certainly an exceptive case, when Socrates finds Agathon's door open; Plato, *Symp.* p. 174: *ἀνεφγμένην καταλαμβάνειν τὴν θύραν.* This may have been to save the guests the trouble of knocking. The eunuch in Callicles' house seems not to have locked the door till he saw Socrates; Plato, *Protag.* p. 314; and Praxinoë does so because she is going out; Theocr. xv. 43. In another instance, Demosth. in *Eurg.*

, the door stands open, ἔτυχε γὰρ ἡ θύρα ἀνεωγμένη, which is explicit enough. On the other hand, we may conclude from *Plu. Pelop.* 11, that it was not customary to lock up the door at night: καὶ κεκλεισμένην τὴν οἰκίαν εὗρον ἤδη καθεύδοντος. The methods of fastening the doors have been discussed in pp. 281—284. The few remaining notices which exist are explicit enough to reward any further investigation. Yet we may remark the curious fact that doors had sometimes two locks, one in and the other outside. *Achill. Tat.* ii. 19: Καταβύουσα δὲ αἰεὶ τὴν Λευκίππην ἡ μήτηρ ἔκλειεν ἔνδοθεν τὴν ἐπὶ ἐνωποῦ θύραν· ἔξωθεν δὲ τις ἕτερος ἐπέκλειε καὶ τὰς κλεῖς διὰ τῆς ὀπῆς· ἡ δὲ λαβούσα ἐφύλαττε καὶ περὶ τὴν ἑωσάουσα τὸν εἰς τοῦτο ἐπιτεταγμένον, διέβαλλε πάλιν τὰς κλεῖς, ἐκνοίξειε. It is moreover manifest from *Lysias, de Cæde Alcibiadis* p. 14, that a door that had been locked outside could only be unlocked again outside. Store-chambers were often sealed, for the sake of greater security. *Plato, Leg.* xii. p. 954; cf. *Aristoph. Equit.* 414—428; *Lysistr.* 1199. When sealed the doors do not appear to have been locked as well. *Diog. Laert.* ix. 59.

autem (scenæ) ædificiorum privatorum et menianorum habent speciem, prospectusque fenestris dispositos imitatione communium ædificiorum rationibus.' Cf. Appul. *Met.* i. p. 67.

The method of warming was by fire-places, though it is supposed that there were no proper chimneys, the smoke escaping through a hole in the ceiling. The *καπνοδόκη*, Herodot. viii. 137, through which the sun shone, was certainly not a regular chimney; though it is difficult to understand what became of the smoke, especially when there was an *ὑπερφῶν*; and the joke in the *Vespa*, 143, loses its point if we suppose a mere hole in the roof to exist. Consult *Gallus*, p. 279, on this subject. No mention is made of heating the rooms by means of pipes; though small portable braziers, *ἑσχάραι*, *ἑσχαρίδες*, were often used. Plutarch, *Apophth. Reg.* i. p. 717: 'Ἐν δὲ χειμῶνι καὶ ψύχει τῶν φίλων τινὸς ἐστιῶντος αὐτὸν, ἑσχάραν δὲ μικρὰν καὶ πῦρ ὀλίγον εἰσενεγκόντες, Ἡ ξύλα, ἢ λιβανωτὸν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἐκέλευεν. Cf. Aristoph. *Vespa*, 811. In most cases these were mere coal-tubs, *ἀνθράκια*. Poll. vi. 89: ἀγγεῖα οἷς τοὺς ἐμπύρους ἄνθρακας κομίζουσιν ἑσχαρίδας...καλοῦσιν. Cf. Id. x. 101.

Böckh in his *Public Economy of Athens*, p. 141, has given such a complete and satisfactory account of the price of the houses, and the rent of the *συννοικίαι*, which however hardly correspond to the Roman *insula*, that nothing need here be added on the subject.

EXCURSUS II. TO SCENE III.

BOOKSELLING AND LIBRARIES.

The account of Roman libraries and books in *Gallus*, pp. 2—337, is in a great measure applicable to those of the a few supplementary observations only would have been at this place, had not doubts been raised as to the fact of book-selling being practised as a trade, and even as to the existence of public libraries, before the time of Aristotle. Böckh, in his *Econ. of Athens*, p. 47, has denied the existence of any such trade before the time of Plato, and his opinion has been that generally adopted. But as the generally diffused taste of the Romans for literary productions, and their speculative propensities, would not readily neglect any opportunity of commercial advantage, will raise a strong presumption against the above assumption, will be worth while to investigate the facts.

πολλὰ δὲ βιβλοὶ γεγραμμέναι: and the question seems to be set at rest by comparing another passage in Pollux, (vii. 210,) where he says, that it was quite as unusual to use βιβλίον of unwritten books, as χάρτης of manuscripts; so that in the previous passage he cannot mean that the place at Athens called τὰ βιβλία, i. e. οὗ τὰ βιβλία ὤνια, was the market for the mere writing-material, βιβλος. Moreover we see that this market is mentioned as early as the time of Eupolis; add to which, βιβλιοπώλης occurs in Aristomenes, also a writer of the old comedy: in conjunction with which word, as if to obviate the possible error of supposing the βιβλιοπώλης a vendor of unwritten books, Pollux quotes the word βιβλιογράφος from Cratinos and Antiphanes, the βιβλιογράφος being the same person with the βιβλιοπώλης, and identical with the Roman *librarius*, i. e. one who multiplied copies of books for sale. See Lucian, *adv. Indoct.* 24: Τὸ δὲ ὅλον ἀγνοεῖν καὶ δοκεῖν, ὅτι τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπιδας οὐ παρὰ τῶν βιβλιοκαπήλων ἔει ζῆτεῖν, ἀλλὰ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίον λαμβάνειν. τὸ δ' οἷε συνήγορον κοινὸν καὶ μάρτυρα ἔσεσθαι σοὶ τὸν Ἀττικὸν καὶ Καλλῖνον τοὺς βιβλιογράφους. So also the ψηφισματογράφος, in Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1037, says:

ψηφισματοπώλης εἰμὶ, καὶ νόμους νέους
ἤκω παρ' ἡμᾶς δεῦρο πωλήσω.

Neither is there any reason why we should deem fictitious the story respecting Zeno the stoic, related by Diogenes Laertius, vii. 2: ἀνελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας ἤδη τριακοντούτης ἐκάθισε παρὰ τινὰ βιβλιοπώλην. ἀναγινώσκοντος δὲ ἐκείνου τὸ δεύτερον τῶν Ξενοφῶντος ἀπομνημονευμάτων, ἡσθεὶς ἐπέθετο, ποῦ διατρίβοιεν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρες. This strongly confirms the existence of an Athenian book-trade, at least in the time of Alexander.

But we must also recollect that the νέοι at all events, if not the παῖδες, must, without exception, have had copies of Homer, and other poets, which could not always have been transcribed at home. Cf. Aristoph. *Ranæ*, 1114:

βιβλίον τ' ἔχων ἕκαστος μαρβάνει τὰ δεξιά.

And the example of Euthydemus alone, proves that private individuals took great pains to collect the writings of the poets and orphists. Xenoph. *Memor.* iv. 2, 1: Καταμαθὼν γὰρ Εὐθύδημον τὸν Καλὸν γράμματα πολλὰ συνελεγμένον ποιητῶν τε καὶ σοφιστῶν τῶν εὐδοκιμητάτων, κ.τ.λ. § 8. Εἰπέ μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Εὐθύ-

BOOKSELLING AND LIBRARIES. [EXCURSUS II.]

ὅντι, ὥσπερ ἐγὼ ἀκούω, πολλὰ γράμματα συνήχας τῶν
 οὐ σοφῶν γεγονέναι; Νῆ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες· καὶ
 συνάγω, ἕως ἂν κτήσωμαι ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι πλεῖστα. Νῆ τὴν
 ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, ἄγαμαί γέ σου, διότι οὐκ ἀργυρίου καὶ
 προείλου θησαυρὸν κεκτήσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ σοφίας. Now
 Socrates would never have made the copies himself, this being
 all in character with the life of an Attic νέος, nor were they
 made by slaves, like the Roman librarii, for no such class of
 slaves existed in the Grecian house, in which they were
 devoted to material objects. Besides, the reply of So-
 crates in the passage just quoted evidently refers to the expense of
 the collection. Autographs, it is true, might sometimes
 be procured from the author or from some other possessor; for
 example of which see Gellius, iii. 17; but these were excep-
 tions, and in general books must have been obtained through
 the medium of those who made the transcription and sale of
 manuscripts their trade. As for the proverb above mentioned,
 Ἑρμῶδωρος ἐμπορεύεται, there was most likely a *double*
 meaning, now lost to us, in the word λόγοι: if it meant no more

Samos. See Gell. vi. 17; Isidor. *Orig.* vi. 3, 3. But a sort of mythical obscurity pervades these accounts, and our suspicions are increased by the bold conjectures of Gellius and Isidore as to the subsequent destinies of these libraries. Moreover no mention is made of any other such attempts during the succeeding centuries, until the magnificent Alexandrian institution was founded; most probably by Ptolemy Soter, though his successor, Ptolemy Philadelphos, may have performed a still more meritorious service by his systematic arrangement of its contents. See Ritachl, *die Alex. Biblioth.*; Letronne, in the *Journ. des Savants*, Juin 1838. A fortunate emulation excited the kings of Pergamus to imitate the Ptolemies in the boon they conferred on science; and when the literary treasures of Alexandria had been destroyed by fire, the world was fortunate in still possessing the scarcely less valuable library of Pergamus. Plutarch, *Anton.* 58.

As respects Greece itself, the idea of founding public libraries for the advancement of science and letters awoke too late. Public spirit had long yielded to paltry private interests, and had not, on the other hand, been replaced by the liberality of high-minded princes. It was from a Roman emperor, Hadrian, that Athens first obtained a rich and magnificent library. Paus. i. 18, 9. Of the public libraries of antiquity, the best account is that by Petit-Radel, *Recherches sur les Bibliothèques Anciennes et Modernes*.

At a later period, doubtless, private collections greatly increased in number and importance, and after a while individuals made collections of books for parade, and the sake of appearing learned, rather than from any real interest in science. From Lucian's treatise, *adversus Indoctum*, we learn many amusing particulars respecting this Bibliomania, and also about the manifold tricks of the booksellers of the time. See § 1: ἡ πόθεν γάρ σοι διαγῶναι δυνατόν, τίνα μὲν παλαιὰ καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξια, τίνα δὲ φαῦλα καὶ ἄλλως σαπρὰ, εἰ μὴ τῷ διαβεβρωῖσθαι καὶ κατακεκόφθαι αὐτὰ τεκμαίριοι, καὶ συμβούλους τοὺς σέας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξέτασιν παραλαμβάνεις; Dio Chrysostom speaks still more plainly on the subject of their rogueries; *Orat.* xxi. p. 505: Πάντως γάρ τι τῶν βιβλιοπωλῶν προσέσχηκας; Διὰ τί δὴ τοῦτό με ἐρωτᾷς; Ὅτι εἰδότες τὰ ἀρχαῖα τῶν βιβλίων σπουδαζόμενα, ὡς ἄμεινον γεγραμμένα καὶ ἐν κρείττοσι βιβλίοις· οἱ δὲ τὰ φανλό-

BOOKSELLING AND LIBRARIES. [EXCURSUS II.]

ων νυν καθέντες εἰς σῆτον, ὅπως τό γε χρῶμα ὅμοια γέ-
 οῖς παλαιοῖς, καὶ προσδιαφθείροντες, ἀποδίδονται ὡς παλαιά.
 extensive the trade was, and what a rich selection was to
 d in the booksellers' shops, may be inferred from Lucian,
 : τίς δὲ τοῖς ἐμπόροις καὶ τοῖς βιβλιοκαπῆλοις ἤρισεν ἄν
 κιδείας τσαῦτα βιβλία ἔχουσι καὶ πωλοῦσιν (εἰ τὸ κεκτη-
 βιβλία καὶ πεπαιδευμένον ἀπέφαινε τὸν ἔχοντα); The
 prices were naturally attached to autographs, and so the
 aniac, whom Lucian ridicules, fancied he had the auto-
 speeches of Demosthenes, as well as that orator's copy, in
 n handwriting, of the history of Thucydides. *Ibid.* On
 ject of the material used for writing on, see Note 12 to
 k. Many remaining particulars are discussed in the Ex-
 n *Gallus* on this subject. See also the article *Bibliotheca*,
Real-Encyklop. d. Klass. Alterth.

EXCURSUS TO SCENE IV.

THE MARKETS AND COMMERCE.

investigation as to the precise site occupied by the Athenian market-place, or a discussion of its topographical details beyond the scope of the present work. We purpose only a glance at the life and bustle of the Agora; and though the interest of such a picture would be much heightened by an acquaintance with the locality, yet this would involve an enumeration of the market-place, its buildings, porticoes, monuments, and a knowledge of the position of the various streets, such as no one at present would venture to profess. On the other hand, we shall not speak of the commerce of Athens so far as it bears on history, political economy, or legislation. Our theme concerns only the outward appearance of the merchants and dealers; our object is to see how, in the market and industry, in intrigue and deception, in their purchases and sales, the mercantile spirit of the Greeks, and their customs, were exhibited. Hence the wine-seller, who comes with his samples from house to house; the soldier, whose peas measured to him in his helmet; the surly fish-seller who scarce deigns to reply to the customer who grumbles at his price; the trapezite, assaying the weight of the drachma; the fish huckster, with his false weights and measures, are in this point of view, more interesting than the organization of the higher branches of commercial polity, the lawsuits arising from mercantile transactions, or a comparison between exports and imports. It is in this light that the following description of characteristic traits should be regarded; while the various difficulties which interfere with their regular classification must excuse the want of a strict methodical arrangement. Certain cognate matters also, such as the customary habits, and life in the Ergasteria, naturally come under consideration at the same time.

In the first place, a word on the topography of the market. The ἀρχαία ἀγορά, which alone need here be understood, does not mean a place of regular form, but rather a long

THE MARKETS AND COMMERCE. [EXCURSUS.

g quarter of the town, and this, whether we suppose it reached from the Pnyx, across the Areiopagos, to the Cerameicos, or whether we assign it any other position, adorned with temples and porticoes, altars and statues, as shaded by the platanus-trees which Cimon planted. Th, *Cim.* 13: ἐκαλλώπισε τὸ ἄστυ, τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν πλατὰ-ταφυτεύσας, κ.τ.λ. When the market-place is spoken of as a place of ordinary assembly and resort, this must be understood to apply only to a portion of it, the other parts being appropriated to special purposes, and denominated accordingly. Aristot. *de Republ.* vii. 12, p. 1331.

A visit to the market formed part of the usual arrangement of the day. While the Grecian matron was restricted to the precincts of the house, and the unmarried damsel to the porch, the husband spent the greater part of the day from home, and all, even those unfettered by the claims of business, resorted to this place of general assembly, where they found at the same time the market, the gymnasia, and baths and tabernæ of all kinds. Xenophon, *Mem.* i. 1, 10, says of Socrates: Ἄλλὰ μὲν

12, 1: οὐκ ἂν ἀπέλθοιμι, πρὶν παντάπασιν ἡ ἀγορὰ λυθῇ. In the lapse of centuries, this time probably became changed, and hence the account of Herodotus may be reconciled with Liban. *Epist.* 1084: καὶ ταῦτα ἐν τετάρτῳ μέρει τετέλεσταί σοι τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπὸ πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς εἰς μεσημβρίαν σταθεράν.

But at other hours also the porticoes and shady parts of the market were frequented by promenaders. Demosth. in *Con.* p. 1258: περιπατοῦντες, ὥσπερ εἰώθειν, ἐσπέρας ἐν ἀγορᾷ μου μετὰ Φανοστράτου. Plutarch, *Dec. Or. Vit.* iv. p. 406, says of Hyperides: Ἐποικεῖτό τε τὸν περίπατον ἐν τῇ ἰχθυοπωλίτιδι ὁσημέραι. Seats were fixed in the porticoes as well as in the gymnasium. See Lucian, *Jur. Trag.* 16: Ἐπεὶ δὲ ταῦτα ἐννοῶν γίγνομαι κατὰ τὴν Ποικίλην, ὁρῶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων πάμπολυ συνεστηκός· ἐνίοις μὲν ἔδον ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ στοῇ, πολλοὺς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ ὑπαίθρῳ· καὶ τινὰς βωῶντας καὶ διατεινομένους ἐπὶ τῶν θάκων καθήμενους.

The shops of the hair-dressers, unguent-sellers, and others, were also favourite resorts, and the entire avoidance of these places of *réunion* was censured. Demosth. in *Aristog.* p. 786: σὺ φιλάνθρωπίας οὐχ ὁμιλίας οὐδεμιᾶς οὐδενὶ κοινωνεῖς...οὐδὲ προσφοιτᾷ πρὸς τι τούτων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κουρείων ἢ μυροπωλίων, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἐργαστηρίων οὐδὲ πρὸς ἓν. See also Lysias, *de Inval.* p. 754: ἕκαστος γὰρ ὑμῶν εἴθισται προσφοιτᾶν, ὁ μὲν πρὸς μυροπώλιον, οἱ δὲ πρὸς κουρεῖον, ὁ δὲ πρὸς σκυτοτομεῖον, ὁ δ' ὅπῃ αὖν τύχη· καὶ πλείστοι μὲν ὥς τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεσκευασμένους, ἐλάχιστοι δὲ ὥς τοὺς οὐ πλείστον ἀπέχοντας αὐτῆς. Cf. Isocr. *adv. Callim.* 4. p. 536; Aristoph. *Plutus*, 338; *Aves*, 1441. Besides the κουρεῖα, μυροπώλια and ἰατρεῖα, the workshops of even the common artisans formed fashionable lounges; of this kind are the σκυτοτομεῖα, mentioned by Lysias, *supra*. See Xenoph. *Memor.* iv. 2, 1: Καταμαθὼν γὰρ Εὐθύδημον...καθίζοντα εἰς ἡμισκοικεῖόν τι τῶν ἐγγυὲς τῆς ἀγορᾶς, εἰς τοῦτο καὶ αὐτὸς ἦι τῶν μεθ' αὐτοῦ τινὰς ἔχων. These places sometimes assumed a political importance from becoming the rendezvous of particular *phylæ*, or of the inhabitants of certain quarters. Lysias, in *Rancl.* p. 730: ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι Δεκελειόθεν, προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτὸν πρὸς τοὺς τῇ Ἰπποθωντίδι δικάζοντας, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ κουρεῖον τὸ παρὰ τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς, ἵνα οἱ Δεκελεῖς προσφοιτῶσιν. Cf. *ib.* p. 732.

We will now proceed to speak of the various classes of mer-

THE MARKETS AND COMMERCE. [EXCURSUS.

and dealers, and of the social position which they held. Aristotle, *de Republ.* i. 11, p. 1258, divides the whole μεταβλη- into ἐμπορία, τοκισμός, and μισθαρνία, and of ἐμπορία he also three subdivisions: τῆς δὲ μεταβλητικῆς μέγιστον μὲν καὶ ταύτης μέρη τρία, ναυκληρία, φορτηγία, παράστασις. The comprehensive a signification of the word was unusual, Aristotle himself does not adhere to it; *Ib.* iv. 4. The class, moreover, is at fault in not distinguishing the αὐτο- as well as the ἔμπορος, from the κάπηλος: see Plato, *Polit.*

The countryman who carried his produce to the city, the artisan who sold his work, and the woman who offered for sale γυναικῶν ταινίαι and chaplets, all belonged to the class of αὐτο-

The ἔμπορος was the merchant who imported foreign goods and sold them by wholesale. Plato, *Protag.* p. 313. But the καπηλῶν were the retail dealers, ἐλάττονος πριάμενοι πλείονος πωλοῦνται. Xenoph. *Memor.* iii. 7, 6. Cf. Plato, *Polit.* *supra.* The most important passage relating to the business of these dealers, and the sale of goods in general, occurs in Plato, *de Repub.* ii. p. 371, q. v. It would seem that the country people

These retailers not only sold their wares in the market, but had *καπηλεία* all through the town; but it was not thought respectable, especially in the olden times, to take any refreshment in them, as is seen from the anecdote in Plutarch, *Dec. Or. Vit.* iv. p. 400, where Diogenes catching Demosthenes *ἐν καπηλείῳ αἰσχυρόμενον καὶ ὑποχωροῦντα*, calls out to him: "Ὅσῳ μᾶλλον ὑποχωρεῖς, τοσούτῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τῇ καπηλείῳ ἔσῃ. And Isocrates, *Areopag.* 18, p. 202, speaking of former times, says: *ἐν καπηλείῳ δὲ φαγεῖν ἢ πιεῖν οὐδεὶς οὐδ' ἂν οἰκέτης ἐπιεικῆς ἐτόλμησεν*. See also Athen. xiii. p. 566: *Ὑπερίδης δ' ἐν τῇ κατὰ Πατροκλέους, εἰ γῆσιος ὁ λόγος, τοὺς Ἀρεοπαγίτας φησὶν ἀριστήσαντά τινα ἐν καπηλείῳ κωλύσαι ἀνιέναι εἰς Ἀρεῖον πάγον*. It is clear, however, that this practice became common in later days. See Eubulos ap. Athen. xi. p. 473. According to Phylarchos, ap. Athen. x. p. 442, and Theopompos, ap. Id. xii. p. 526, the Byzantines were in very bad odour, being said to have even let their own houses, and taken up their abode in taverns, *καπηλείοις*. A painting at Pompeii, which represents several persons sitting round a table, drinking, refers probably to a *καπηλεῖον*. Gell, *Pompeiana*, second series, ii. pl. 80.

The whole trade of the *κάπηλοι*, as well as that of the regular innkeepers, was greatly despised; in fact, trade of any kind was at no time much respected. Plutarch, it is true, relates that Solon was engaged in commerce, and he adds, that this was even said to have been the real object of his travels; while a venture in the oil-trade occupied Plato on his Egyptian journey. Plutarch, *Sol.* 2. An Athenian would readily advance money to others for carrying on mercantile concerns, but it was considered disreputable to take part in them personally; and even *ναυκληρία* and *ἐμπορία* were held as a reproach. See Andoc. *de Myst.* p. 68. Aristotle, *de Republ.* i. 10, p. 1258, says: *τῆς μεταβλητικῆς ψεγομένης δικαίως*; and Plato, *Leg.* xi. p. 918, uses still stronger language: *πάντα τὰ περὶ τὴν καπηλείαν καὶ ἐμπορίαν καὶ πανδοκίαν γένη διαβέβληταί τε καὶ ἐν αἰσχροῖς γέγονεν ὀνειδέσιν*.

In a still greater degree this was the case with *καπηλεία*, not only at Athens, but also at Thebes, where nobody who had sold in the market within the last ten years was allowed to take part in the government. Aristot. *de Republ.* iii. 5, p. 1278: *ἐν*

THE MARKETS AND COMMERCE. [EXCURSUS.

δὲ νόμος ἦν τὸν δέκα ἐτῶν μὴ ἀπεσχημένον τῆς ἀγορᾶς μὴ
 ἢ ἀρχῆς. Cf. Plato, *Leg.* xi. p. 919. Whether not only
 πηλεία, but every sort of selling in the market, was thought
 ἰσχυρὰ at Athens, is a disputed point. From a very impor-
 tant passage in Demosthenes, we gather that women publicly
 in the market were, in the eye of the law, classed with
 men of the town. In *Neær.* p. 1367: τὸν τε νόμον ἐπὶ
 παρεχόμενος, ὃς οὐκ ἐᾷ ἐπὶ ταύταις μοιχὸν λαβεῖν, ὅσοι
 ἐργαστηρίου κάθωνται, ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ πωλῶσί τι ἀποπε-
 φασμένως, ἐργαστήριον φάσκων καὶ τοῦτο εἶναι [τὴν Στεφάνου
 . But, strangely enough, Lysias, in *Theomn.* p. 361,
 ntly quotes the same law, but reading ὅσοι δὲ πεφασμένως
 ται, with the commentary: τὸ μὲν πεφασμένως ἐστὶ φανε-
 ροῦσθαι δὲ βαδίζειν. Also Plutarch, *Sol.* 23, gives the same
 ation: ὅσοι πεφασμένως πωλοῦνται, λέγων δὲ τὰς ἑταίρας.
 γὰρ ἐμφανῶς φοιτῶσι πρὸς τοὺς διδόντας. Harpocration and
 say: Πωλῶσι. Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας· Ἡ ἐν τῇ
 πωλῶσί τι ἀποπεφασμένως. Δίδυμός φησιν ἀντὶ τοῦ πορνεί-
 ον ἐνέρως. πωλεῖν γὰρ τὸ παρέχειν ἐάντην τοῖς βουλομένοις. ἐγὼ

Theomnestos, Lysias does not quote from the νόμοι ἀναγεγραμμένοι, for he says, p. 356, καὶ μοι ἀνάγνωθι τούτους τοὺς νόμους τοῦ Σόλωνος τοὺς παλαιούς. The true solution of the difficulty may therefore be that the words in the speech against Neæra are from the new edition of the laws.

The internal evidence too, tends the same way, for it is intrinsically improbable that the selling wares in the market was made such a *nota dedecoris* by law; and besides, Demosthenes, in *Eubul.* p. 1308, adduces another law, which forbade making this traffic an imputation against a person's character: παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, οἱ κελεύουσιν ἔνοχον εἶναι τῇ κακηγορίᾳ τὸν τὴν ἐργασίαν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ, ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ τῶν πολιτῶν ὀνειδίζοντα τι. Originally, as is clear from the context of this passage in Demosthenes, burghers only were allowed ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἐργάζεσθαι, without being subject to imposts, the ξένοι having to pay a tax. Still, such employment was universally despised, and was only carried on by burghers of the lowest class; cf. Diog. Laert. ix. 66. Hence ἀγοραῖος denotes a low fellow, and πόνηρος and ἐξ ἀγορᾶς are phrases of similar significance. Aristoph. *Equites*, 181:

ὅτι πόνηρος καὶ ἐξ ἀγορᾶς εἰ, καὶ θρασύς.

But if such employment was considered unseemly for a man, how highly unbecoming would it have been for a woman, according to the Greek notions of feminine decorum, to appear with articles for sale in the market where men were the only purchasers! Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.* i. 78, after speaking of the hetærae ἐν πορνείῳ, proceeds: Ἀγαθαὶ δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐπὶ ἐργαστηρίων καθεζόμεναι καὶ πιπράσκουσαι τι καὶ δεχόμεναι ἐμπολάς, καὶ ὀραθεῖσαι καὶ μιγεῖσθαι. Hence we see that the shop-women, αἱ ἐπὶ ἐργαστηρίων καθεζόμεναι, were placed in the same category with the hetærae. It will be therefore impossible to suppose that the female sellers in the market were not regarded much in the same light. From Demosth. in *Eubul.* p. 1309, and Æschin. in *Timarch.* p. 118, we gather that female slaves sold in the market the work they had done for their owners; but this does not enhance the respectability of such an occupation. The two laws may therefore have subsisted together.

The sale of goods was variously effected. The wholesale dealer, ἑμπορός, seems usually to have sold by sample, δείγμα. For this purpose, there was in the Piræus, and probably in other harbours

THE MARKETS AND COMMERCE. [EXCURSUS.

place used for these sales, which was also itself called Harpoer. Δείγμα· κυρίως μὲν τὸ δεικνύμενον ἀφ' ἐκάστου λουμένων. ἤδη δὲ καὶ τόπος τις ἐν τῷ Ἀθήνησιν ἐμπορίῳ, ἀ δείγματα ἐκομίζετο, οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο. See Böckh's *Public of Athens*, p. 58. The samples were also carried about from to house. Aristobulos, ap. Plutarch, *Demosth.* 23: Ὡς πόρους ὀρώμεν, ὅταν ἐν τρυβλίῳ δείγμα περιφέρωσι. Cf. *Leg.* vii. p. 788. So a wine-merchant, οἰνοπώλης, goes with a flask under his arm, and sells the wine by this Diphilos, ap. Athen. xi. p. 499:

ὦ τοιχωρόχον
ἐκεῖνο καὶ τῶν δυναμένων, λαγύριον
ἔχον βαδίζειν εἰς τὰ γεύμαθ' ὑπὸ μάλης
καὶ τοῦτο πωλεῖν, μέχρι ἂν, ὥσπερ ἐν ἐράνῳ,
εἰς λοιπὸς ἢ κάπηλος ἡδικοκλήμενος
ὑπ' οἰνοπώλου.

the legal restrictions of trade were few. There were no guilds, in our sense of the word, nor, properly speaking, monopolies, i. e. assignments to individuals of special branches, though such were occasionally reserved by the State for

τροί λαῖες in the *ἀγορά* of the Phæacians (*Odys.* vi. 267,) are nothing more than the stone-benches, on which the assembly sit. Cf. *Id.* viii. 6: *ἐλθόντες δὲ καθίζον ἐπὶ ξεστύσι λίθοισιν.* *trabo*, xiv. 1, 37, mentions, as an unusual circumstance, that at *myrna* there were paved streets, *ὁδοὶ λιθόστρωτοι*. But the subterraneous sewers, the want of which he remarks in that city, were in existence at Athens. See Aristoph. *Pax*, 99, and scholiast. But the streets, especially in bad weather, could not have been over clean. See Thucyd. ii. 4.

The various divisions of the market, assigned to the sale of different goods, seem to have been called *κύκλοι*. It has been often supposed that this term referred only to that section devoted to the sale of kitchen-stuff, meat, and so forth; but the authorities will hardly bear this out. The chief passage on this subject is Poll. x. 18: *Ἵνα δ' ἐπιπράσκετο τὰ σκεύη τῆς ἀγορᾶς, τὸ μέρος τοῦτο κύκλοι ὠνομάζοντο, ὡς Ἀλεξίς ὑποδηλοῦν ἔοικεν ἐν Κελασίριδι, ποῖ δέ με ἄγεις διὰ τῶν κύκλων. σαφέστερον δὲ ἐν τῷ Μαιωμένῳ Δίφιλος·*

*καὶ προσέτι τοῖνον ἐσχάραν, καινὸν κάδον,
στρώματα, συνόν, ἀσκόπην, θύλακον,
ὥς που στρατιώτην ἂν τις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κύκλον
ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ὀρθὸν βαδίζειν ὑπολάβοι·
ποσούτος ἐστ' ὁ ῥῶπος, ὃν σὺ περιφέρεις.*

[*Id.* vii. 11: *καὶ κύκλοι δὲ ἐν τῇ νέᾳ κωμῳδίᾳ καλοῦνται ἐν οἷς ἐπιπράσκοντο τὰ ἀνδράποδα, ἴσως καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ὦνια.* Also Schol. *Id.* Aristoph. *Equit.* 137: *ὁ δὲ κύκλος Ἀθήνησιν ἐστὶ καθάπερ ἰκέλλος ἐκ τῆς κατασκευῆς τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβὼν, ἐνθα δὴ ππράσκεται χωρὶς κρεῶν τὰ ἄλλα ὦνια, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ οἱ ἰχθυές.* In these passages we see that *σκεύη*, *ἀνδράποδα*, *κρέα*, *ἰχθυές*, and a short *τὰ ἄλλα ὦνια*, are mentioned; and that the whole locality, or various parts of which these were sold, was called *κύκλος* or *κύκλοι*.

The sellers had also booths, *σκηναί*, apparently of wicker-work. *Iarpocr.*: *Σκηνίτης· ἐν σκηναῖς ἐπιπράσκετο πολλὰ τῶν ὠνίων.* *Demosth. de Coron.* p. 284: *τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῶν σκηνῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἡγορὰν ἐξείργον καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἐνεπίμπρυσαν.* This latter passage shows that business was not confined to the time of *πλήθουσα ἡγορὰ*, for it was evening when the news arrived, which was the signal for this outrage. The *γέρρα* here mentioned may doubtless be taken for *σκεπάσματα σκηνῶν*. Another passage of the

THE MARKETS AND COMMERCE. [EXCURSUS.

author presents more difficulties, and implies a different
 ment. In *Neær.* p. 1375: τὸν δὲ πρυτάνειν κελεύει τι-
 οὺς καδίσκους ὁ νόμος καὶ τὴν ψῆφον διδόναι προσιόντι τῷ
 τρὶν τοὺς ζένους εἰσιέναι καὶ τὰ γέρρα ἀναιρεῖν. Harpocra-
 his comment on the last passage, supposes that the wat-
 whatever the γέρρα may have been, were used to block
 approaches to the Pnyx, till the voting was over; while
 contrary, the Scholiast on Aristoph. *Acharn.* 22, says
 e passages to the ecclesia were alone left open: ἀνεπέτα-
 γὰρ τὰ γέρρα καὶ ἀπέκλειον τὰς ὁδοὺς τὰς μὴ φερούσας εἰς
 λησίαν, καὶ τὰ ὄνια ἀνῆρουν ἐν ταῖς ἀγοραῖς, ὅπως μὴ περὶ
 διατρίβοιεν. That the γέρρα were barriers of some kind
 from the Scholion on Lucian, *de Gymn.* 32: Γέρρον τε-
 νον σκέπασμα ἐκ στερεᾶς βύρσης, ᾧ ἀντὶ ἀσπίδος ἐχρῶντο
 ... Δημοσθένης δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν σκηνῶν καὶ τῶν περιφραγμάτων.
 o Eustath. *ad Odyss.* xxii. 184: Πανσανίας δὲ γράφει οὕτω·
 σκηνώματα καὶ Περσικὰ ὄπλα... καὶ περιφράγματα. Αἴλιος
 ύσιος, ὅτι γέρρον καὶ οἱ περιπεφραγμένοι τόποι καὶ ἀσπίδες,
 Festus also, p. 70, explains the Latin word *gerræ*, by *crates*

Ἀμέλει δὲ καὶ τὰ ἐκ γυναικείας ἀγορᾶς διακοῇσαι δυνατὸς ἀπνευστί.
 The notion that in these κύκλοι, the chief purchasers were women, is erroneous, having been hastily adopted from Pollux, x. 18. At Athens it was a thing unheard of for any free-women, except those of the lowest class, to make purchases in the market, or at the shop of a κάπηλος. The hetææ, it is true, did not scruple to perform such offices for themselves. See Machon, ap. Athen. xiii. p. 580 :

Ἐπεὶ προίβη τοῖς ἔτεσις ἡ Γνάβαινα, καὶ
 ἤδη τελέως ἦν ὁμολογουμένως σορδεῖ,
 εἰς τὴν ἀγορᾶν λέγουσιν αὐτὴν ἐξίνα
 καὶ τοῦψον ἰφορᾶν καὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν πόσον
 πωλεῖθ' ἕκαστον.

Female slaves also went occasionally on such errands. See Lysias, *de Cæde Erat.* p. 18: εἰς οὖν λάβης τὴν θεράπαιναν τὴν εἰς τὴν ἀγορᾶν βαδίζουσαν καὶ διακονοῦσαν ὑμῖν. These however are exceptional cases. If a man did not go marketing himself, he had a slave, ἀγοραστής, for the purpose. Athen. iv. p. 171: ἐκάλουν δὲ καὶ ἀγοραστήν τὸν τὰ ὄψα ἀνούμενον. Cf. Poll. iii. 126. And it is to be observed that male slaves alone are mentioned in this capacity; so Terent. *Andr.* ii. 2, 31 :

etiam puerum inde abiens conveni Chremis
 Olera et pisciculos minutos ferre obolo in cenam seni.

But the master generally attended to these matters himself; *Æschin. in Timarch.* 87: τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν, ὃς οὐδέποτε εἰς τοῦψον ἀφίκεται καὶ τὰς δαπάνας τὰς τούτων οὐ τεθεώρηκεν; The comic writers abound in instances in point, and it is only in a special case that the practice is ridiculed by Aristophanes, *Lysistr.* 557:

καὶ μὴν τό γε πρᾶγμα γέλοιον,
 ὅταν δασυῖδ' ἔχων καὶ Γοργόνα τις, κᾶτ' ὠνῆται κορακίνους.

The name γυναικεία ἀγορὰ cannot, therefore, have been derived from the purchasers. We may suppose, with greater probability, that certain wares were sold principally by females, and that one section of the market was possessed exclusively by these ἄρτοποιίδες, λεκιθοπώλιδες, ἰσχαδοπώλιδες, στεφανοπώλιδες, and others; or perhaps the name was applied to the locality where articles for women's use were chiefly sold. But the passage in Theophrastus which has given rise to this discussion is itself so

secure that nothing certain can be inferred from it, and even Plutarch seems to be in doubt as to the true meaning of the word.

The part most frequented, and for the *gourmand* the most important, was the fish-market, ἰχθυῖς, ἰχθυοπωλῖται, ὄψον. See the excursus on *The Meals*. The sale was not allowed to begin before a certain hour, when the signal for commencing was given by a bell, at the sound of which everybody hurried to the spot. Plutarch, *Symp.* iv. 4, 2: ἀλλὰ τοὺς περὶ τὴν ἰχθυοπωλίαν ἀνελόντας ἐκάστοτε, καὶ τοῦ κώδωνος ὀξέως ἀκούοντας. But the best elucidation of this occurs in Strabo, xiv. 2, 21, where he tells a capital anecdote of a Citharædus, whose audience all deserted when the fish-bell rings, except one who was deaf. 'Sir, thank you much for the honour you have done me in not going with the others at the sound of the bell,' said the Citharædus to the deaf man. 'What!' asked he; 'did you say the bell had rung?' And on the musician answering that it had, 'No,' said the other; καὶ ἀναστὰς ἀπῆλθε καὶ αὐτός. Neither of these passages refers, it is true, to Athens, but no doubt the custom prevailed there, as well as in other towns.

ἐπεὶ γὰρ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἔστ' ἐξουσία
ραίνειν, ἀπείρηται δὲ τοῦτο τῷ νόμῳ.

To evade this restriction a fight is got up near the fish-stall, a person falls down pretending to be stunned by a blow, water is thrown over him under the pretext of recovering him, and the fish get watered at the same time. Another law is mentioned in a fragment of Alexis, ap. Athen. vi. p. 266, which orders the fishmongers to adhere without abatement to the price first named; but this appears merely to have been intended to ridicule Plato's law on the subject (*Leg.* xi. p. 917), for the poet proceeds to announce, as the most recent improvement in legislation, that the dealers were not to be allowed to sit down, so that they might be induced by the fatigue to pass off their goods more quickly. For the coming season a new ordonnance is announced to forbid any sale being effected unless the dealer were suspended over his stall, like the gods upon the stage: ἀπὸ μηχανῆς πωλοῦντες ὥστερ οἱ θεοί. Hagglng about the price of an article was quite as common as in modern times. Cf. Theophr. *Char.* 17: πριάμμοι ἀνδράποδον ἄξιον καὶ πολλὰ δεθéis τοῦ πωλοῦντος.

Respecting other parts of the market, as, for instance, the shambles, there are fewer notices. We may mention, however, the humorous passage in Aristophanes, *Aves*, 1076, where the birds set a price on the head of Philocrates, who was probably a noted poulterer:

ὅτι συνίρων τοὺς σπίνους πωλεῖ καθ' ἑπτὰ τοῦ βολοῦ.
εἶτα φουσῶν τὰς κίχλας δείκνυσι καὶ λυμαίνεται,
τοῖς τε κοφίχοισιν εἰς τὰς ρίνας ἐγγχεῖ τὰ πτερά.

There are also some reliefs which represent the sale of game and poultry. See Zoëga, *Bassiril.* 27, 28.

Bread was seldom made at home, but was usually bought of women, ἀρτοποιίδες, who either carried it about, or sold it at stalls in the market, and elsewhere. Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1389; *Ban.* 857. See note 1 to Scene iv.

The chaplet-weavers too had their peculiar locality, which seems to have been called the myrtle-market. See Aristoph. *Theamorph.* 448: στεφανηπλουκῶσα ἐν ταῖς μυρρίναις. This was in the ἀγορά, as appears from v. 457:

ἀλλ' εἰς ἀγορὰν ἀπειμι· δεῖ γὰρ ἀνδράσι
πλέξαι στεφάνους συνθηματιαῖους εἰκοσιν.

Probably the ταινιοπώλιδες, who sold ribands and ready-made

THE MARKETS AND COMMERCE. [EXCURSUS.

resses, were also in the vicinity. Demosth. in *Eubul.* 8.

The place for the sale of wine is mentioned by Isæus, *de t. Her.* p. 134: καθίστησιν Εὐκτήμων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τῆς ἐν εἰκῇ συνοικίας, τῆς παρὰ τὴν πυλῖδα, οὗ ὁ οἶνος ὥποιε. It does not allude to the retail trade, carried on by the κάδαι, but to the sale of the wine which had been brought to the wains. A sale of this kind is represented in two Pompeian pictures, *Mus. Borbon.* iv., where the *amphoræ* are being emptied from a large skin. These paintings are the best comment on the fragment of Alexis, ap. Athen. x. p. 431:

ἐν τοῖς συμποσίοις οὐ πίνετε
ἄκρατον.—οὐ γὰρ ῥάδιον. πωλοῦσι γὰρ
ἐν ταῖς ἀμάξαις εὐθὺς κεκραμένον, κ.τ.λ.

We must distinguish between the crockery-mart, *χύτραι*, and the place where the cooks stood with their apparatus waiting to be

Poll. ix. 48: Εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ μαγειρεῖα τῶν πόλεως μερῶν, περὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ὑπὸ ταῖς τέχναις ἐργαστηρίων, ἀλλὰ οὐθὲν μισθοῦνται ὡς τοὺς μαγείρους. There seems also to have been a separate place where cooking utensils were to be

ῥιζόμενοι—οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπωλεῖτο ἀπὸ προνοίας τῶν Ἑρετριέων
ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐκ' ἑσχατά τοῦ ἄστεος οἰκίῳν. Several articles,
as salt-fish, were sold outside the gates. Aristoph. *Equites*,

:

ΚΑ. καὶ μοι τοσοῦτον εἰπέ· πότερον ἐν ἀγορᾷ

ἢ λλαντοπώλεις ἔτεόν, ἢ πὶ ταῖς πύλαις;

ΑΑΑ. ἐπὶ ταῖς πύλαισιν, οὐ τὸ τάριχος ὄνιον.

the superintendence of the market was intrusted to officers,
ἀγορανόμοι. Cf. Böckh, *Public Econ. of Athens*, p. 48;
u. Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 90. Sophilos, as we are told
thenæus, vi. p. 228, mentions certain ὀψονόμοι, whose duty
was to observe whether people lived above their income; this
idea is a mere idea of the comedian's; though, according to
Isos, ap. Id. p. 227, this was one of the duties of the ἀγο-
νόμοι at Corinth. But though these functionaries, ἀγορανόμοι,
νότακες, προμετρηταί, &c., were able to check petty frauds,
there were plenty of ways for plundering the public by whole-

The fraudulent accounts of the funds and markets in our
day had their parallel in antiquity. See Lysias, κ. τ. σιτο-
p. 721: οὕτω δ' ἄσμενοι τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ὑμετέρας ὀρώσιν,
τὰς μὲν πρότεροι τῶν ἄλλων πυνθάνονται, τὰς δ' αὐτοὶ λο-
ισοῦσιν ἢ τὰς καὺς διεφθάρθαι τὰς ἐν τῇ Πόντῳ, ἢ ὑπὸ Λα-
ιονίων ἐκπλεούσας συνειληφθαι, ἢ τὰ ἐμπόρια κεκλείσθαι, ἢ
προνδὰς μέλλειν ἀπορρήθῃσθαι.

the current coins, their relative value, and their modern equi-
ties, have been adequately discussed by Böckh in his *Public*
of Athens, pp. 5—30. Silver seems to have constituted the
primary currency. Very small coins only, such as the Χαλκοῦς, or
ῥίχαλκον, were of copper. Gold, at this period, seems to have
rather an article of merchandize than a medium of exchange;
the word χρυσιωνεῖν is used to denote the exchange of gold
silver. Isocr. *Trapez.* 21, p. 528. The difference of the
value in the different states gave rise to frequent extortion, and
agio, καταλλαγή, κόλλυβος, on the larger coins was carefully
regulated. So Diphilos, ap. Athen. iv. p. 225, says, speaking of
the money-changer:

ἐπειτ' εἰάν τἀργύριον αὐτῷ καταβάλλῃς,
ἐπράξαι· Αἰγυπτίον· ἂν δ' αὐτὸν δέῃ
κέρματ' ἀποδοῦναι προσαπέδωκεν Ἀττικά.
κατ' ἀμφοτέρω δὲ τὴν καταλλαγὴν ἔχει.

THE MARKETS AND COMMERCE. [EXCURSUS.

d money, ἀργύριον κίβδηλον, (opposed to δόκιμον,) was not occurrence, though to coin it appears to have been punished death throughout Greece. Demosth. in *Timocr.* p. 765: ἴσθιν ἀπάσαις, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ταῖς πόλεσιν, εἴαν τις τὸ νό- διαφθείρῃ θάνατον τὴν ζημίαν εἶναι. Cf. Id. in *Leptin.* p. The oldest example is that of the gilt lead coins of Poly- of Samos, if indeed we may credit the account given by otus. The usual expedient in forging, (παραχαράττειν, rrysost. *Or.* xxxi. p. 577,) was, before minting, to place film of the precious metal on the piece of iron or copper. khel, *Doctr. Num.* i. p. 113.

ough there were no regular fairs in Greece, still there was ing analogous to the annual marts of Germany. The oc- of these were the public festivals, πανηγύρεις, whither umbers of people resorted. Strabo, x. 5, talking of Delos, τε πανήγυρις ἐμπορικὸν τι πρᾶγμα. At such periods of dealers set up their stalls, so that the festival had he appearance of a fair. Dio Chrys. *Or.* xxvii. p. 528: νται δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς πανηγύρεις οἱ μὲν..., πολλοὶ δὲ ὥσια

EXCURSUS TO SCENE V.

THE GYMNASIA.

Of all the peculiar Hellenistic institutions the Gymnasia are perhaps the most important, for none exercised so powerful influence on the entire developement and various phases of life—none at once awakened the noblest feelings, and repressed the most impure passions—none formed to the same extent the incitement to glorious deeds, and the seduction to idleness—none so much enhanced the vigour of the corporeal powers, and at the same time gave them so false a direction—made men so alive to the beauty and nobility of the human form, and opened so broad a field for the grandest creations of art; and lastly, none betrayed youthful innocence into such degradations—as was the case with the exercises of the Gymnasia. In a period when physical strength had usurped many of the prerogatives of intellectual power, it is true that even the rudest nations also cultivated bodily exercises; but in no country was the original intention so entirely lost sight of as in Greece; none did Gymnastics assume so generally the character of agone; nowhere were they so much looked on as a diversion; nowhere did the Gymnasia become such universal places of amusement, and such arenas for emulous exertions.

We cannot wonder that the stern Romans, who valued such exercises merely for their military and diætic advantages, looked unfavourably on Grecian gymnastics. See Plutarch, *vit. Rom.* 40: τὸ γὰρ ξηραλοφεῖν ὑπερωρῶντο Ῥωμαῖοι σφόδρα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν οἷονται μηδὲν οὕτως αἷτιον δουλείας γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κίνας, ὥς τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τὰς παλαίστρας, πολὺν ἄλυν καὶ ἡν ἐντεκούσας ταῖς πόλεσι καὶ κακοσχολίαν, καὶ τὸ παιδεῖν καὶ τὸ διαφθεῖρειν τὰ σώματα τῶν νέων ὕπνοις καὶ περιπά- καὶ κινήσεσιν εὐρύθμοις καὶ διαίταις ἀκριβέσιν, ὑφ' ὧν ἔλαθον ὄντες τῶν ὅπλων καὶ ἀγαπήσαντες ἀνθ' ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ἱππέων ὧν εὐτράπελοι καὶ παλαιστρίται καὶ καλοὶ λέγεσθαι. This passage requires a little elucidation. In the first place, the explanation given by Wyttienbach of the word ξηραλοφεῖν is not

story. The body was anointed either after the bath, or as preparation for gymnastic exercises, but this was not universal, chiefly practised by the Palæstæ and Pancratiastæ. It is at Solon's law, which forbade the practice of gymnastic exercises to slaves, is once and again quoted by Plutarch as if *ξηρα*-only were forbidden, but this is inexact. Æschines, in *ch.* p. 147, gives the law more correctly: *Δουλον, φησὶν, μὴ γυμνάζεσθαι, μηδὲ ξηραλοιφεῖν ἐν ταῖς παλαίστραις.* The difference between the Gymnasium and the Palæstra is not from this law, as well as from Lucian, *Paras.* 51; but from this passage, nor from such as Plato, *Lys.* p. 204, and *p.* 153, can we deduce the inference that the former was a public institution, and the latter not. The distinction seems to have been that the Gymnasium was a place including grounds for running, archery, javelin-practice, and the like, along with other and numerous resorts for those who only sought amusement, while the Palæstra, on the other hand, was the regular training-school, where, originally, wrestling, *πάλη*, and the panto- were principally taught and practised. That the Palæstra

this imputation, in which, it must be confessed, there is a good deal of truth, especially as respects the athletes, the whole business of whose lives was the exercises of the Palæstra. At Sparta, for instance, *πυγμὴ* and *παγκράτιον* were entirely prohibited. See Plutarch, *Apophth. Reg.* i. p. 753; and Müller's *Dorians*, ii. p. 313. There also, athletics were not generally the object of gymnastics. Aristot. *de Republ.* viii. 4.

Many agreed, on this subject, with Lycurgus. So Philopœmen, on being urged to undergo the exercises of the Palæstra, asked whether it would not partly unfit him for the use of his weapons; and afterwards, when on service, *πάσαν ἀθλησιν ἐξέβαλεν, ὡς τὰ χρησιμώτατα τῶν σωματίων εἰς τοὺς ἀναγκαίους ἀγωνὰς ἀχρησता ποιούσαν*. Plutarch, *Philop.* 3. The useless discipline of the *ἀθλητικὴ* is described with much point, though with a little rhetorical exaggeration, in a fragment from the *Autolycos* of Euripides, apud Athen. x. p. 413:

Κακῶν γὰρ ὄντων μυρίων καθ' Ἑλλάδα,
οὐδὲν κάκιόν ἐστιν ἀθλητῶν γένους.....
Τίς γὰρ παλαίσας εὖ, τίς δ' ὠκύπους δμηρ,
ἢ δίσκον ἄρας, ἢ γνάθον παῖσας καλῶς
πόλει πατρίᾳ στέφανον ἦρκεσεν λαβών;
πότερα μαχοῦνται πολεμίοισιν ἐν χεροῖν
δίσκουι ἔχοντες, ἢ δι' ἀσπίδων χερὶ
θείνοντες ἐκβαλοῦσι πολεμίους πάτρας;

The disadvantages of such one-sided training are further hinted at by Socrates; Xenoph. *Symp.* 2, 17: ὥσπερ οἱ δολιχοδρόμοι τὰ σκέλη μὲν παχύνονται, τοὺς δὲ ὤμους λεπτύνονται, μηδ' ὥσπερ αἱ πύκται τοὺς μὲν ὤμους παχύνονται, τὰ δὲ σκέλη λεπτύνονται. The *πολυσαρκία* of the athletes was often ridiculed, and from their dulness of intellect, they were called *παχεῖς*. The *double entendre* in the word is explained by Eustath. *ad Il.* xxiii. 261. See Plutarch, *de San. Tuend.* 18: τοῖς ἐν γυμνασίῳ κίσις ὁμοίως λιπαροὺς πεποιήκασι καὶ λιθίνους. Hence Hermes says to the athlete, who, *παχὺς καὶ πολὺσαρκος*, wishes to go in Charon's boat, and calls himself *γυμνός*: οὐ γυμνόν, ὦ βέλτιστε, τοσαύτας σάρκας περιβεβλημένον. Lucian, *Mort. Dial.* x. 5.

Of course there was a great difference between the exercises of the gymnasium generally, and those of the professional athlete. The contests of the gymnasium also imparted a spirit of activity and emulation to the whole social machinery of the Greeks.

well expressed by Lucian, *de Gymn.* 15. But very disadvantages existed; among which were the encounter it gave to παιδευαστία, and also the formation of the habit of idle lounging, or as Plutarch says, πολὺν ἄλυν καὶ σχολὴν καὶ κακοσχολίαν. Quarrels and enmities were frequently kindled in the palæstra, the evil effects of which were felt in the state. *Palam.* 65: ἐνθα (ἐν παλαίστρᾳ) φιλεῖ ἔριδας πλείσταις πόριαις γίνεσθαι.

That which chiefly offended the Romans, and indeed all Grecian nations, was the perfect nakedness both at the exercises and at the matches; and this even at the athletic games, from the time of Orsippus of Megara, or Acanthe the Lacedæmonian. Böckh, *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* No. 1003. The Romans looked on this as a *flagitium*, nor was it less unbecoming in the eyes of the Asiatics. Herod. i. 10: παρὰ γὰρ Ἰνδοῖσι, σχεδὸν δὲ καὶ παρὰ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι βαρβάροις καὶ ὀφθῆναι γυμνὸν ἐς αἰσχύνην μεγάλην φέρει. Plato, *de Rep.* p. 452. οὐ πολὺς χρόνος, ἐξ οὗ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐδόκει αἰσχρὰ καὶ γελοῖα, ἅπερ νῦν τοῖς πολλοῖς τῶν βαρβάρων, γυμνοῦς

than married women. In Cyrene women were also permitted to be present. See Böckh, ad Pind. *Pyth.* ix.

Of course it was still more rarely that females appeared as competitors themselves in running or driving matches, although they might send carriages to run. See Paus. iii. 17, 6; and v. 8, 3. Müller, in his *Dorians*, ii. p. 273, note, seems to fancy that maidens at least were allowed to compete in person. Now with regard to Cynisca, the sister of Agésilao, who was the most celebrated of these female charioteers, and was the first who obtained the prize, it is plain that she did not herself drive the horses, for an *ἀνὴρ ἡνίοχος* is also mentioned; Paus. vi. 1, 3: *Πεποιήται δὲ ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ πυρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Τρωΐλου λίθου κρηπὶς καὶ ἄρμα τε ἵππων καὶ ἀνὴρ ἡνίοχος, καὶ αὐτῆς Κυνίσκας εἰκόν.* If the representation on an ancient vase in Tischb. ii. 28. p. 59, where a female is seen driving a chariot, really refers to Cynisca, a license taken by the artist must be supposed.

Throughout the Ionic states, and in most of the others except Sparta, the female sex was excluded from all participation in gymnastic exercises. Plato, however, is for the Spartan custom, but his words shew that he felt that its introduction would have run counter to the universally entertained notions of propriety. See *de Republ.* v. p. 452; and *Leg.* vii. p. 804.

But at Sparta it is well known that the maidens, as well as the youths, practised the exercises of the gymnasium; and the mere mention of this fact might here suffice, had not a repugnance to admitting that nudity was usual in both cases, led to many passages being interpreted in a sense which their writers could never have intended, and which the language used cannot possibly admit. At Sparta, married women alone were excluded from gymnastic exercises, the maidens being allowed much greater freedom in this respect, as well as in dress, and in their intercourse with the other sex. This limitation seems to displease Plato, *Leg.* vii. p. 806: and it is, moreover, quite an oversight in Lucian, *Deor. Dial.* xx. 14, when he talks of the already married Helen as *γυμναὶ τὰ πολλὰ καὶ παλαιστική*: and Aristophanes, *Lysistr.* 82, has made a similar mistake. The real point at issue is, whether by the *γύμνωσις τῶν παρθένων* of Plutarch, is meant actual nudity, or only very light clothing. Now Plutarch, *Lyc.* 14, says: *οὐδὲν ἥττον εἴθισε τῶν κόρων τὰς κόρας γυμνάς τε πομπεύειν καὶ ἱεροῖς*

ορχεῖσθαι καὶ ἄδειν τῶν νέων παρόντων καὶ θεωμένων· and the complete nudity of the κόροι is indisputable, the proposition would be that the same was the case with the maidens. Much stress must not, however, be laid on the word γυμνὰς in the passage, since it is undoubtedly used of those who were in the chiton only. See Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 150:

εἰ γὰρ καθοίμεθ' ἔνδον ἐντετριμμέναι,
καὶν τοῖς χιτωνίοισι τοῖς ἀμοργίνοις
γυμναὶ παρίοιμεν, κ.τ.λ.

nosth. in *Mid.* p. 583: τοῖμάτιον προέσθαι καὶ μικροῦ γυμνωχιδνίσκου γενέσθαι. The word denotes a still smaller piece of clothing in Athen. iv. p. 129; and Id. xiii. p. 568: ἐν λεπτοπήνοισι ὕφασιν. This signification of γυμνός is confirmed by the accounts we possess of the dress of the Doric women, which was merely a short chiton, without sleeves, and not reaching to the knees. See Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* ii. 10: ἢ ὑπὲρ γόνυ, καθάπερ τὰς Λακαίνας φασὶ παρθένοισι, ἔστω καλόν. Also Eurip. *Androm.* 588:

αἱ ξὺν νέοισιν, ἐξερημοῦσαι δόμους
γυμνοῖσι μηροῖς καὶ πέπλοις ἀνειμένους,

ον. Πανσανίας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς δωριάζειν φησὶ τὸ παραγυμνοῦσθαι. περικὸν γάρ, φησὶ, τὸ παραφαίνειν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὸ μηδὲ ζώνας ρειν, τὸ πολὺ δὲ χιτῶνας φορεῖν. ἐν δὲ Σπάρτῃ καὶ τὰς κόρας μνᾶς φαίνεσθαι. Nor is there any contradiction in Ælius Dio-ysius calling the Peloponnesian females ἀχίτωνες, while Pausa-as says that they generally wore the χιτῶν only. For this ument, being without arms, and merely fastened over the shoul-ers by agraffes, while below, on one side at least, it was quite pen, might, when compared with the Ionian dress, be considered : scarcely a chiton at all. All this, it must be remembered, fers not to the palæstra, but to the dress of girls in every-day fe. The only passage referring to the chiton as worn in the alæstræ is the Schol. ad Eurip. *Hecub.* 914: αἱ Λακεδαιμόνιαι ναῖκες ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι μονοχίτωνες ἦσαν, πόρπας ἐφ' ἑκατέρου ὦν ὤμων ἔχουσai, ὅθεν καὶ δωριάζειν τὸ γυμνοῦσθαι Ἀνακρέων ησι. Other passages, however, seem to speak of actual nudity t these contests, or at least shew that the chiton was not worn. ee Athen. xiii. p. 566: ἐπαινοῦντες τῶν Σπαρτιατῶν τὸ ἔθος τὸ μνοῦν τὰς παρθένους τοῖς ξένοις. Plutarch, *Lyc.* 15: λέγω δὲ αὖ πομπὰς τῶν παρθένων, καὶ τὰς ἀποδύσεις, καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὅψει τῶν νέων, ἀγομένων οὐ γεωμετρικαῖς, ὥς φησὶν ὁ Πλά-ων, ἀλλ' ἐρωτικάς ἀνάγκαις. Whatever the γύμνωσις τῶν παρ-ων may mean, the ἀπόδυσις must refer to divestiture of some- ing, and we know that only one garment, the chiton, was ordi- rily worn. Cf. Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 771; and *Ib.* xi. p. 925. oreover, Theocritus, xviii. 22, seems to allude to a *nuda palæ-*-a, when he makes the Spartan damsels say:

Ἄμμετ γὰρ πᾶσαι συνομάλικες, ᾗτε δρόμοις ὠνότες,
χρυσάμεναις ἀνδριστὶ παρ' Εὐρώταο λοετροῖς.

Neither did they restrict themselves to running, and the gentler exercises, but had trials of strength also. Xenoph. *de Rep. Lac.*

4: πρῶτον μὲν σωμασκεῖν ἔταξεν οὐδέν ἦττον τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ βενος φύλου. ἔπειτα δὲ δρόμου καὶ ἰσχύος, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῖς δράσιν, οὕτω καὶ ταῖς θηλείαις ἀγῶνας πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἐποίησε. e also Prop. iii. 14:

Multa tunc, Sparte, miramur jura palæstræ,
Sed mage virginei tot bona gymnasii.
Quod non infames exercet corpore ludos
Inter luctantes nuda puella viros.

Ovid, *Her.* 16, 149:

More tuæ gentis nitida dum nuda palestra
Ludis et es nudis femina mista viris.

ver weight may be attached to these passages, at all events the word *nudus* has not the twofold signification of its equivalent. Nor is there any doubt as to what was the general belief in the times of those writers from whom the facts are derived.

That youths were present at these female *agones*, as well as at the male, is indubitable, though we may question whether they were mixed together, as the κοινὰ παλαίστραι of Euripides would seem to imply. This, however, is said to have been usual at Chios; see xiii. p. 566: ἐν Χίῳ δὲ τῇ νήσῳ καὶ βαδίζειν ἡδιστόν ἐστιν πρὸς τὰ γυμνάσια καὶ τοὺς δρόμους καὶ ὁρᾶν προσπαλαίους καὶ νέους ταῖς κόραις.

There are but few other notices of female gymnastics. Pausanias, v. 16, 2, speaking of the Heræa at Elis, says: ὁ δὲ ἀγὼν ἄμιλλα δρόμον παρθένοις, οὗτοι πονεῖν πάσαις ἡλικίαις τῆς πόλεως.....θέουσι δὲ οὕτως· καθεῖται σφισιν ἡ κόρη, χιτῶν



urnished with seats along the walls, and was designed, it is
 eed, for the use of the ephebi. To the right of the Ephe-
 was the Coryceion, next came the Conisterion, and lastly,
 corner of the portico, was the cold bath. On the left side
 e Ephebeion lay, first the Elæothesion for the use of the
 -bathers; next, according to Vitruvius, the frigidarium,
 h the purpose for which it was designed is doubtful. It has
 shewn in *Gallus*, p. 385, that frigidarium is the same as
 a lavatio, and the latter is placed by Vitruvius on the
 ite side. With Marini, therefore, we would read tepida-
 : an alteration which renders intelligible the words, ‘proxime
 introrsus e regione frigidarii collocetur concamerata sudatio.’
 the frigidarium had been the chamber next to the sudatio,
 vius could never have said, ‘e regione frigidarii.’ But it is
 rigida lavatio which is here meant, and this being at the
 ite end of the portico, the expression ‘e regione’ is certainly
 able to it with respect to the sudatio.

the three remaining arcades of the peristyle were the *exedrae*,
 as, furnished with seats, for the accommodation of the phi-
 vers and rhetoricians, and of all indeed who sought intellec-
 recreation: ‘Constituantur autem in tribus porticibus exedrae
 æ, habentes sedes, in quibus philosophi, rhetores, reliquique,
 udiis delectantur, sedentes disputare possint.’ These exedrae
 r to have been usually uncovered; for Vitruvius says that
 inium was unsuited for the walls, as they were exposed to
 in, which that colour could not stand, ‘vitiatur, et amissa
 e coloris denigratur.’ Vitruv. ii. 9, 2. But, of course, there
 also roofed rooms, and such are perhaps alluded to by Lucian,
mn. 16: ἀλλ’, εἰ δοκεῖ, ἐς τὸ σύσκιον ἐκείῃσε ἀπελθόντες καθί-
 ἐπὶ τῶν θάκων. The exedrae were sometimes semicircular,
 gather from Plutarch, *Alcib.* 17, ὥστε πολλοὺς ἐν ταῖς πα-
 ραῖς καὶ τοῖς ἡμικυκλίοις καθέζεσθαι. Possibly however the
 ords may not refer to the gymnasium at all. The seats were
 benches, and ran along the walls; Lucian, *ib.*: καὶ καθέδρα
 ἡδεῖα καὶ εὐκαιροὶ ἐπὶ ψυχροῦ τοῦ λίθου. Cf. Plato, *Charm.*
 i; *Euthyd.* p. 274. There were also probably isolated stone
 both in the gymnasia, and in other parts of the city. See
 n, *Demon.* 67. Several such are still extant. Stuart, *Antiq.*
ions, iii. pp. 19, 29.

the above-mentioned compartments constituted the most important portion of the gymnasium. It is strange that no one has made a conjecture as to the use of the large open space of the temple, which according to Vitruvius, must have measured, exclusive of the arcades, sixty thousand square feet. Doubtless it was chiefly for gymnastic exercises; and that this was the case at the Lyceion is expressly stated by Lucian, *de Gymn.* 2: "Ἐτε-
 ρὸν τῷ αἰθρίῳ τῆς ἀνλῆς τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ὀρῶσιν. Cf. Dio-
 dorus Siculus, *Or.* xxviii. p. 531. The words of Plato, *Lys.* p. 206,
 οὐκ οὐκ πολλοὶ ἐν τῇ ἀνλῇ ἑπαιζόντες ἔξω, have been strangely
 understood by Krause, who creates out of them an outer court,
 the reading were ἐν τῇ ἔξω ἀνλῇ. The passage merely refers
 to persons in the ὑπαίθρου of the peristyle, who are said 'to
 without,' in contradistinction to those in the apodyterion.
 Vitruvius' account of the other parts of the gymnasium is
 more difficult to comprehend. 'Extra autem disponantur
 tres, una ex peristylio exeuntibus, duæ dextra atque
 sinistra stadiatæ; ex quibus una, quæ spectaverit ad septentrio-
 nem, efficiatur duplex, amplissima latitudine: altera simplex,

lies in the equivocal expression, 'extra autem disponantur porticus tres.' If these really lay behind the first-mentioned parts of the gymnasium, it seems strange that Vitruvius did not, as usual, employ the word *introrsus* or *post*, instead of *extra*, which Palladio has actually supposed to mean that the arcades now in question surrounded the *palastra* on the outside. This writer makes the *porticus duplex* run parallel to, and touch, the inner peristyle, where the ephebeion is; and the *xystus* in the same manner he supposes to lie on the opposite side; the gymnasium is thus extended on the two flanks, and not backwards, as in the accompanying plan. Such a construction presents great difficulties, and can hardly be reconciled with the words, 'post xystum autem stadium.' Nor is Newton's arrangement free from difficulties, for according to it the space within the arcades could have had no greater area, and certainly no greater breadth, than the Hypæthron of the peristyle, and this would hardly leave room for the 'silvas aut platanonas ambulationes et stationes,' which we are told that it comprised. All this part of Vitruvius' description abounds with difficulties, which are perhaps incapable of solution.

Another question not easily answered is, by whom, and for what exercises, the gymnasia and palæstræ were used. It is manifest, from the law of Solon, and from Antipho, that boys must be supposed to have frequented the gymnasium; and this entirely overthrows Krause's supposition, that in the gymnasia the ephēbi were chiefly exercised, in the xysti the athletæ, and the boys in the palæstræ. Besides, Aristophanes, *Aves*, 141, mentions a παῖς ὡραίος ἀπὸ γυμνασίου, and Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 764, wishes for γυμνάσια καὶ διδασκαλεῖα for maidens as well as for boys, and hence the supposition that it was not till a later period that the gymnasia were used as the exercise-ground for boys, falls to the ground. Theophrastus, *Char.* 21, τῶν δὲ γυμνασίων ἐν ταῦτοις διατρίβειν, οὗ ἂν ἔφηβοι γυμνάζωνται, seems to imply that there were both γυμνάσια ἐφήβων and γυμνάσια παίδων; but those here referred to could only have been small institutions, such as were above denominated palæstræ. For Athens had only three gymnasia at the time in question, the Lyceion, the Cynosarges, and the Academia; and that these were not thus appropriated is beyond a doubt. Another suppo-

would be that these gymnasia served for persons of all
 and that there were divisions for the different degrees of
 and at a later period this was certainly the case, as we
 from Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* xxviii. p. 533: ἀποδυσσάμενος δ'
 τιν ὅστις ἄλλον ἐθεάτο, πολλῶν μὲν παίδων, πολλῶν δὲ
 γυμναζομένων. But this can hardly apply to Athens at
 rly period, for the law of Solon quoted by Æschines ex-
 forbids seniors entering the boys' places of exercise: *Κί-
 παιδων διδάσκαλοι ἀνοιγέτωσαν μὲν τὰ διδασκαλεῖα μη-
 ὀν ἡλίου ἀνιόντος, κλειέτωσαν δὲ πρὸ ἡλίου δύνοντος. καὶ
 ττω τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὴν τῶν παίδων ἡλικίαν οὖσιν εἰσέναι τῶν
 ἔνδον ὄντων, εἰὰν μὴ υἱὸς διδασκάλου ἢ ἀδελφὸς, ἢ θυγατρός
 εἰὰν δὲ τις παρὰ ταύτ' εἰσῇ, θανάτῳ ζημιούσθω. καὶ οἱ
 ἰάρχαι τοῖς Ἑρμαίοις μὴ ἐάτωσαν συγκαθίεναι μηδένα τῶν
 ἰὰ τρόπῳ μηδενί· εἰὰν δὲ ἐπιτρέπῃ καὶ μὴ ἐξείργῃ τοῦ γυμ-
 νoχος ἔστω ὁ γυμνασιάρχης τῷ τῆς ἐλευθέρων φθορᾷ*
 It is doubtful whether the διδασκαλεῖα here mentioned are
 the schools of the grammarians, or, which is improbable,
 also of the *Pædotribæ*. Plato, except in *Leg.* vii. p. 794,

were not large enough to admit of several of the exercises, such as shooting with the bow, and hurling the javelin or discus. Thus Antipho, speaking of a boy who has killed another, says, μελετῶν μετὰ τῶν ἡλίκων ἀκοντίζειν ἐπὶ τῷ γυμνασίῳ. The gymnasia also have been frequently regarded merely as places of instruction for beginners, whereas they were frequented by adults, and even old people often repaired thither for the sake of wholesome exercise. See Plato, *de Republ.* v. p. 452 : ὥσπερ τοὺς γέροντας ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, ὅταν ῥυσσοὶ καὶ μὴ ἡδεῖς τὴν ὄψιν, ὁμῶς φιλογυμναστῶσι. Also Xenoph. *Symp.* 2, 18 : ἢ ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γελᾶτε, ὅτι οὐ δεῖσαι σιγγυμναστήν ζητεῖν, οὐδ' ἐν ὄχλῳ, πρεσβυτήν ὄντα, ἀποδύεσθαι. Wealthy persons may have had rooms in their own houses appropriated to this purpose. Xenoph. *de Republ. Athen.* 2, 10 : Καὶ γυμνάσια καὶ λουτρά καὶ ἀποδυτήρια τοῖς μὲν πλουσίοις ἐστὶν ἴδια ἐνίοις. Also Theophr. *Char.* 21 : αὐλίδιον παλαιστρικὴν κόνιν ἔχον καὶ σφαιριστήριον. Still it is very improbable that this was frequently the case so early as the time of Xenophon, although after that of Alexander the practice became common.

In the second place, we arrive at the conclusion that the palæstræ were not mere training schools for boys; but that on the contrary they were used to some extent by the athletæ also. Krause unnecessarily restricts the latter to the xysti alone. That boys practised in the xystus, Vitruvius certainly says; but he does not use the word *athletæ* in any strict sense: and besides, the use of the xystus does not preclude that of the palæstra also. But the positive testimony of Plutarch is far more important. He tells us, *de San. Tuend.* 18 : (κελεύσομεν) ἐν τῷ ξυστῷ καὶ ταῖς παλαιίστραις διαλέγεσθαι τοῖς ἀθληταῖς. Again, *Symp.* ii. 4, he says: τὸν οὖν τόπον ἐν ᾧ γυμνάζονται πάντες οἱ ἀθληταὶ παλαιίστραν καλοῦμεν: and then expressly states that the palæstra was properly the school for wrestling and the pancration: οὔτε γὰρ δρόμον, οὔτε πυγμὴν ἐν παλαιίστραις διακονοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ πάλη καὶ παγκράτιον τὸ περὶ τὰς κυλίσεις. For running and boxing the xystus was assigned, because the palæstra was unsuited for those exercises; while for the *πάλη* and *παγκράτιον* the xysti had no suitable space, since, according to Vitruvius, they were only twelve feet broad, and were still further confined by the raised pathways on each side.

The exercises of the ephebi may be supposed to have taken

mainly in the gymnasia, and it is in reference to them that gymnasiarchs are specially mentioned; but they must not be excluded from the palæstræ. And, indeed, though γυμ- and παλαίστρα may originally have been different in meaning, γυμνάσιον is used to denote the exercise-place generally, and the two words are sometimes interchanged.

Plutarch's work contains a very complete and satisfactory account of the various kinds of exercises, and to it the reader is referred. He says nothing, however, as to the hours at which the exercises were taught gymnastics, or how this was combined with the instruction they received; and in the absence of positive information on this head, we must be content with conjecture. The chief point to be determined is, whether these two branches of education were synchronous or not. As has been mentioned in the Excursus on *Education*, Aristotle and Plato require that children should be under the παιδοτρίβης till their tenth year, and that they should attend the school of a grammarian for three years. We can hardly suppose that during these three years they received no gymnastic instruction entirely; and this would certainly

have been but seldom taken outside the town. See Plato, *Phædr.* p. 227: τῇ δὲ σφ̃ καὶ ἐμῇ ἐταίρῳ πειθόμενος Ἀκουμένῳ κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ποιοῦμαι τοὺς περιπάτους. φησὶ γὰρ ἀκοπωτέρους τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁρόμοις εἶναι. Also Xenoph. *Æcon.* 11, 15; Plato, *Euthyd.* p. 273. Cf. Poll. ix. 43.

But the gymnasia, especially at Athens, were also the favourite places in which sophists and rhetoricians instructed their assembled pupils, or engaged in intellectual conversation with those who might chance to gather round. Socrates was often to be found sitting on the benches of the exedrae, and conversing with his pupils or the sophists, while a crowd of listeners stood near. See *Euthyd.* p. 271. This was not the case with the large gymnasia only: each of the palaestrae seems to have been selected by some sophist or other for the delivery of his lectures. Thus in Plato, *Lysias*, p. 204, Miccos the sophist takes immediate possession of the newly-built palaestra. This proves that Solon's law forbidding the entrance of adults was now obsolete. Cf. Antipho, *de Cæde Isol.* p. 672; Æschin. in *Timarch.* p. 145. In Sparta mere lookers on were not admitted; Plato, *Theæt.* p. 169: Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν γὰρ ἀπιέναι ἢ ἀποδύεσθαι κελεύουσι. At Athens, however, and probably elsewhere, the gymnasia were crowded by spectators, and served as regular places of conversation and social amusement.

EXCURSUS I. TO SCENE VI.

THE MEALS.

ὍΡΩ πάντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐκ τριττῆς χρείας καὶ ἐπι
ῆρτημένα δι' ὧν ἀρετὴ τε αὐτοῖς ἀγομένους ὀρθῶς, καὶ
ναντίον ἀποβαίνει κακῶς ἀχθεῖσι. ταῦτα δ' ἐστὶν ἐδωδὴ μ
πόσις...καὶ ἔρως...are the words in which Plato (*Leg.* vi. p.
maintains that the appetites are the main-springs of human a
and that from them moral worth and its opposite proceed
this as it may, at all events the gratification of these appetit
ever been a main concern of life, and the peculiarities hence
ing must ever, therefore, hold a prominent place in any descr
of national or of local manners. It would be foreign to this
pose to give a detailed account of the various dishes, though
might be readily constructed from Aristophanes and Plutar
from the tedious alphabetical catalogue of Athenæus, the

ν. αἰτοῦντος δὲ ἐκείνου τυρόν καὶ ὄξος, καὶ ἔλαιον, Ἄλλ' εἰ
 γὰρ εἶχον, εἶπεν, οὐκ ἂν ἰχθὺν ἐπριάμην. Cf. *Id. de San.*
ind. 12: οἱ Λακωνεὶς ὄξος καὶ ἄλας δόντες τῷ μαγεῖρι τὰ
 ἄ κελεύουσιν ἐν τῷ ἱερείῳ ζητεῖν. These simple tastes may
 be regarded as an original national peculiarity, and not as conse-
 quence of the stringent regulations of Lycurgus; for before the
 times of this legislator they were ἀβροδίατοι, as they are styled
 Plutarch, *Apophth. Lac.* p. 900.

The coarser natures of the Boeotians, on the other hand, led
 them to indulge in gross and plentiful repasts; and the luxury of
 Corinthians was conspicuous, though Sicilian gormandizing
 exceeded everything. The meals of the Athenians, on the con-
 trary, are ridiculed by the comedians for their simplicity. *Athen.*
ind. 131: Ἀνγκεῦς δ' ἐν Κενταύρῳ διαπαίζων τὰ Ἀττικὰ δειπνά
 ρ

Μάγειρ', ὁ θύων ἐστὶν ὁ δειπνίζων τ' ἐμὲ
 ῥόδιος, ἐγὼ δ' ὁ κεκλημένος Περίουσιος.
 οὐδέτερος ἡμῶν ἤδεται τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς
 δειπνοῖς. ἀγρία γὰρ ἐστὶν Ἀττικὴ,
 ὥσπερ ξενική. παρέθηκε πίνακα γὰρ μέγαν
 ἔχοντα μικροὺς πάντα πενακίσκους ἐν οἷ.....
 ὄψιν μὲν οὖν ἔχει τὰ τοιαῦτα ποικίλῃν
 ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἐστὶ τοῦτο πρός τὴν γαστέρα.

questionably, the symposion which succeeded the meal was
 considered by the Athenians as the main thing, and as affording
 opportunity for a higher species of enjoyment. So in the *Sym-*
posion of Xenophon and Plato the pleasure is wholly intellectual,
 sensual, as is remarked by Plutarch, *Symp.* vi. p. 817. Plato's
 entertainments were noted for their frugality, and we are told that
 his chief dish with him was figs, hence he was called φιλόσυκος.
 Plutarch, *Symp.* iv. 4, 2; cf. *de San. Tuend.* 9.

From the earliest times it was usual to take three meals a day,
 though the hours of these repasts remained essentially un-
 changed, still the same names were not always used to denote
 them. With regard to the Homeric usage, we have the state-
 ments of Eustathius, *ad Odys.* ii. 20, though we need not pin
 our faith to his somewhat amusing etymologies: Ἰστέον δ' ὅτι
 τὴν τροφαίαν ἐχρῶντο οἱ παλαιοί· ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἐκαλεῖτο ἄρι-
 στος, γινόμενον πάνν πρωτῇ, αἶμα ἡοὶ φαινομένηφι, ἄρεος ἰσταμέ-
 νος καὶ ἡ τοῦ ὀνόματος ἐτυμολογία δηλοῖ. εἴτα τὸ δεῖπνον,

ἔδει πανεὺν, ὃ καὶ ἄριστόν φασί τινες. τρίτον δὲ δόρυπον ἀρίστω, ἥνικα δόρυν παύεται. ὅπερ ἡμεῖς παρὰ τὸ δεινὸν δειπνον καλοῦμεν. And Palamedes, in a fragment of Eupylus, ap. Athen. i. p. 11, is made to say: σῖτον δ' εἰδέναι ἄριστα, δειπνα, δόρυπα θ' αἰρεῖσθαι τρία. But these expressions are not used in their strict sense by Homer. Thus δόρυπον occurs once only in the *Iliad*, (xxiv. 124,) and once in the *Odyssey* (xvi. 2); while δειπνον, which means a meal generally, but reference to the time, is elsewhere used instead: but for a meal taken in the middle of the day there is no special name. Aristarch. ad *Il.* xi. 86; ad *Odys.* xvi. 2.

The usage afterwards was changed, for in the Attic dialect, at least, δειπνον came to be used, invariably, of the evening meal, (see also *Il.* xi. 86,) while the mid-day meal was called ἄριστον, and the first fast received the name ἀκράτισμα. Instead of this word, Plutarch also uses πρόπομα, (*Symp.* i. 6, 3,) which has elsewhere another meaning. Plutarch also says, *Symp.* viii. 6, 4: καὶ τὸν ἄριστον ἐδόκει τῷ ἀκρατίσματι ταῦτόν εἶναι. This may mean that the same meal which was formerly called ἄριστον after-

to adhere to any given hour. Suidas places it *περὶ ὥραν τρίτην*, his would be mid-way between sun-rise and noon, and at the *quinoxes* would be about nine o'clock. But we have various reasons for distrusting this account. For the time of *πλήθουσα γορὰ* chiefly embraces the fourth, fifth, and sixth hours, and this was the usual period for going to market—often to buy the materials for breakfast—and therefore the *ἄριστον* must be fixed nearer noon. This also agrees best with Aristoph. *Vesp.* 605—612, where the Heliast is spoken of as sitting down to the *ἄριστον* when the Court rises, which would hardly be the case so soon as the third hour. See Xenoph. *Oecon.* xi. 14, seq. down to *εἴτα ἰᾷριστῶ*. Cf. Plutarch, *Arat.* 6, 7. According to this, the *ἄριστον* would appear to have been the mid-day meal, answering to the Roman *prandium*; and this indeed Plutarch expressly states; *Symp.* viii. 6, 5: τὸ ἄριστον ἐκλήθη πρανδιον ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας. οἷον γὰρ τὸ δειλινόν. Cf. Ruhnk. *ad Tim.* p. 63. This meal consisted, in part at least, of hot dishes, and therefore often required the services of the cook. Antiphanes, ap. Athen. i. p. 11: *ἰριστον ἐν ὅσῳ ὁ μάγειρος ποιεῖ*.

The chief meal, as among the Romans, was the third, the *δειπνον*, though perhaps it was served somewhat later than the Roman *cæna*. See Aristoph. *Eccles.* 652:

σοὶ δὲ μελήσει,
ὅταν ᾖ δεκάπουν τὸ στοιχεῖον λιπαρὸν χωρεῖν ἐπὶ δειπνον.

Unfortunately our knowledge of the *γνώμων* is not sufficient to enable us accurately to ascertain the hour here intended. See Note 3 to Scene XII. That the meal in question was usually late, is plain from Lysias, *de Cæd. Erat.* p. 26: Σώστρατος ἦν μοι ἐπι-
*ηδίστος καὶ φίλος. τούτῳ ἡλίου δευκότος ἰόντι ἐξ ἀγροῦ ἀπήν-
τησα... καὶ ἐλθόντες οἴκαδε ὡς ἐμὲ ἀναβάντες εἰς τὸ ὑπερφῶν
ἰδειπνοῦμεν.* So too, in the passage just quoted from Plutarch, we read that Alexander dined *πρὸς ἐσπέραν βαθεῖαν*.

The Greeks did not call it a regular meal, if a person ate alone, without any company. See Plutarch, *Symp.* vii. p. 869: ἐπεὶ μόνος ἐδείπνησε, βεβρωκέναι, μὴ δεδειπνηκέναι σήμερον. Cf. Alexis, apud Athen. ii. p. 47:

'Ἐπὶν ἰδιώτην ἀνδρα μονοσιτοῦντ' ἴδης,
ἢ μὴ ποθοῦντ' ὥδας ποιητὴν καὶ μέλη,
τὸν μὲν ἰδιώτην τοῦ βίου τὸν ἡμῶν

THE MEALS.

[EXCURSUS I.]

ἀπολωλεκέναι νόμιζε, τὸν δὲ τῆς τέχνης
τὴν ἡμίσειαν. ζῶσι δ' ἀμφοτέροι μόλις.

Before proceeding to describe the details of one of these entertainments, it will be well to enumerate the various kinds of convivia, and the occasions which gave rise to them. In ancient times public or domestic sacrifices afforded the most frequent opportunities for banquets, and in after times this continued to be the case. See Antiph. *de Venef.* p. 612; Isæus, *de Epul.* *Hered.* p. 243. The public feasts were mostly δαῖτες, in the strict sense of the word, when each guest got his appportioned share of meat, and also bread, and even wine. Plutarch, *Symp.* p. 137: τὰ πλείστα τῶν δείπνων δαῖτες ἦσαν, ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις μερίδος ἀποκληρουμένης... ὅπερ νῦν γίνεται, κρέας προβαλόντα καὶ ἄρτον, ὥσπερ ἐκ φάτνης ἰδίας ἕκαστον ἐνώχαισθαι. See also *Ekkehard, Public Econ. of Athens*, p. 211. Perhaps this custom was not universal; indeed Plutarch mentions it as newly instituted in the new city, and he adds that it had displeased many. On the other hand, the μερίδες are mentioned as something usual. *Strabo, Alex.* 35; *Athen.* viii. p. 365. Festal days also gave occasion for these banquets, and not only

The Homeric *ἔρανος* (*Odys.* i. 225) is of similar significance; and at the time of Hesiod, at all events, such meals were usual. *Opp.* 722:

Μηδὲ πολυξείνου δαιτὸς δυσπέμφελοι εἶναι
ἐκ κοινοῦ. πλείστη δὲ χάρις, δαπάνη τ' ὀλιγίστη.

See also Eustath. *ad Il.* xvi. 784; *ad Odys.* i. 225; Athen. viii. pp. 362, 365. In these passages, however, the second kind of entertainment may perhaps be meant, where each brought his share of the provisions with him; a custom which is alluded to by Xenophon, *Mom.* iii. 14, 1: 'Οπότε δὲ τῶν ξυνιόντων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον οἱ μὲν μικρὸν ὄψον, οἱ δὲ πολὺ φέροιεν, ἐκέλευεν ὁ Σωκράτης τὸν παῖδα τὸ μικρὸν ἢ εἰς τὸ κοινὸν τιθέναι, ἢ διανέμειν ἐκάστῳ τὸ μέρος, κ.τ.λ. This was also called a δεῖπνον ἀπὸ σφυρίδου, from the food being brought in baskets. Athen. viii. p. 365: οἶδαςι δὲ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ τὰ νῦν καλούμενα ἀπὸ σφυρίδου δεῖπνα. Cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1138:

τὸ δεῖπνον, ὦ παῖ, δῆσον ἐκ τῆς κίστιδος.

Pic-nic parties were often made up to dine in the country, especially on the sea-shore. Plutarch, *Symp.* iv. 4: Τί δ' οἱ πολλοὶ βούλονται, πρὸς θεῶν, ὕταν ἡδέως γενέσθαι παρακαλοῦντες ἀλλήλους, λέγωσι, Σήμερον ἀκτάσωμεν, οὐχὶ τὸ παρ' ἅκτῃ δεῖπνον ἡδιστον ἀποφαίνουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐστίν; οὐ διὰ τὰ κύματα καὶ τὰς ψηφίδας... ἀλλ' ὡς ἰχθυοὶ ἀφθόνου καὶ νεαροῦ τὴν παράλιον τράπεζαν ἐμποροῦσαν.

We now come to entertainments given at one person's private expense. The invitations were often given on the same day, and by the host in person, who sought out, in the market-place or the gymnasium, those whom he desired to invite. A lively picture of this free and easy custom may be found at the commencement of Plato's *Symposium*, p. 175: 'Ω Ἀριστόδημε, εἰς καλὸν ἤκεις, ὅπως συνδειπνήσῃς· εἰ δ' ἄλλου τινὸς ἕνεκα ἦλθες, εἰσαυθὺς ἀναβαλοῦ. ὡς καὶ χθὲς ζητῶν σε, ἵνα καλέσαιμι, οὐχ οἷός τ' ἦν ἰδεῖν. At a later period greater formality was observed; for instance, Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 1, says that Periander sent a carriage for each of his guests, and goes on to relate that the Sybarites invited women to banquets a year beforehand, that they might have their toilets in perfect readiness. Cf. Athen. xii. p. 521.

It was not thought a breach of good manners to bring to a friend's house an uninvited guest, *ἄκλητος, αὐτόματος*. Thus in

Symposion, p. 174, Socrates brings Aristodemos with him; Alcibiades drops in, and afterwards κωμασταὶ πολλοὶ Socrates, who was welcome everywhere, was called θυρεπανόκιος. Laert. vi. 86; and Lucian says of Demonax: ἄκλητος ὅχοι παριῶν οἰκίαν ἐδείπνει. *Demon.* 63. But these were distinction, whom every one was proud of having for

Still it was very usual for persons to come αὐτεπάγγελ- Lucian, *Lexiph.* 9; *Conv. s. Lapith.* 12. How politely they behaved on such occasions we see from the reception Agaves Aristodemos. Plutarch has devoted a whole chapter to the discussion of the propriety of a guest's bringing an invited person with him; *Symp.* vii. 6: Τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπικλήτων ἄλλοι νῦν σκιάς καλοῦσιν, οὐ κεκλημένους αὐτούς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἡσυχίων ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀγομένους ἐξητεῖτο, πόθεν ἔσχε τὴν

He makes the custom originate with Socrates, the instance in Plato's *Symposion* being probably the earliest with which he was acquainted. It may be easily believed that parasites as Philippos in Xenophon's *Symposion*, and, in after-times, the notorious sophists, should have often abused this pri-

attention was paid to this point, as we clearly see from Lucian, *de Merc. Cond.* 14: σὺ δ' ἐσθῆτα καθαρὰν προχειρισάμενος καὶ σεαντὸν ὡς κοσμιώτατα σχηματίσαι, λουσάμενος ἤκει, δεδιὼς μὴ πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀφίκαιο. ἀπειρόκαλον γὰρ, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ὕστατον ἤκει φορτικόν. Cf. Schol. ad Theocr. vii. 24. It was not usual to wait for the defaulters, but the meal was commenced without them; and this we read was the case at Agathon's, who was the pink of politeness. See Plato, *Symp.* p. 175.

In the historic period the practice was to recline at meals, though in the heroic ages a sitting posture was customary; but it is not known at what time the change took place. From Aristoph. *Equit.* 1163, it might perhaps be conjectured that the alteration was contemporaneous with the disuse of the Ionic chiton; and in a fragment of Phocylides we have:

Χρὴ δ' ἐν συμποσίῳ κυλίκων περιιissoμενάων
ἡδέα κωτῶλλοντα καθήμενον οἰνοποτάζειν.

But at Sparta the change seems to have been effected before the Persian wars. Whether it was before Alcman's time, as Müller affirms, is at least doubtful. The assertion is certainly untenable, if its only foundation is the fragment of Alcman which has been preserved by Athenæus, iii. p. 111:

κλίνει μὲν ἐπτά καὶ τόσαι τράπεσσαι.

This isolated expression of an erotic poet cannot be taken as a proof of the ordinary Spartan custom. In Crete, only, the old custom remained unchanged. See Müller's *Dorians*. Though for eating we may think it inconvenient, yet for drinking a recumbent posture is at all events well suited. See Plutarch, *Symp.* vii. 10: ὥσπερ ἡ κλίνη τοῖς πίνουσι τῆς καθέδρας ἀμείνων, ὅτι τὸ σῶμα κατέχει καὶ ἀπολύει κινήσεως ἀπάσης. Cf. Athen. x. p. 428. Females and boys always sat, and the same is the case with the rustic folks described by Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* vii. p. 243. It is so also in the antiques, and when recumbent females occur they are always hetærae. See the following woodcuts; also Winkelm. *Monum. ined.* 200; and Alciphron. *Epist.* i. 39. An anomaly is presented by an Etruscan painting, in Gerhard, *Pittura Tarquiniensi*, where on each κλίνη a man and a modestly-dressed female recline together.

The couches, and their arrangement, were much the same as at Rome. See Gallus, p. 471. There was a difference, how-

in the manner in which the guests were distributed on reclining couches. Among the Greeks only two persons reclined on a couch, instead of three; as appears from Plato, *Symp.* p. 198, where Agathon says: Σὺ δ', Ἀριστόδημε, παρ' Ἐρυξίμαχον κλίνου: and then adds: δένρο, Σώκρατες, παρ' ἐμὲ κατὰκεισο. Afterwards, when Alcibiades comes in, and finds all the seats occupied, Agathon places him between himself and Socrates, and thus makes an exception to the general rule. So Herodotus, ix. 16, in the account of the feast given by Attaginos to fifty Persians and the same number of Greeks, says: καὶ σφῶν οὐ χωρὶς ἑκατέρου κλίνειν, Πέρσῃ τε καὶ Θηβαῖον ἐν κλίνῃ ἑκάστη. ὥς δὲ ἀπὸ δείπνου, διαπινόντων τὸν Πέρσῃ τὸν ὁμόκλινον Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαι εἶρεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. In works of art the same rule is observed, though three, or even more, occasionally recline on the same couch. See Millin, *Peint. d. Vas. Gr.* i. pl. 38, 58, &c. See also the wood-cuts in this and the following Excursus. Agathon, it seems, appointed the place of each guest; and this was mostly, if not always, the case. Plutarch, who devotes



A frequently occurring representation of Dionysos entering the house of Icarus; from a terracotta. (*Terracottas in the British Mus.* pl. 25.) The act of ablution is being performed by a Satyr; we may also notice the sitting posture of Erigone, with her feet resting on a footstool; also the *περίστρωμα* of the couch, which reaches to the ground, and has a broad border either woven or embroidered on it; and lastly the *εἰσόδος* with which the wall is hung.

Even in Phocion's time, people were so extravagant as to use wine and perfumed essences, instead of water. Plutarch, *Phoc.* 20: Ὅτι δ' ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ἄλλην τε σοβαρὰν εὔρα παρασκευήν, καὶ ποδοπιπτήρας οἴνου δι' ἀρωμάτων προσφερομένους τοῖς εἰσιούσι, &c. &c.

We see from numberless antiques that the posture used, the *σχῆμα τῆς κατακλίσεως*, (Plutarch, *Symp.* v. 6,) was with the left arm resting on the cushion behind, *προσκεφάλαιον*, the right hand being thus left free. This is called by Lucian *ἐπ' ἀγκῶνος δεῖπνεῖν*. *Lexiph.* 6. A passage in Aristoph. *Vesp.* 1210, amusingly illustrates this stage of the repast:

- Α. πῶς οὖν κατακλίνω, φράζ' ἀνύσας. ΒΔΕΛ. εὐσχημόνως.
 Α. αἰδὼ κελεύεις κατακλιθῆναι; ΒΔΕΛ. μηδαμῶς.
 Α. πῶς δαί; ΒΔΕΛ. τὰ γόνατ' ἔκτεινε, καὶ γυμναστικῶς
 ὑγρὸν χύτλασον σεαυτὸν ἐν τοῖς στρώμασιν.
 ἔπειτ' ἐπαίνεσόν τι τῶν χαλκωμάτων
 ὀροφὴν θέασαι· κρεκάδι' αὐλῆς θαύμασον·
 ὕδωρ κατὰ χειρὸς· τὰς τραπέζας εἰσφέρειν·
 δειπνοῦμεν· ἀπονενίμμεθ'· ἤδη σπένδομεν.

the dishes were brought in, slaves handed round water (Homeric χέρνιψ) for washing the hands, κατὰ χειρὸς ἐδόθη. apud Athen. ii. p. 60. Hence Philoxenos the parasite, in reference as to which was the best water, wittily decided that it was κατὰ χειρὸς. Athen. iv. p. 156.

Nothing in the shape of knives and forks being in use, it was therefore indispensable for the hands to be again washed at the conclusion of the meal. See *Gallus*, p. 477. In eating solid food fingers only were used. See the passage of Plutarch quoted in Excursus on *Education*, p. 236. So too mention is made of persons whose hands were particularly callous, or who wore gloves to enable them to take the food quite hot. Thus Chrysip-

the *cochlear* in *Gallus*, p. 478. These *μυστίλαι*, or *κοῖλα μύστρα*, were of metal: golden ones are mentioned by Athenæus, iii. p. 126. Often, however, a hollow piece of bread served as a substitute. See Aristoph. *Equites*, 1167, where the sausage-seller presents the Demos with such an one. Also Suidas: *μυστίλην. ψωμόν. κοῖλον ἄρτον, ὃν ἐποίουν, ἵνα ζῶμόν δι' αὐτοῦ ροφῶσι*. Cf. Eustath. *ad Odys.* iii. 457.

Neither table-cloths nor table-napkins were used. The *χειρόμακτρον* was merely a towel, which was handed round when they washed their hands. Aristoph. *apud Athen.* ix. p. 410:

*φέρει, παῖ, ταχέως κατὰ χειρὸν ὕδωρ,
παράπεμπε τὸ χειρόμακτρον.*

To cleanse the hands during the meal, the crumb of bread was used, which was kneaded to a dough (*ἀπομάττεσθαι, ἀπομαγδαλία*). Poll. vi. 93: *τὸ δὲ ἐκμαγεῖον καὶ χειρόμακτρον ἂν προσείποις. οἱ δὲ πάλαι ταῖς καλουμέναις ἀπομαγδαλίαις ἐχρῶντο, αἱ ἦσαν τὸ ἐν τῇ ἄρτι μαλακὸν καὶ σταιτῶδες, εἰς ὃ ἀποψησάμενοι τοῖς κυσίν αὐτὸ παρέβαλλον*. Or, according to the lexicographer Pausanias, a kind of dough was specially prepared for this purpose; Eustath. *ad Odys.* xix. 92: *Πανσανίας δὲ φησιν, ὅτι ἀπομαγδαλιά σταις, ὃ ἔφερον ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, εἰς ὃ τὰς χεῖρας ἀποματτόμενοι, εἶτα κυσὶν ἔβαλλον*. Athenæus, iv. p. 148, following Harmodios, would seem to confine this usage to Phigalia; but this is a mistake, for *ἀπομαγδαλῖαι* are mentioned by Aristophanes, *Equit.* 414, and 819; which latter passage proves that they were not restricted to the cook, as the Scholiast affirms. Lucian, *de Merc. Cond.* 15, speaks of a later, and indeed a Roman custom. With him *χειρόμακτρον τιθέμενον*, (*manete sternere*) is to be understood of a table-cloth.

We are told so little about the attendance, at least by the authors of the better period, that it is even doubtful whether the guests brought with them their own slaves, or not. In Plato's *Symposium*, p. 212, Alcibiades is certainly accompanied by *ἀκόλουθοι*: but whether they stopped to wait on him is not said, though Agathon's slaves would seem to have discharged all the offices required. Later writers unequivocally mention slaves who came with, and stood behind, their masters. See Lucian, *Hermot.* 11: *παραλαβὼν τὰ κρέα, ὅποσα τῇ παιδὶ κατόπιν ἐστῶτι παρέδωκε*. And at the banquet of Aristænetos, described by Lucian,

seu Lapith. 15, 11, and 36, each guest was attended by a servant, as well as by one of the host's domestics. Cf. *iv.* p. 128.

In an expression of Agathon's, we see that at that period the custom to entrust to a slave the superintendence of the arrangements, and of the rest of the slaves. He says: ἀλλ' οἱ παῖδες, τοὺς ἄλλους ἐστιᾶτε. πάντως παρατίθετε ὅ, τι ἂν ᾔλησθε, ἐπειδὴν τις ὑμῖν μὴ ἐφ'esτήκη, ὃ ἐγὼ οὐδ' ἐπαύωμαι. νῦν οὖν νομίζοντες, καὶ ἐμὲ ὑφ' ὑμῶν κεκλησθαι ἐπὶ δεῖπνον, σδε τοὺς ἄλλους, θεραπεύετε, ἵνα ὑμᾶς ἐπαινώμεν. Plato, *p.* 175. This ἐφ'esτηκὼς is the τραπέζοποιός of Athenæus, *p.* 70, and nearly corresponded to the Roman *structor*. See *p.* 13, and *iii.* 41: ὁ δὲ πάντων τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν ἐπιμενεῖς, τραπέζοποιός. Athenæus, *ii.* p. 49, also alludes to a custom of presenting each guest, before the meal commenced, with a portion of fare, γραμματίδιον. This, however, could scarcely have been a universal practice, though it may have been adopted for the occasion at extensive entertainments.

Before proceeding to discuss the materials of one of these large

μάζα continued to be the food of the lower classes till a later period: Lucian, *Tim.* 56; *Navig.* 46. Wheaten-flour, ἄλευρα, was used in making it, as well as the ἄλφιτα, which was of barley. Plato, *de Republ.* ii. p. 372: θρέψονται δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῶν κριθῶν ἄλφιτα σκευαζόμενοι, ἐκ δὲ τῶν πυρῶν ἄλευρα; τὰ μὲν πέψαντες, τὰ δὲ μάζαντες; μάζας γενναίας καὶ ἄρτους ἐπὶ κάλαμόν τινα παραβαλλόμενοι, ἢ φύλλα καθαρά κατακλινέσθαι...εὐωχῆσονται αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὰ παιδία;

After the μάζα comes bread, which was sometimes homebaked, and made of wheat or barley meal, but was more frequently purchased in the market of the ἄρτοπωλαιοι or ἄρτοπωλίδες. See *Vespr.* According to Athenæus, iii. p. 109, where the various kinds are discussed at great length, the bread of Athens was reputed to be the best.

Other simple articles of diet were green vegetables, such as μαλάχη, mallow, (πρώτη τροφή, Plutarch, *Sept. Sap. Conv.* 14,) θρίδαξ, salad or lettuce, ράφανος, cabbage; also κύαμοι, beans, φακαῖ, linseed, θέρμοι, lupines. Besides these, herbs of sundry sorts, onions and leeks, κρόμμον, βολβός, σκόροδον, were in great repute. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 760; Xenoph. *Symp.* iv. 7; Lucian, *Tim.* 56; *Lexiph.* 10.

With regard to butchers' meat, lamb, pork, and goats' flesh seem to have been preferred. Sausages too, ἀλλᾶντες, and χορδαί, were very common. See Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1119. That black-puddings were also in request, appears from Aristoph. *Equit.* 208:

ὁ δράκων γάρ ἐστι μακρόν, ὁ δ' ἀλλᾶς αὐ μακρόν.
εἰθ' αἱματοπώτης ἐστὶν ὃ τ' ἀλλᾶς χεὶ δράκων.

Cf. Sophilos, ap. Athen. iii. p. 125:

χορδὴν τιναῖ αἱματῖτην αὐτῷ σκευάσαι
ἐκέλευσε ταυτιῇ ἐμέ.

But fish, especially in towns near the sea, was preferred to everything else. To this dish the word ὄψον was applied *par excellence*. Athen. vii. p. 276: Εἰκότως πάντων τῶν προσοψημάτων ὄψων καλουμένων ἐξενίκησεν ὁ ἰχθὺς διὰ τὴν ἐξαίρετον ἐδωδὴν μόνος οὕτως καλεῖσθαι, διὰ τοὺς ἐπιμανῶς ἐσσηκώτας πρὸς ταύτην τὴν ἐδωδὴν. Cf. Plutarch, *Symp.* iv. 4, 2. It is a remarkable fact, to which Plato calls attention, that Homer, though he talks of catching fish, never mentions them in any way as an article of food. Plato, *de Republ.* iii. p. 404; so also Plutarch,

the other for the native cook. Athen. xiv. p. 659: ἐκάλουν δ' οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν μὲν πολιτικὸν μάγειρον Μαίσωνα, τὸν δ' ἐκτόπιον Τέττιγα. Cf. Poll. iv. 148. And Antiphanes, ap. Athen. i. p. 27, praises ἐξ Ἡλίδος μάγειρος. But the most celebrated of all seem to have been those of Sicily. Plato, *de Republ.* iii. p. 404: Σικελὴν ποικιλίαν ὄψων. There were also books treating of the art of cookery. Plato, *Gorg.* p. 518: Μίθαικος ὁ τὴν ὀψοποιῖαν ξυγγραφεὺς τὴν Σικελικὴν. Philoxenos of Cythera composed a poem, entitled Δείπνον, which contained directions for cooking a large banquet; this is alluded to by the comedian Plato, ap. Athen. i. p. 5, in the words, Φιλοξένου καινὴ τις ὀψαρτυσία. Callimachos also, as we are told by Athenæus, xiv. p. 643, mentions πλακοντοποικὰ συγγράμματα by four different authors. But the most renowned work of the kind was the Gasterology of Archestratos, which Chrysippos called the metropolis of the epicurean philosophy. Athen. iii. p. 104: εἰκότως ἂν ἐπαινέσειε τὸν καλὸν Χρῦσιππον, κατιδόντα ἀκριβῶς τὴν Ἐπικούρου φύσιν, καὶ εἰπόντα, μητρόπολιν εἶναι τῆς φιλοσοφίας αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀρχεστράτου γαστρολογίαν, ἣν πάντες οἱ τῶν φιλοσόφων γαστρίμαργοι θεογονίαν παρὰ αὐτῶν εἶναι λέγουσι τὴν καλὴν ταύτην ἐποποιῖαν.

A tediously minute account of the πανοῦργα ὀψάρια καὶ ὑποτρίμματα is given by Athenæus; and there are also numerous notices in Aristophanes; e. g. *Acharn.* 873, 969, 1042, 1090; *Vesp.* 493, 508, etc.

Here, however, we have only space for a few general remarks on a banquet on a large scale. In the first place, the question arises, whether the Greeks commenced with a *propulsio* or *gustus* like the Romans. At the time here principally referred to, namely, before the Roman conquest, this was probably not the case; at all events, these preliminaries did not take the shape of a regular course. In the time of later writers, such as Plutarch, (*Symp.* viii. 9, 3,) and Athenæus, (ii. pp. 58—64,) it had become usual, and is denoted by the word πρόπομα. Athenæus also quotes Phylarchos: Φύλαρχος...φησὶν οὕτως, εἰ μνήμης εὐτυχῶ πρόπομά τι πρὸ τοῦ δείπνου περιεφέρετο καθὼς εἰσθεὶ τὸ πρῶτον. But this πρόπομα has nothing in common with the Roman *gustus*; it was only a draught preceding the meal. Still it is not to be denied that certain things were taken as a whet to the appetite. See Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1112:

THE MEALS.

[EXCURSUS I.]

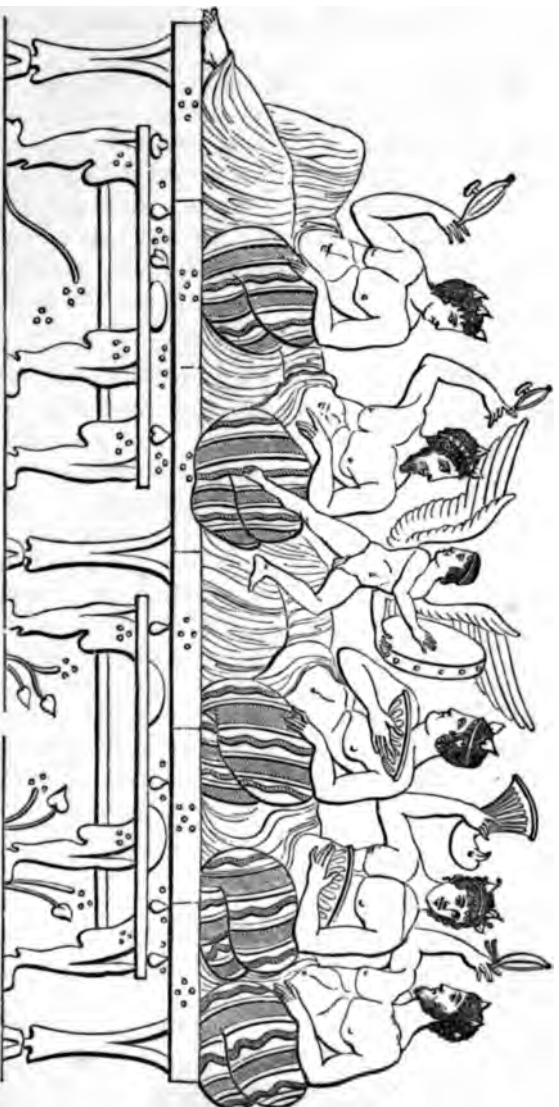
ἀλλ' ἡ πρὸ δείπνου τὴν μίμαρκον κατέδομαι.

After period the ψυχραὶ τράπεζαι, as Plutarch calls them, for this purpose; they consisted of oysters and other shell-fish and raw vegetables, as salad and so forth. At an earlier period these were brought on at the conclusion of the meal. Philoxen. ii. p. 101.

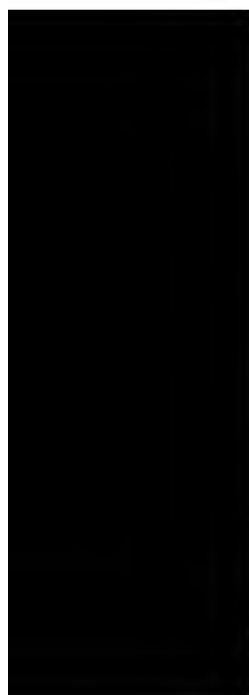
It is uncertain whether, as among the Romans, the viands were brought in upon a tray, and set on a table standing in the centre of the κλῖναι, or whether, as in Homer, every guest, or at least every κλίνη, had a separate table. The latter is more probable, from the universal occurrence of the phrases, εἰσφέρειν ἑαυτοῖς τὰς τραπέζας: and that this refers not to the viands but to the tables themselves, is evident from a fragment of Δειπνον of Philoxenos, apud Athen. iv. p. 146:

Εἰς δ' ἔφερον διπλοὶ παῖδες λιπαρῶπι τράπεζαν
ἄμμι, ἑτέραν δ' ἕτεροι,
ἄλλοι δ' ἑτέραν,
μέχρι οὐ πλήρωσαν οἶκον.

Antiphanes, ap. Id. ii. p. 60. The custom in Arcadia appears



A vase-painting of a Symposium, from Millin, *Plat.*, d. Vas. ii. pl. 88. Three young and two older men are on a *salon*, resting the left arm on the striped *epanephoros* (over-shoulder). Before the *salon* stand two tables. Three of the men hold aloft the *ekphros*, with the forefinger through the handle. The fourth holds a phiale, and the fifth a rhyton also. In the middle Corymbus beats the tympanum.



eels are particularly celebrated, (Aristoph. *Acharn.* 879; *Pax*, 1005,) formed of course the staple dishes, but hares, (Aristoph. *passim*,) κίχλαι, field-fares, and many other things, were favourite delicacies.

When all had eaten enough, the tables were removed, which was called αἶρειν, ἀπαίρειν, ἐκφέρειν, βαστάζειν τὰς τραπέζας. The floor, on which bones, fruit-shells, &c. had been thrown, was then swept, and water was handed round for the guests to wash their hands, ἀπονίψασθαι, whereupon the meal, δειπνον, properly so called, was closed with a libation. Chaplets and ointments were then usually, though not invariably, handed round. So a fragment of Menander (Mein. p. 94):

Εἰτ' εὐθὺς οὕτω τὰς τραπέζας αἶρετε
μύρα, στεφάνους ἐτοίμασον, σπονδάς ποιεῖ.

See also Plato, *Com. ap. Athen.* xv. p. 665, and Philyllos, *ap. Id.* ix. p. 408. A distinction between the expressions κατὰ χειρὸς and ἀπονίψασθαι is drawn by the grammarian Aristophanes, *apud Athen.* ix. p. 408: παρα γὰρ τοῖς παλαιοῖς τὸ μὲν πρὸ ἁρίστου καὶ δειπνον λέγεσθαι κατὰ χειρὸς, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τοῦτ' ἀπονίψασθαι. Cf. Pollux, vi. 92: καὶ νίψασθαι μὲν τὸ πρὸ τῆς τροφῆς· ἀπονίψασθαι δὲ τὸ μετὰ τὴν τροφήν. This usage of the words appears, however, from other passages, not to have been observed. See Philoxenos, *ap. Athen.* iv. 147; and Plato, *Symp.* p. 175. Along with the water, σμῆγμα or σμήμα, which supplied the place of soap, was usually handed round, and, as with us, it was often scented. Hence εὐώδης γῆ, and σμήματα ἱρινόμικτα, which occur in Philoxenos and Antiphanes, *ap. Athen.* ix. p. 409.

The meal was concluded by the σπονδαί, or libation 'to the good genius.' Xenoph. *Symp.* 2, 1; Plato, *Symp.* p. 176; Diod. Sic. iv. 3: φασὶν ἐπὶ τῶν δειπνων, ὅταν ἄκρατος οἶνος ἰδῶται πᾶσιν, ἐπιλέγειν 'ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος' ὅταν δὲ μετὰ τὸ δειπνον διδῶται κεκραμένος ὕδατι 'Διὸς Σωτῆρος' ἐπιφωνεῖν. Philochoros, *ap. Athen.* ii. p. 38: Καὶ θεσμόν ἔθετο (Ἀμφικτύων) προσφέρεισθαι μετὰ τὰ σῖτα ἄκρατον μόνον ὕσον γεύσασθαι, δείγμα ἧς δυνάμεως τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἤδη κεκραμένον ὀπόσιν ἕκαστος βούλεται· προσεπιλέγειν δὲ τούτῳ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς Σωτῆρος ὄνομα. Instead of the formula, ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, it was also customary to say 'ὑγείας,' and the goblet out of which this libation was made, was called μετάνικτρον, or μετανικτρὶς, be-

was used μετὰ τὸ ἀπονίψασθαι. See the passages cited in *Aux.* vi. 31, and by Athenæus, xi. p. 488; xv. p. 693. He is the only author who says this ceremony took place to the sound of the flute. *Plut. Sept. Sap. Con.* 5; *Symp.* vii. 8, *Plato, Symp.* p. 176.

After libation being concluded, the πότος, συμπόσιον, or κῶμος, commenced. *Plato, Symp.* p. 176: σπονδὰς σφᾶς ποιήσαντες ἅσαντας τὸν θεὸν . . . τρέπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν πότον. The δέυτεραι τράπεζαι, was now served up. In earlier times consisted merely of olives, figs, nuts, &c. which were invariably accompanied by salt, either pure or mixed with spice, to heighten the flavour of the wine, as well as to induce thirst. *Plato, Symp.* iv. 4, 3: οὐ μόνον τοίνυν πρὸς τροφήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ποτὸν ὄψον εἰσὶν οἱ ἅλας. Cf. *Plaut. Curc.* iv. 4, 5; *ibid.* i. 3, 23: *nunquam delinget salem*. The expression, *lingere salem*, (ἅλα λείχειν, *Diog. Laer.* vi. 57,) shews how it was used.

So also the *concha salis puri*, *Hor. Sat.* i. 3, 14; and *Od.* xiv. 14. But the Greek authors are more explicit respecting the use of salt: thus *Athen.* ix. p. 366: καὶ ἅλας δὲ ἡδυσμένους ὀρεῖται.

if sweetmeats had been introduced, the mention of *ἄλεις* seldom occurs; yet in the account which Anaxandrides gives of the wedding feast of Iphicrates, *ἄλεις* are introduced along with *σκοῖον*, *κρόμνον* and *σίλφιον*. At this later period the *δευτέραι τράπεζαι* had a variety of names, as *ἐπιδόρπια*, *ἐπιδειπνα*, *ἐπιφορήματα*, *ἐπαίκλια*, (Eustath. *ad Il.* xviii. 245,) *τὸ ἐντελὲς δεῖπνον*, (Lucian, *Conv. s. Lapith.* 38,) *νωγαλεύματα*, &c. But the names which most frequently occur are *δευτέραι τράπεζαι* and *τραγήματα*. See the fragment of Aristotle's treatise *περὶ μέθης*, apud Athen. xiv. p. 641: *Τὸ μὲν οὖν ὅλον διαφέρειν τράγημα βρώματος ὁμιστέον ὅσον ἔδεσμα τρωγαλίου. τοῦτο γὰρ πάτριον τοῦνομα τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, ἐπεὶ ἐν τραγήμασι τὰ βρώματα παρατίθενται. διόπερ οὐ κακῶς ἔοικεν εἰπεῖν ὁ πρῶτος δευτέραν προσαγορεύσας τράγεζαν. ὄντως γὰρ ἐπιδόρπισμός τις ὁ τραγηματισμός ἐστί, καὶ δεῖπνον ἕτερον παρατίθεται τραγήματα.* Here we should probably read, *ἐπεὶ ἐν τραγήμασι καὶ βρώματα παρατίθενται.* In Aristotle's time various *ἔδέσματα*—properly so called—as hares, larks, and game of different sorts, were brought in along with the dessert. See Athen. iii. p. 101, and xiv. p. 642.

The chief object of the dessert, besides the pleasure to the palate which its dainties afforded, was to keep up the desire of drinking. See Aristot. *Probl.* xxii. 6: *Διὰ τί τὰ τραγήματα δεστέον; ἢ ἕνεκα τοῦ πιεῖν ἱκανόν; οὐ γὰρ μόνον ποτέον τῆς ἰψῆς χάριν τῆς ἐκ τοῖς σιτίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τὸ σιτίον.* Cheese was usually introduced, and the most celebrated was that of Sicily. See the fragments of Antiphanes and Hermippos, apud Athen. i. p. 27, and of Philemon, ap. Id. xiv. p. 658. Aristophanes, too, frequently alludes to it. That which came from Fromileia in Achaia was also in high repute, as we see from the last-named passage in Athenæus. Dried figs, *ισχάδες*, were also eaten, and although those of Attica were very fine-flavoured, gourmands preferred those from Rhodes. Hermippos, ap. Athen. . p. 27. Olives also were introduced, especially those that had ripened on the tree and become quite shrivelled (*ῥυσοὶ καὶ ὀρυπερεῖς*); dates from Syria and Egypt, for the fruit of the Grecian palm was not eatable (Plutarch, *Symp.* viii. 4, 1); nuts, *κάρνα*, a term which comprehended all *ἀκρόδρυα*, and therefore almonds and chestnuts (*ὀπτά κάρνα*, Aristot. *Probl.* xxii. 7); also fresh

fruit of course. On this subject consult the second and third books of Athenæus, *passim*.

Cakes also, for which, as aforesaid, Athens was renowned, were a principal feature of the dessert. See Thucyd. i. 126: *χάρια θύματα*. Athenæus, in his third and fourteenth books, mentions several sorts, differing in materials and shape, many of which may appertain to the Roman era. The most usual was round, and hence the seed of the mallow was called *πλακουῦς*. Athen. ii. p. 58: *Φανίας δὲ ἐν τοῖς φυτικοῖς φησι, τῆς ἐν μαλάχῃς ὁ σπερματικὸς τύπος καλεῖται πλακοῦς, ἐμπερήνς ὢν*. Cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1125: *πλακοῦντος τυρόνωτος κύκλος*.

EXCURSUS II. TO SCENE VI.

THE SYMPOSIA.

THE Roman *comissatio* was quite independent of the *cœna*, as has been shewn in *Gallus*, p. 125, note, and in like manner *συνπόσιον* or *πότος* of the Greeks must not be confounded with the *δείπνον*. It is true the *δείπνον* was usually followed by *ίτος*, as is the case in many instances already cited; yet the persons are changed, and fresh personages frequently enter on the scene.

During the meal no wine was brought on table, and we consider as an exception to the rule the account in *Athenæus*, 125: *ὅτι δ' ἔπινον καὶ γλυκὺν οἶνον μεταξὺ ἐσθίοντες*, "Ἀλέξανδρος ἐν Δρωπιδῇ."

Εἰσῆλθεν ἡ ταῖρα φέρουσα τὸν γλυκὺν
ἐν ἀργυρῇ ποτηρίῳ πετάχυν τινί, κ.τ.λ.

Events, unmixed wine was not drunk till after the libation. *Plutarch, Symp. viii. 9, 3.*

These symposia were enlivened by varied conversation, music, dancing, and other arts, together with games and diversions of all sorts. It is this mirthful and joyous tone that gives the zest to the graceful narrative of *Xenophon*, the vivid freshness and truthfulness of which at once convince us that it is taken from real life. And not less interesting is the story of *Plato*, so full of soul and imagination, and whose matter and form tempt us to forget that a discussion so artfully planned never have been improvised. It was an unhappy thought for *Plutarch's*—if indeed the work be his—to range beside these pieces the tedious disputation of his seven sages, whose barren subtleties are only exceeded by the tasteless absurdities of the *Deipnosophists* in *Athenæus*. Of quite a different order is *Plato's* Lapithian feast, which though, according to his wont, somewhat caricatured, yet teems with pleasant satire and humorous strokes of character. The *dramatis personæ* in *Xenophon's* *Symposium* are, it is true, of so highly intellectual a cast, that we cannot take their conversation to represent the average tone of an ordinary convivial meeting; yet, with some modifications, these

tions will serve as valuable sketches to aid us in the construction of a more unpretending picture.

Greeks, besides wine, οἶνος ἀμπέλινος, knew of no other except water. It is true that Diodorus Siculus, iv. 2, relates that Dionysos invented a drink from barley: εὐρέϊν δ' αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς κριθῆς κατασκευαζόμενον πόμα τὸ προσαγορευόμενον ἐρίων ζύθος, οὐ πολὺ δὲ λειπόμενον τῆς περὶ τὸν οἶνον

The names βρύτος and πίνος are applied to this by Euripides, *ad Il.* xi. 637; xxii. 283; and this mead-like drink was very common in Egypt (see Herodot. ii. 77), as was the palm-drink in the palm-regions of Asia (Herodot. i. 193, 194); but there is no ground for going so far as to lead us to suppose that such liquors were ever introduced into Greece; and indeed the abundance of the more generous wine rendered any substitute unnecessary. Wine therefore was the ordinary drink of all, even of slaves and journeymen, and what they got was mostly sorry stuff. See Demosth. *adv. Lept.* 933: τό, τε οἰνάριον τὸ Κῶνον, ὀγδοήκοντα στάμνοι ἐξέχουσι οἶνον, καὶ τὸ τάριχος ἀνθρώπων τινὲς γεωργῶν παρεκομίσθη πλοίῳ. . . τοῖς ἐργάταις τοῖς περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν χρῆσθαι

the excellences of the different growths, very little is known ; and the Greeks were by no means such connoisseurs in this respect as the Romans. Wine was bought from samples, as we see from Lucian, *Hermot.* 58 ; Eurip. *Cycl.* 149 ; but provided it suited their taste, people were not very particular as to what hill or district it came from. In early times the general name οἶνος was ordinarily used. Demosthenes, *adv. Lacr.* p. 935, enumerates a few of the chief districts where it was grown : πᾶν γὰρ δήπου τούναρ ἐν εἰς τὸν Πόντον οἶνος εἰσάγεται ἐκ τῶν τόπων τῶν περὶ ἧς, ἐκ Πεπαρήθου καὶ Κῷ, καὶ Θάσιος καὶ Μενδαῖος. If we add to the wines here mentioned those of Chios, Lesbos, Naxos, and the Πράμνιος, the names of the more celebrated sorts are exhausted. A few others are mentioned by Strabo, xiv. 1, 15, 47 ; and Athen. i. p. 28, seq. Chian wine, probably, was the most costly, as appears from the defence of Demetrius before the Areopagus ; Athen. iv. p. 167 : Ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν, εἶπεν, ἐλευθερίως ζῶ. καὶ γὰρ εἰραν ἔχω τὴν καλλίστην καὶ ἀδικῶ οὐδένα, καὶ πίνω Χίον οἶνον. The Pramnian, on the other hand, which was famous in Homer's time, was not liked at Athens, because it was harsh, ἀνέηρος. Athen. i. p. 30 : οἷω Ἀριστοφάνης οὐχ ἤδесθαι Ἀθηναίους φησὶ λέγων, τὸν Ἀθηναίων δῆμον οὔτε ποιηταῖς ἤδесθαι ληροῖς καὶ ἀστεμφέσιν οὔτε Πραμνίοις σκληροῖς οἶνοις συνάσσει τὰς ὀφρῦς τε καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν, ἀλλ' ἀνθοσμῖα καὶ πέπονι παροσταγεῖ. Aristophanes frequently refers to the Thasian wine. No mention is made, in early times, of Italian wines ; though it is probable that in the palmy days of the Italian and Sicilian cities the growth was cultivated, and the produce shipped to Greece, as was the case with the Sicilian cheese and other articles for consumption. Theopompos, ap. Athen. i. p. 26, appears well acquainted with them, and mentions their individual peculiarities ; and in Lucian, *Navig.* 13, the person who dreams that he is rich, determines for the future to have nothing but wine ἐξ Ἰταλίας on his table. Nevertheless, Pollux, vi. 16, says : πῶ γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν Ἰταλιώτην ἀκριβῶς ἤδесαν. The colours of the wines were red, μέλας, white, and yellow. Athen. i. p. 32 : ἐν οἷων ὁ μὲν λευκός, ὁ δὲ κίρρος, ὁ δὲ μέλας. See *Gallus*, p. 491. The red is said to have been grown first in Chios ; Athen. i. p. 11 : Θεόπομπος δὲ φησι, παρὰ Χίοις πρώτοις γεένεσθαι τὸν μέλανα οἶνον. . . . ὁ δὲ λευκός οἶνος ἀσθενὴς καὶ λεπτός. ὁ δὲ κίρρος πέττει οὐκ, ξηραντικός ὢν.

ferent sorts were occasionally mixed together. See Theophrastus, apud Athen. i. p. 32; Plutarch, *Symp.* iv. 1, 2. The use of sea-water to wine is first mentioned by Dioscor. v. 27; Plin. *Quæst. Nat.* 10; Athen. i. p. 26. Plutarch also relates that the casks were smeared with pitch, and that the Eubeans mixed rosin with the wine. *Symp.* v. 3, 1. Spiced wine was common in the time of the new comedy. Pollux, vi. 1: τὸ δὲ πόμα ἦν μετὰ ἀρωμάτων παρὰ τοῖς νέοις κωμικοῖς. Also i. p. 31: ἐχρῶντο δ' οἱ ἀρχαῖοι καὶ πώματί τιμι ἐξ ἀρωμάτων κατασκευαζομένῳ, ὃ ἐκάλουν τρίμμα. Honey was also used. Theophrast. ap. Athen. i. p. 32: τὸν ἐν τῷ πρωτανείῳ οὖν θαυμαστόν εἶναι τὴν ἡδονήν. ἡρτυμένος γὰρ ἐστίν. ἐμπίσι γὰρ εἰς τὰ κεράμια σταῖς μέλιτι φυράσαντες, ὥστε τὴν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ, τὴν δὲ γλυκύτητα ἀπὸ τοῦ σταιτὸς λαμβάνειν οὖνον. The mixture of *unguenta* with wine, which was common among the Romans, (see *Gallus*, p. 493,) is here and there mentioned among the Greeks. *Æl. Var. Hist.* xii. 31: Τί ἔτι, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, ἵνα τοῖς Ἕλλησι τρυφῆς ἀπόδειξις; μύρω γὰρ οἶνον μιγνύοντες οὕτως ἔπινον καὶ ὑπερρηναγάζοντο τὴν τοιαύτην κρασίῳ.

de Republ. iv. p. 437; *Athen.* viii. p. 352, and iii. p. 123, where a number of instances are collected. There seems to have been a vessel expressly designed for keeping water hot, this perhaps is the *ἰππολέβης* of Lucian, *Leiphr.* 8. When the wine was mixed with cold water, this was obtained as fresh as possible, and, even at an early period, snow was employed to keep it cool; πόσις διὰ χιόνος. See Alexis, ap. *Athen.* iii. p. 124:

καὶ χιόνα μὲν πίνειν παρασκευάζομεν.

Dexicrates, ap. *Id.*: Εἰ δὲ μεθύω, καὶ χιόνα πίνω, κ. τ. λ. This was attempted even in summer. *Xenoph. Memor.* ii. 1, 30: οἶνον δὲ πολυτελεῖς παρασκευάζῃ καὶ τοῦ θέρου χιόνα περιθέουσα ζητεῖς. *Athenæus* mentions ice-houses; but the common way was merely to cover the snow or ice with chaff. *Plutarch, Symp.* vi. 6, 1: Καὶ γὰρ ἀχύροις σπαργανούντες αὐτὴν καὶ περιστέλλοντες ἱματίοις ἀγνάπτοις ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον διατηροῦσι. Snow seems to have been a regular article of traffic at Athens, as it is now at Naples. *Euthycles*, ap. *Athen. supra*: πρῶτος μὲν εἶδεν εἰ χιών ἐστ' ὦνία. It was often mixed with the wine itself, as we see from the sarcasm of *Gnathæna*, related by *Machon*, ap. *Athen.* xiii. p. 579:

Παρά Γναθαίῃ Δίφιλος πίνων ποτὲ,
ψυχρόν γ', εἶπε τ' ἀγγεῖον, ὃ Γναθαίῃ ἔχεις.
Τῶν σῶν γὰρ, εἶπεν, ἐπιμελῶς, ὃ Δίφιλε,
εἰς αὐτό γ' δεῖ δραμάτων ἐμβάλλομεν.

Straining, so usual among the Romans, is seldom mentioned. *Epiclytus*, however, ap. *Athen.* i. p. 28, mentions Χῖος καὶ Θάσιος ἡθημένος. Cf. *Poll.* vi. 18: σακκίας δὲ ὁ διυλισμένος, καὶ σακτὸς παρ' Εὐπόλιδι. *Id.* x. 75; and *Dioscor.* v. This was most likely done through wool. There are doubtful allusions to this practice in *Plato, Symp.* p. 175, and *Aristoph. Vespæ*, 701.

Wine was always drunk diluted, and to drink it ἄκρατος was looked on as a barbarism. *Plato, Leg.* i. p. 637. According to *Ælian, Var. Hist.* ii. 37, *Zaleucus* imposed a law upon the *Locrians*, according to which any person doing so, even if sick, unless by the prescription of the physician, was punishable with death. The custom of diluting wine can be traced up to the earliest period, and its origin is referred to *Amphictyon*. *Athen.* ii. p. 38: Φιλόχορος δὲ φησιν Ἀμφικτύονα τὸν Ἀθηναίων βασιλέα, μαθόντα παρὰ Διονύσου τὴν τοῦ οἴνου κρᾶσιν, πρῶτον κρᾶσαι. *Eustath.*

ss. xvii. 205. The usage continued long in force, and any re from it was not only considered a sign of great intemperance, but as highly injurious both mentally and corporeally. Herodotus, vi. 84, we learn that the Spartans fancied Cleomenes had gone mad by drinking neat wine, a habit he had learned from the Scythians: ἐκ τούτου δὲ μανῆναί μιν νομίζουσι ὡς ἔστιν. So Mnesitheos, apud Athen. ii. p. 36:

ἐάν δ' ἴσον ἴσῳ προσφέρῃ, μανίαν ποιεῖ·

ἐάν δ' ἄκρατον, παράλυσιν τῶν σωμάτων.

to, *Leg.* vi. p. 773; Plutarch, *An seni resp. ger.* 13: οὐκ ἐστὶν θεὸν ἐτέρῳ θεῷ νῆφοντι σωφρονίζεσθαι κολαζόμενον. *de Aud. Poët.* 1: ἀφαιρεῖ ἡ κρᾶσις τοῦ οἴνου τὸ βλάπτον. From the prevalence of this custom, οἶνος always means wine, κεκραμένος being understood, unless ἄκρατος is expressed. Plutarch, *Conjug. Præc.* 20: τὸ κρᾶμα, οἶνον καλούμενον μετέχον πλείονος, οἶνον καλούμενον.

The proportions of the mixture varied with the habits of the people. Plutarch, *de Pyth. Or.* 23: ὁ μὲν γὰρ οἶνος, ὡς ἔλεγε οὐρανὸς, τοῖς τρόποις κεράννεται τῶν πινόντων. Id. *Symp.* 1: πρὸς βυτίον οἶνον ὅπως εἶδὲς οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλοτε χαίροντας, ἀλλ'



Greek Symposia; from a vase in *Mus. Borb.* v. 51. See

On a *kalikratis* hung with gorgeous drapery,—before which the centre,—four youths are lying (the fifth on the right *hetaira*, one of whom is a *psaltria*. The man to the left all sorts of *psychicars*. Whether the object on the right is the engraving in the *Mus. Borb.*

ἀνόμενοι ἔπινον οἱ συνδειπνοῦντες. The οἰνοχόη answered the same purpose as our ladle; see Poll. vi. 19; x. 75. The passage in Hesiod, μηδέποτε οἰνοχόην τιθέμεν κρητῆρος ὑπερβεν πινόντων, probably refers to some superstitious belief that it was unlucky to lay the ladle across the κρατήρ, an act which might imply a cessation of the carouse. The οἰνοχόη was quite different in form from the κύαθος, being shaped more like a tankard, as we see from many antiques. Panofka, *Recherches*, Pl. v. 101. These craters are found in representations of Bacchic scenes, as well as of mere symposia. See Stuart, *Antiq. of Ath.* vol. i. ch. iv. pl. 11. See also the accompanying plate.

The custom of mixing all the wine at once, lasted till a late period, as appears from Theophrastus, *Char.* 13, where one feature of the character of a περίεργος is said to be πλείω δὲ ἐπαναγκάσαι τὸν παῖδα κεράσαι, ἢ ὅσα δύνανται οἱ παρόντες ἐκπиеῖν. But occasionally the water and the wine were mixed in the separate goblets. Xenophanes, ap. Athen. xi. p. 782:

Οὐδέ κεν ἐν κύλικι πρότερον κεράσαιέ τις οἶνον
ἐγχείας, ἀλλ' ὕδωρ, καὶ καθύπερθε μέθυ.

Theophr. *Id.*: Ἐπεὶ καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν κράσιν ἐναντίως εἶχε τὸ ταλαιὸν τῷ νῦν παρ' Ἑλλησιν ὑπάρχοντι. οὐ γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶνον ἐπέχεον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ τὸν οἶνον. The mixture in the crater was from time to time renewed according to the requirements of the guests. Eubulos, ap. Athen. ii. p. 36:

Τρεῖς γὰρ μόνου κρατῆρας ἐγκεραννύω
τοῖς εὖ φρονούσι· τὸν μὲν ὑγιείας ἕνα,
δὲ πρῶτον ἐκπίνουσι· τὸν δὲ δεύτερον
ἔρωτος ἡδονῆς τε· τὸν τρίτον δ' ὕπνου,
δὲ ἐκπίνοντες οἱ σοφοὶ κεκλημένοι
οἴκαδε βαδίζουσ'. ὁ δὲ τέταρτος οὐκ ἔτι
ἡμέτερόν ἐστ', ἀλλ' ὕβρως· ὁ δὲ πεμπτὸς βοῆς·
ἔκτος δὲ κώμων· ἑβδομος δ' ὑπώπνιων.
ὁ δ' ὀγδοὺς κλητῆρος· ὁ δ' ἑνατος χολῆς·
δέκατος δὲ μανίας, ὥστε καὶ βάλλειν ποιεῖ.

To conduct the symposion, παιδαγωγεῖν συμπόσιον, (Plato, *Leg.* i. p. 641,) an ἄρχων τῆς πόσεως, συμποσίαρχος, or βασιλεὺς, was selected, and to his behests the company had to submit. He was generally chosen by the throw of the *astragali*; see *Gallus*, p. 499; Plato, however, makes Alcibiades elect himself to this office. *Symp.* p. 213: ἄρχοντα οὖν ὑμῖν αἰροῦμαι τῆς πόσεως, ἔως ἂν ὑμεῖς ἱκανῶς πίνητε, ἐμαντόν.

mposiarch determined the proportions of the mixture, and number of the κύαθοι; he could also impose fines, and so

On this subject Lucian, *Saturn.* 4, is tolerably explicit:

βασιλέα μόνον ἐφ' ἀπάντων γενέσθαι τῷ ἀστραγάλῳ κρα-
τα, ὡς μήτε ἐπιταχθείης γελοῖα ἐπιτάγματα καὶ αὐτοὶ
τειν ἔχοις, τῷ μὲν αἰσχρόν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀναβοῇσαι, τῷ
ὄν ὀρχήσασθαι καὶ ἀράμενον τὴν ἀνλητρίδα τρεῖς τὴν οἰκίαν
εἶν. The practical jokes do not appear to have been re-
only novel or ingenious; for a specimen, see Plutarch, *Symp.*

προστάττοντες ἄδειν ψελλοῖς, ἢ κτενίζεσθαι φαλακροῖς, ἢ
ἄζειν χωλοῖς. Ὡς περ' Ἀγαπήτορι τῷ Ἀκαδημαϊκῷ λεπτὸν
καὶ κατεφθινηκὸς τὸ σκέλος ἐπηρεάζοντες οἱ ξημπόται
ἐκέλευσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιῶν ποδὸς ἐστῶτας ἐκπιεῖν τὸ ποτή-
ζημίαν καταβαλεῖν. τοῦ δὲ προστάσσειν περιελθόντος εἰς
ἐκέλευσε πάντας, οὕτως πιεῖν ὡς ἂν αὐτὸν ἴδωσι· καὶ κεραμίον
κομισθέντος εἰς τοῦτο τὸν ἀσθενῆ πόδα καθεῖς ἐξέπие τὸ
ον, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες, ὡς ἐφαίνετο πειρωμένοις ἀδύνατοι
αν τὴν ζημίαν. The system of proposing questions in turn
in Plato, *Symp.* p. 214.

Before proceeding to the carouse, the company usually agreed upon the *τρόπος τῆς πόσεως*. Plato, *Symp.* p. 176: *τίνα τρόπον ἥδιστα πινόμεθα*; from which passage it appears that *πίνειν ὅσον ἂν ἕκαστος βούληται, ἐπ' ἀνάγκης δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι*, was not usually allowable, but that every one was subject to the symposiarch, who could force him to drink; *πίνειν πρὸς βίαν, ἀναγκάζεσθαι*. Drinking a prescribed quantity was a usual punishment: see also the next Excursus. It was customary, at least at Athens, to drink out of small goblets, or, at all events, to begin with them, afterwards resorting to larger. Diog. Laert. i. 103: *Ἕλληνες ἀρχόμενοι μὲν ἐν μικροῖς πίνουνσι, πλησθέντες δὲ ἐν μεγάλοις*. Some of these were of a tolerable size, holding twenty *κύαθοι*, or nearly two sevenths of a *χοῦς*, i. e. about a quart. See Alexis, ap. Athen. x. p. 431:

Οὐ συμποσίαρχος ἦν γάρ, ἀλλὰ διήμιος,
ὁ Χαιρέας κυάθους προπίνων εἰκοσιν.

But this is nothing to what is told of Alcibiades and Socrates. Plato, *Symp.* p. 213: *ἀλλὰ φερέτω Ἀγάθων εἰ τί ἐστὶν ἔκπωμα μέγα· μάλλον δὲ οὐδὲν δεῖ· ἀλλὰ φέρε, παῖ, φάναι, τὸν ψυκτῆρα ἐκείνον, ἔδόντα αὐτὸν πλέον ἢ ὀκτὼ κοτύλας χωροῦντα. τοῦτον ἐμπλησάμενον πρῶτον μὲν αὐτὸν ἐκπιεῖν, κ. τ. λ.* Eight *cotylæ* equalled two thirds of a *χοῦς*, more than half a gallon. According to Ephippus, apud Athen. x. p. 434, Alexander drained off a goblet holding two *χοῦς*, or a gallon and a half. Such vessels might well be termed *λουτρά* or *φρέατα*; not to mention that they had to be emptied without taking breath, *ἀπνευστὶ* or *ἀμυστὶ πίνειν*. Plutarch, *Symp.* iii. 3; Alexis, ap. Athen. x. p. 431; Lucian, *Lexiph.* 8. But of course the custom varied in different places. See Athen. xi. p. 463: *ὅτι τρόποι εἰσὶ πόσεων κατὰ πόλεις ἴδιοι, ὡς Κριτίας παρίστησιν ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίῳ πολιτείᾳ διὰ τούτων, ὁ μὲν Χῖος καὶ Θάσιος ἐν μεγάλῳ κυλίκῳ ἐπιδέξια, ὁ δ' Ἀττικὸς ἐκ μικρῶν ἐπιδέξια, ὁ δὲ Θετταλικὸς ἐκπώματα προπίνειν ὅτῳ ἂν βούλωνται μεγάλα*. This *ἐπιδέξια*, or properly *ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ*, was observed not only in drinking, but in everything that the guests did in order. Thus Plato, *de Repub.* iv. p. 420: *ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ διαπίνειν*. Id. *Symp.* p. 214: *ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ λόγον εἰπεῖν*. *Ib.* p. 223: *ἐπαινεῖν* and *πίνειν ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ*. The *προπίνειν φιλοτησίας* was exactly like drinking toasts or healths. Athen. xi. p. 498: *πληροῦντες γὰρ προέπινον ἀλλήλοις μετὰ προσαγορεύσεως*. So

THE SYMPOSIA.

[EXCURSUS II.]

Iod. *Æthiop.* iii. 11: προέπινεν ὁ Θεαγένης, καὶ ἄκων, φιλοτησίαν. See Lucian, *Gall.* 12.

The conversation was of an unrestrained and varied kind; it was the inborn vivacity and ready wit of the Athenian that gave to these symposia their principal charm. Intellectual collisions, such as those described by Xenophon and Plato, were only of rare occurrence; and were even thought out of place, so Plutarch says, *Symp.* i. 1, 1: μὴ δέιν, ὥσπερ οἰκοδόμητον, ἐν οἴνῳ φθέγγεσθαι φιλοσοφίαν. When games and other amusements were introduced, every one present took part in them, and the company never relapsed into such a passive state as at a lecture, where ἀκροάματα and θεάματα, lectures, concerts, combats of gladiators, and mimes, were put in requisition to fill up the intervals in the repast: and so utter was the want of genuine wit, that even the dialogues of Plato were dramatised for this purpose. See Plutarch, *Symp.* vii. 8, 1. At Philip's court, according to Demosthenes, still more insipid amusements were introduced; *Olynth.* ii. p. 23: λοιπὸν δὴ περὶ αὐτὸν εἶναι ληστὰς καὶ ἑρμῆς (Herm.) καὶ κόλακας, καὶ τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους, οἷον

[REDACTED]



a Tischbein, *Engrave*, II, 55.
ic of the flute-player, who is accompanied by a tympanist.

βαλτρίας, ἀλλὰ αὐτοὺς αὐτοῖς ἱκανοὺς ὄντας ξυνεῖναι. Plutarch, *Symp.* vii. 7, 8, differs on this point from Plato, and indeed the latter seems rather too severe in his strictures on music and dancing.

In many cases still graver objections might be urged against the presence of these flute-players, and most likely they were often but little removed from hetæræ. In Plautus they are always such, and the same is unequivocally apparent in many vase-paintings. See a curious story related by the stoic Persæus, *pud Athen.* xiii. p. 607. On the subject of the other amusements, the games, and so forth, consult the notes to Scene vi., as well as the following Excursus.

EXCURSUS III. TO SCENE VI.

THE GAMES.

the various games enumerated by Pollux, ix. 7, under the title, *Περὶ τῶν ἐν συμποσίοις παιδιῶν*, many were peculiar to the symposium, while others were merely the amusements of the table; the discussion of the latter would be foreign to our purpose, though it is curious to notice that several of them are practised with little change even at the present day. The songs called *σκόλια*, inasmuch as they were often sung on the occasion, here claim mention. See Ilgen, *Σκόλια, arm. Conviv. Græc.*

From a very early period, guessing riddles, *αἶνγματα* or *αἶνιγμα*, was another favourite intellectual amusement. The distinction drawn between these two words by Pollux, vi. 107, is hardly to be borne out by the usage of the best period; *τῶν μὲν συμποτικῶν αἶνιγμα καὶ γρίφος. τὸ μὲν παιδιὰν*

ὃν προτεθέντα γρῖφον. ἔπινον οὗτοι ἄλμην παραμισγομένην τῇ ὑτῶν ποτῇ καὶ ἔδει προσενέγκασθαι τὸ ποτήριον ἀπνευστί. See Pollux, vi. 107: καὶ ὁ μὲν λύσας γέρας εἶχε κρεῶν τινα περιφορὰν, δὲ ἀδυνατήσας, ἄλμης ποτήριον ἐκπιεῖν. The reward for solving the riddle usually consisted of chaplets and *tæniæ*, cakes and sweetmeats; sometimes it was a kiss; Clearchos, ap. Athen. x. 458: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄθλα μὲν τοῖς νικῶσι φιλήματα. In other contests also, such fines and rewards were common, and the company in some cases adjudicated them by ballot. See Xenoph. *Hæmp.* 5, 8: Ἀλλὰ διαφερόντων, ἔφη, τὰς ψήφους, ἵνα ὡς τάχιστα εἰδῶ, ὅ,τι με χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι. And again, τῇ νικήσαντι ἡ ταινίας ἀλλὰ φιλήματα ἀναδήματα παρὰ τῶν κριτῶν γενέσθαι.

One of the most favourite of these diversions was the Cottabos, a game said to be of Sicilian origin, and in which success depended mainly on manual dexterity. On this subject, a few words may here suffice, since it has been discussed at length by Jacobs. In spite of the circumstantial accounts given by Athenæus, xv. p. 666, Pollux, vi. 109, and the Scholiasts to Aristophanes, *Pax*, and to Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 3, there still appears to be a hopeless obscurity attaching to some of the peculiarities of this game.

There were two sorts of cottabos, subject to manifold variations; Groddeck makes out nine. The one was called *κότταβος ατακτός*, Aristoph. *Pax*, 1243, and this is the most difficult of explanation. The Scholiast to Lucian, *Lexiph.* 3, whose account is not plagiarised from Athenæus, and is more intelligible than the others, informs us that a shaft or staff, *χάραξ*, was erected, and to the extremity of this was attached the beam of a pair of scales, *ὀγός*, while from either end of this depended the scale-plates, *πλάστιγγες*: and beneath these scale-plates little figures were placed, *ἰδριανταρίων ταῖς πλάστιγγιν ὑποκειμένων*. One of the players now took a mouthful of wine or water, and spirted it in a continuous stream upon one of the plates. If he succeeded in hitting this so as to fill it, it descended and struck the head of the little brass figure beneath; but rose again from the weight of the opposite scale, which, descending in its turn, hit the second figure, so that they both sounded in succession. Other accounts differ widely from this, though the discordance is probably owing to variations in the method in which the game was played.

tly, it is generally stated that the wine was not taken
e mouth, but jerked out of a cup, the hand being bent
ραμμένη τῇ χειρὶ) and the arm curved (ἀπ' ἀγκύλης). This
ve been an alteration introduced at a later date. Cf. Poll.

Other authorities state that there was only one scale, and
are, called Manes. But, according to Athenæus, xv. p. 667,
s not all, for beneath this Manes stood a basin into which
uid must fall: τὸ δὲ καλούμενον κατακτὸν κοττάβιον
ὄν ἐστὶ λυχνίον ἐστὶν ὑψηλὸν ἔχον τὸν Μάνην καλούμενον,
τὴν καταβαλλομένην ἔδει πεσεῖν πλάστιγγα, ἐντεῦθεν δ'
eis λεκάνην ὑποκειμένην πληγεῖσαν τῷ κοττάβῳ. This
with the Scholion to Aristoph. *Pax*, 343, where it is
stated that the Manes stood under water in this basin,
at the scale-plate had to sink so sharply as to hit his head
the water: ῥάβδος ἦν μακρὰ πεπηγμένη ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐτέρα
αὐτῆς κινουμένη, ὥς ἐπὶ ζυγίου. εἶχε δὲ πλάστιγγας δύο
μένας καὶ κρατῆρας δύο ὑποκάτω τῶν πλαστίγγων, καὶ ὑπὸ
ο ἀνδριάς ἦν χαλκοῦς κεχρυσωμένος. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἐν τοῖς
ίοις. καὶ πᾶς τῶν παίζοντων ἀνίστατο ἔχων φιάλην γέ-

σφαῖρα, καὶ πλάστιγξ καὶ Μάνης, καὶ τρεῖς μυρίναι, καὶ τρία ὀξύβαφα. ὁ δὲ ὑγρῇ τῇ χειρὶ τὸν κότταβον ἀφείκ καὶ τούτων τινὸς τεχνὸν εὐδοκιμεῖ. Cf. Schol. to Aristoph. *Pax*, 1210. The liquid so spirited was called λάταξ or λατάγη, whence λαταγεῖν. The game itself, the entire apparatus, and also the wine that was spirited, were all called κότταβος. Without further entering into the subject, or attempting to reconcile the apparently contradictory accounts, it may suffice to refer to the passages quoted by Athenæus, which agree in the main with the description that has been given.

The game served also as a kind of love-oracle. Prizes were sometimes given, and at all events the player won the ὀξύβαφα which he had succeeded in sinking. Millingen, *Peint. d. vases gr.* p. 11, supposes, with very little ground, that he has found the cottabos represented on a vase. Also in Winkelmann's *Monum. Ined.* 200, a tall λυχνίον is seen standing without a lamp; but what it represents is doubtful. There is, however, one relief, *Marbles of the Brit. Mus.* ii. 4, which not improbably refers to the game. At the lower end of a couch stands a shaft bearing a large basin. Out of this (Combe, however, says, *behind it*, which makes all the difference,) rises a second pillar, surmounted by a Hermes-shaped figure, on the head of which rests something like a discus. This agrees very well with the account of Athenæus, already quoted: λυχνίον ἐστὶν ὑψηλὸν ἔχον τὸν Μάνην καλούμενον, ἐφ' ὃν τὴν καταβαλλομένην ἔδει πεσεῖν πλάστιγγα, ἐντεῦθεν δ' ἐπικτεν εἰς λεκάνην ὑποκειμένην πληγεῖσαν τῷ κοττάβῳ.

The χαλκισμός was also a game requiring manual dexterity. The account given of it by Pollux, ix. 118, is as follows: 'Ὁ μὲν χαλκισμός, ὀρθὸν νόμισμα ἔδει συντόνως περιστρέψαντας ἐπιστρεφόμενον ἐπιστῆσαι τῷ δακτύλῳ· ᾧ τρόπῳ μάλιστα τῆς παιδιᾶς ὑπερήδεσθαί φασι Φρύνην τὴν ἑταίραν. This is wrongly explained by Prof. K. W. Müller. The manner in which the game was really played is described in Scene v. p. 75. The account given by Eustathius, *ad Il.* xiv. 291, is perhaps clearer than that in Pollux. He says: ἀλλ' ἦν ὁ χαλκισμός ὀρθοῦ νομίσματος θετέον χαλκοῦ στροφή καὶ σύντυνος περιδίνσις, μεθ' ἣν ἔδει τὸν παίζοντα ἐπέχειν ὀρθῇ τῷ δακτύλῳ τὸ νόμισμα εἰς ὅσον τάχος πρὶν ἢ καταπεσεῖν.

The ἱμαντελιγμός may also be reckoned in this class of games, though success in it depended mainly upon chance. A strap was

l, and rolled up in the shape of a disk; the player then
 nail or some pointed instrument, and stuck it between
 s, and if, on unrolling the strap, the nail was inside the
 g, he had won. Poll. ix. 118: 'Ο δὲ ἱμαντελιγμός διπλοῦ
 λαβυρινθώδης τίς ἐστὶ περιστροφή, καθ' ἣς ἔδει καθέντα
 μιον τῆς διπλῆς τυχεῖν· εἰ γὰρ μὴ λυθέντος ἐμπεριείληπτο
 ντι τὸ παττάλιον, ἤττητο ὁ καθείς. Cf. Eustath. *ad Il.*
 4.

πεττεία, on the other hand, was a game wherein all
 ed on skill and calculation, and bore some resemblance to
 ss. There were several varieties of this game, and those
 ve written on the subject have fallen into some confusion
 neglecting the distinctions. The game with πέσσοι is very
 y, and Penelope's suitors played at it in the house of Odys-
dyss. i. 107); but it would be absurd to describe the
 ic πεττεία, when the mere name is all that Homer mentions.
 n we attach any value to the explanation given by Apion,
 en. i. p. 16, since we cannot ascertain how much is due to
 period. Afterwards there were at least two quite different
 For an account of the first variety see Pollux. ix. 97.

χώρας ἐν γραμμαῖς ἔχον διακειμένας· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλινθίον καλεῖται πόλις, τῶν δὲ ψήφων ἐκάστη κύων. διηρημένων δὲ εἰς δύο τῶν ψήφων ὁμοχρόων κατὰ τὰς χρώας ἡ τέχνη τῆς παιδιᾶς ἐστὶ περιλήψει τῶν δύο ψήφων ὁμοχρόων τὴν ἑτερόχρουν ἀναιρεῖν. It thus appears to have been somewhat similar to our chess or draughts. The separate squares, which Pollux calls *χωραὶ*, were also denominated πόλεις. See Zenob. *Prov. Cent.* v. 67; Plutarch, *Prov. Alex.* v. p. 1254; Plato, *de Republ.* iv. p. 423.

The move forward was called θέσθαι τὴν ψήφον: moving backward, or recalling a move, ἀναθέσθαι. Harpocr. s. v. ἀναθέσθαι. Plato, *Hipparch.* p. 229; *Leg.* x. p. 903. To give the adversary an advantage was called κρεῖσσον δίδόναι. Eurip. *Suppl.* 409:

ἐν μὲν τόδ' ἡμῖν, ὥσπερ ἐν πεσσοῖς, δίδωσι
κρεῖσσον.

This passage seems to hint that the better player gave his adversary something at the commencement of the game.

The chief object of the player consisted in so shutting up his opponent's pieces that he was unable to move. Plato, *de Republ.* vi. p. 487: ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν πεττεῦν δεινῶν οἱ μὴ, τελευτῶντες ἀποκλείονται καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὅ,τι φέρωσιν. Polyb. i. 84: πολλοὺν ἀποτεμνόμενος καὶ συγκλείων, ὥσπερ ἀγαθὸς πεττευτήρ. Cf. Plato, *Eryx*, p. 395. According to Pollux, when a piece got between two hostile ones, it was beaten or taken away. The game was by no means an easy one, and good players were rare. Cf. Plato, *Polit.* p. 292; Id. *de Republ.* ii. p. 374: πεττευτικὸς δὲ ἡ κυβευτικὸς ἱκανῶς οὐδ' ἂν εἴς γένοιτο, μὴ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐκ παιδὸς ἐπιτηδεύων, ἀλλὰ παρέργῳ χρώμενος;

The διαγραμμισμός was a game analogous to, if not identical with that just described. See Poll. ix. 99; Eustath. *ad Il.* vi. p. 633: παιδιά τις ὁ διαγραμμισμός. ἐγένετο δὲ, φασίν, αὕτη κυβείας οὐσα εἶδος διὰ τῶν ἐν πλινθίοις ψήφων ἐξήκοντα, λευκῶν τε ἅμα καὶ μελαινῶν. Whether the game alluded to in an obscure epigram of Agathias, *Anthol.* ix. 482, was a species of πεττεία, can hardly, perhaps, be determined. That the *ludus latruncularum* and *duodecim scriptorum* of the Romans originated from the Greek πεττεία, admits of no doubt, though the differences are considerable. See *Gallus*, p. 502.

The invention of the πεσσοὶ was traditionally ascribed to

des. Alcidas, *Palam.* pp. 74, 76. Cf. Eurip. *Iphig.* 194. Plato, on the other hand, names the Egyptian as the inventor of the πεττεία and κυβεία; *Phædr.* p. 274. Games were universal favourites throughout Greece. See i. 203; ix. 48.

the games of chance the ἀστραγαλισμός claims the first place. The regular game has been fully described in *Gallus*, 495—502. But the astragals or knuckle-bones were used in other games, for instance, in the ἀρτιασμός, which was principally a women's game. See *Gallus*, p. 504. There are many antiquities representing children playing at this game. See *Marbles of the Vatican*, ii. 31. So the children of Medea, in a wall-painting at Borb. v. 33. The game was also called ζυγὰ ἢ ἄζυγα, 'vulgar parlance, μονὰ καὶ ζυγὰ, or μονζύγα, 'odd and even.' See *Schol.* ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 816. The same game is described in the Paris Gloss to v. 1057: πόσους οὐδόντας εἶπεν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἔχεις κάρνα. παιδιὰ γὰρ ἐστὶ τοιαύτη δραξάμενός τε καὶ ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐρωτᾷ, πόσα; καὶ εἰ ἐπιτύχη, εἰ οὐσα ἔχει ἐν τῇ χειρί· εἰ δὲ ἀμάρτη κατὰ τὴν ἀπό-

The places where this game was carried on were called *κυβεία*, and also *σκιράφεια*, because the original locality was near, or in, the temple of Athena Sciras. See Eustath. *ad Odys.* i. 107: καὶ ὅτι ἐσπονδάζετο ἡ κυβεία οὐ μόνον παρὰ Σικελοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις· οἱ καὶ ἐν ἱεροῖς ἀθροιζόμενοι ἐκύβευον, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῇ τῆς Σκιράδος Ἀθηνᾶς τῇ ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα κυβευτήρια σκιράφεια ὠνομάζετο. Cf. the *Etym. M.*, Suidas, Harpocration, and Steph. *de Urb.*, s. v. Σκίρος. All places of the kind were afterwards called *σκιράφεια*. Isocr. *Areop.* 18, p. 202; Lucian, *Lexiph.* 10. We need not suppose that the *τηλία*, mentioned by Æschines, in *Timarch.* p. 79, refers to the *ἀβάκιον* or dice-board, for the reference is rather to cock-fighting. Still Pollux, vii. 203, and x. 150, enumerates this among the *ὄργανα κυβευτικά*. Cf. Eustath. *ad Odys.* i. 107.

There was another game in which *πεσσοὶ* and *κύβοι* were both used at once. Plato, *de Republ.* x. p. 604: ὥσπερ ἐν πτώσει κύβων, πρὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα (δεῖ) τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγματα, ὅπη ὁ λόγος ἐρεῖ βέλτιστ' αὖ ἔχειν. In reference to this, Plutarch, *de Tranquill. Anim.* 5, says: Κυβεία γὰρ ὁ Πλάτων τὸν βίον ἀπέικασεν, ἐν ᾧ καὶ βαλεῖν δεῖ τὰ πρόσφορα, καὶ βαλόντα χρῆσθαι καλῶς τοῖς πεσοῦσι. See *Anthol. Pal.* ix. 767. A similar game is referred to by Ovid, *Art. Am.* ii. 203. A host of other games, many of them requiring neither *πεσσοὶ* nor *κύβοι*, are classed by Pollux and others under the common name *κυβεία*.

EXCURSUS TO SCENE VII.

THE SLAVES.

One of the most striking anomalies in the character of the Greeks is, that though they acknowledged above all other the value of personal freedom, and kept a jealous guard everything that threatened it from within, and were ready to the death any encroachment made upon it from without they did not recognise the equal claims of all to this blessing withheld it from millions of their fellow-men, whom they were passive instruments of their will, and reduced to a condition little superior to that of domestic animals. This strange fiction may be partly due to their assumption that the barbarians were creatures of a naturally inferior order to themselves; there was nothing in the habits of those nations which could excite such arrogance. But the root of slavery lies elsewhere,

down a class of men who had few feelings in common with those above them, and who in numbers were far their superiors. Aristotle, profound, but dispassionate, could not blink the question, 'What makes the slave a slave?' though he does not trouble himself to enquire whether, in its origin, slavery presented anything irrational, and contrary to the universal rights of men; but proceeds to shew, from a comparison between the present characters of the two, that the relative position occupied by the slave is that which is his due. Of course he falls into numerous contradictions, as, for instance, when he starts the question, *πότερόν ἐστιν ἀρετή τις δούλου παρὰ τὰς ὀργανικὰς καὶ διακοικὰς ἄλλη τιμιωτέρα τούτων, οἷον σωφροσύνη καὶ ἀνδρία καὶ δικαιοσύνη ... εἴτε γὰρ ἔστι, τί διοίσουσι τῶν ἐλευθέρων; εἴτε μὴ ἔστιν, ὄντων ἀνθρώπων καὶ λόγον κοινωνούντων, ἄτοπον*. *De Republ.* i. 13, p. 1259. His solution, which is quite in keeping with the notions of his age, is worth nothing, as the premises are false. Assuming that slaves belong to an *ἕτερον γένος*, he supposes the existence of a special *ἀρετὴ δούλων*, while he entirely ignores the *πρῶτον ψεῦδος* of the case.

The question as to the abstract injustice of slavery, he disposes of by an artificial argument, wherein he shews that it is ever the natural destination of the *κρείσσον* to rule over the *χεῖρον*, as the soul over the body, the husband over the wife, and he thus arrives at the conclusion, that there are also *φύσει δούλοι*. He adds: *ἔστι γὰρ φύσει δούλος ὁ δυνάμενος ἄλλου εἶναι (διὸ καὶ ἄλλου ἐστίν)*. Aristotle, moreover, pronounces a slave to be merely a piece of property; *de Republ.* i. 4: *καὶ ὁ δούλος κτήμά τι ἔμψυχον*, and makes him in fact little more than a machine possessed of life; *Eth. Nicom.* viii. 13, p. 1161: *ὁ γὰρ δούλος ἔμψυχον ὄργανον, τὸ δ' ὄργανον ἄψυχος δούλος*. The verses of Philemon (*Fragm.* p. 410, Mein.) contain a sounder judgment than all the reasoning of the philosopher:

κἂν δούλος ᾖ τις, οὐδὲν ἦττον, δέσποτα,
φύσει γὰρ οὐδεὶς δούλος ἐγενήθη ποτέ·
ἢ δ' αὖ Τύχη τὸ σῶμα κατεδουλώσατο.

And again, p. 364:

Κἂν δούλος ᾖ τις, οὐδὲν ἦττον, δέσποτα,
ἀνθρώπος οὗτός ἐστιν, ἀν' ἀνθρώποις ᾗ.

The Greek slaves were in a far more tolerable condition than those at Rome, as we shall presently see. Sparta forms the only

on, with respect to the inhuman barbarities practised by the Helots. See Plutarch, *Lyc.* 28; Xenoph. *de Rep.* 1, 11. The abuse made by the Spartans of their power was in unison with the character of that people, as is shewn by Burg Brouwer, *Hist. de la Civil. Mor. et Relig. d. Grecs*, iii.

But it is not our purpose to consider the state of a nation like the Helots, in serfdom to another race; and hence the Lian Penestæ, the Heracleote Mariandynæ, and the Cretan Eor or Aphamiotæ, will be also excluded from our notice, to, *Leg.* vi. p. 776; Poll. iii. 83.

With regard to the origin of slavery, the Hellenes are said to have possessed no slaves in the earliest times. Thus Herodotus, speaking of the Athenians, says, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοῦτον τὸν σφίσι κω οὐδὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἑλλῆσι οἰκέτας. See also a note of Pherecrates, apud Athen. vi. p. 263. In the Homeric period, however, we find slavery universal; but at that time the slaves were mostly captives, δοριάλωτοι, who served as booty; though this was not universally the case, for captives were also articles of sale in Homer. See *Odyss.* xv. 483. In the age of civilization, when predatory excursions had grown less

where the slaves stood ready for selection. Harpocr. Κύκλοι, Δείναρχος ἐν τῇ κατὰ Καλλαίσχρον. κύκλοι ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τόποι, ἐν οἷς ἐπωλοῦντό τινες. ὀνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ κύκλῳ περιεστάναι τοὺς πωλουμένους. The place is also called by Pollux, iii. 78, πρατήρ λίθος, which is analogous to the Latin phrases, *lapis, de lapide emtus*, unless this refers to sale by auction. The slaves thus exposed were naked, or had to strip at the desire of the purchaser. Lucian, *Eunuch.* 12: οἱ μὲν ἤξιουν ἀποδύσαντας αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ τοὺς ἀργυρωνήτους ἐπισκοπεῖν. The law also made the seller responsible for any concealed defect. Plato, *Leg.* xi. p. 916; Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* x. p. 300. The market seems to have been held on fixed days, as for instance on the ἑνὴ καὶ νέα or νομηνία. See Aristoph. *Equit.* 43:

οὔτοι τῇ προτέρᾳ νομηνίᾳ
ἐπρίατο δοῦλον, βυρσοδέψην Παφλαγῶνα.

On this the Scholiast remarks: ἐν δὲ ταῖς νομηνίαις οἱ δοῦλοι ἐπωλοῦντο καὶ οἱ στρατηγοὶ ἐχειροτονοῦντο. So Alciph. *Epist.* iii. 38: Φρόγα οἰκέτην ἔχω πονηρόν, ὃς ἀπέβη τοιοῦτος ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγρῶν. ὡς γὰρ τῇ ἑνὴ καὶ νέᾳ κατ' ἐκλογὴν τοῦτον ἐπρίαμην, Νομηνίον μὲν εἶθ' ἐθέμην καλεῖσθαι. The prices of course varied according to age and qualities. Ample details will be found in Böckh, *Public Econ. of Athens*, p. 67. The most usual prices were from one to ten minæ; though old and useless creatures went for even less, while on the other hand trustworthy men who could act as foremen or overseers occasionally fetched far higher sums. Xenoph. *Memor.* ii. 5, 2: Τῶν γὰρ οἰκετῶν ὁ μὲν που δύο μνῶν ἀξίος ἐστίν, ὁ δ' οὐδ' ἡμιμναῖον, ὁ δὲ πέντε μνῶν, ὁ δὲ καὶ δέκα. Νικίας δ' ὁ Νικηράτου λέγεται ἐπιστάτην εἰς τὰργύρια πρίασθαι τάλαντον. Plato, *Amat.* p. 135: καὶ γὰρ τέκτονα μὲν ἂν πρίαιο πέντε ἢ ἑξ μνῶν ἄκρον· ἀρχιτέκτονα δὲ οὐδ' ἂν μυρίων δραχμῶν. The story runs that when somebody asked Aristippos what he would charge for instructing his son, he demanded one thousand drachmæ; on which the father answered, that he could purchase a slave for that sum. Plutarch, *de Educ.* 7. Of course slaves who were artisans by trade varied much in value, according to their skill, and the difficulty of the craft they followed. Demosth. in *Arhob.* i. p. 816: μαχαιοποιούς (κατέλιπεν ὁ πατήρ) τριάκοντα καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς, τοὺς μὲν ἀνὰ πέντε μναῖς ἢ καὶ ἑξ, τοὺς δ' οὐκ ἐλάττονος ἢ τριῶν μνῶν ἀξίους... κλινοποιούς δ' εἴκοσι τὸν

ν τετταράκοντα μινῶν ὑποκειμένους. Two minæ would thus average, and this was also the price paid in another instance; Demosth. *adv. Spud.* p. 1030. Slaves employed in any field or house-work were naturally worth much less. It does not appear that the Greeks ever paid such enormous sums as were sometimes given in Rome. See *Gallus*, p. 201.

Next to the purchased slaves, called by Plato, *Polit.* p. 289, οὐκὸςβητήτως δούλοι, came those born in the house, οἰκότριβες. οἰκότριψ, δούλος οἰκογενής. Ammonius: Οἰκότριψ καὶ οὐκὸςβητήτως διαφέρει. οἰκότριψ μὲν γὰρ ὁ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ διατρεφόμενος, οὐκὸςβητήτως θρεπτόν καλούμεν· οἰκέτης δὲ ὁ δούλος ὁ ὠνητός. παρὰ τὸν οἰκὸς ἐν τοῖς ἄξοσιν οἰκεὺς κέκληται ὁ οἰκότριψ. They were the offspring of the master and a female slave, or of two slaves, and in this case were called ἀμφίδουλοι. Eustath. *ad* *Demosth.* ii. 290. If the parents were οἰκότριβες, their offspring were called οἰκοτρίβαιοι. Poll. iii. 76. The relative number of slaves, and the frequency of slave-marriages, has not been ascertained. Men frequently lived with a female slave as παλλακή (see Excursus on *The Women*,) and the children resulting from this intercourse were only free by exception. See Demosth.

The number of slaves was very considerable, not only in Athens, but throughout Greece. According to Ctesicles, apud Athen. vi. p. 272, at a census of the population of Attica taken under Demetrius Phalereus, the number of free burghers was found to be twenty-one thousand, of resident aliens ten thousand, and of slaves four hundred thousand. Hence the statement of Thucydides (vii. 27) becomes intelligible, that in the Decelian war, ἀνδραπόδων πλέον ἢ δύο μυριάδες ἡντομολήκεσαν. According to Timæus, Corinth possessed 460,000 slaves, and Ægina, as we learn from Aristotle, 470,000. But the number at Chios appears to have been the greatest. See Thucyd. viii. 40. For an estimate of the proportions of the free and slave populations, see Böckh, *Public Econ. of Athens*, pp. 30—39, and Wachsmuth, *Hellen. Alterthumsk.* ii. 1, p. 44. Slavery was not introduced into Phocis and Locris till a late period, according to Timæus, apud Athen. vi. p. 264, though little reliance can be placed on this author.

Although the number of private slaves possessed by individual burghers was sometimes very considerable, yet the Greeks seem to have fallen far behind the Romans in this respect. See *Gallus*, p. 203. The father of Demosthenes possessed fifty slaves, as that orator informs us; in *Aphob.* i. p. 823. In other instances the number was far greater. Thus Nicias let out a thousand to the Thracian mines, and Hipponicos six hundred. Plutarch, *Nic.* 4; Xenoph. *de Vect.* 4, 14; Böckh, *Public Econ. of Athens*, p. 37. Aristotle's friend Mnason also had a thousand. Timæus, apud Athen. vi. p. 264. In early times few were retained in the house, most of them being employed in various handicrafts. At a later period, however, domestic slaves became much more numerous. See Aristot. *de Republ.* ii. 3: ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς οἰκετικαῖς διακονίαις οἱ πολλοὶ θεράποντες ἐνίοτε χειρὸν ὑπηρετοῦσι τῶν ἐλαττόνων. Cf. Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* xiii. p. 434. There is no systematic account of the number of domestics in a large establishment, though a few hints may be gathered from the following passages. Thus according to Plutarch, *Apophth. Reg.* i. p. 696, Xenophanes complained to Hiero, μόλις οἰκέτας δύο τρέφειν, which was certainly a mark of great poverty. Again, the family of Æschines, consisting of himself, his wife, mother, and three children, was waited on by seven attendants, and this is brought

as a sign of very straitened circumstances. Æschin. 12, p. 698. So an escort of four slaves by which the Gnathænion was attended to the Piræus, is mentioned significant; Machon, ap. Athen. xiii. p. 582:

Πανηγύρεως οὔσης ποθ' ἡ Γναθαίνιον
εἰς Πειραιᾶ κατέβαινε πρὸς ξένον τινὰ
ἐμπορον ἑραστήν· εὐτελιῶς ἐπ' ἀστράβης,
τὰ πάντ' ἔχουσ' ὀνάρια μεθ' ἑαυτῆς τρία
καὶ τρεῖς θεραπαίνας καὶ νέαν τιτθὴν μίαν.

out without a single attendant was a sign of great indignity. See Aristoph. *Eccl.* 593; also Lysias, in *Diogit.* p. 903, a complaint is made of the children being dismissed, οὐκ ἀκολουθοῦν. And when Phocion's wife allowed herself to be attended by only one female slave, it was considered so undignified that it even came to be mentioned in the theatre. Plutarch. *Phoc.* 19. Men also had often three or more slaves to attend them when from home. Demosth. in *Mid.* p. 565: καὶ ἀκολουθοῦντες ἢ τέτταρας αὐτὸς ἔχων διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς σοβεῖν. *Memor.* i. 7, 2: ὅτι ἐκεῖνοι σκευὴ τε καλὰ κέκτληνται καὶ θοὺς πολλοὺς περιάγονται. In later times the escort was

Roman slave also worked in the *familia urbana* as a mechanic or artist, but only to supply the immediate wants of his master; while the Greek was an operative supported by the proceeds of his labour. Aristot. *de Republ.* iii. 4, p. 1277: δούλου δ' εἶδη πλείω λέγομεν αἱ γὰρ ἐργασίαι πλείους, ὧν ἐν μέρος κατέχουσιν οἱ χειρῆτες. οὗτοι δ' εἰσιν, ὥσπερ σημαίνει καὶ τοῦνομ' αὐτοῦς, οἱ ζῶντες ἀπὸ τῶν χειρῶν, ἐν οἷς ὁ βάναντος τεχνίτης ἐστίν. *Æschines* mentions the daily sum which each had to pay. *In Timarch.* p. 118: χωρὶς δὲ οἰκέτας δημιουργοὺς τῆς σκυτοτομικῆς τέχνης ἐννέα ἢ δέκα, ὧν ἕκαστος τούτῳ δν' ὀβολοὺς ἀπέφερε τῆς ἡμέρας, ὃ δ' ἡγεμὼν τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου τριώβολον. A similar arrangement was made with regard to those working in the mines. *Xenoph.* *de Vect.* 4, 14: ὅτι Νικίας ποτὲ ὁ Νικηράτου ἱκτήσατο ἐν τοῖς ἀργυρίοις χιλίους ἀνθρώπους, οὓς ἐκείνος Σωσίῳ τῷ Θρακί ἐξεμίσθωσεν, ἐφ' ᾧ ὀβολὸν μὲν ἀτελῇ ἐκάστου τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποδιδόναί. So also the ἀνδράποδα μισθοφοροῦντα mentioned by *Isæus*, *de Ciron.* *Hered.* p. 219. Cf. *Plato*, *Leg.* v. p. 742. When a slave undertook on his own account the labour of a harvest or vintage, his case was the same. See *Demosth. ad Nicost.* p. 1253. It would even appear that slaves were occasionally allowed to hire farms on their own account. See *Plato*, *Leg.* vii. p. 806.

The second method was to make the slaves work as artisans in their master's shop or factory, his profit being derived from the sale of their wares. Thus the father of *Demosthenes* possessed two workshops; *Demosth. in Aphob.* p. 816: μαχαίροποιον μὲν τριάκοντα καὶ δύο ἢ τρεῖς, ἀφ' ὧν τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἰτελεῖς ἐλάμβανε τοῦ ἐναντιοῦ τὴν πρόσοδον. κλινοποιούς δ' εἴκοσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τετταράκοντα μνῶν ὑποκειμένους, οἱ δώδεκα μνᾶς ἰτελεῖς αὐτῷ προσέφερον. Cf. *Id. in Olympiod.* p. 1170; *Xenoph. Memor.* ii. 7, 6; iii. 11, 4. This was most likely the method pursued when the manufacture undertaken required a large fixed capital.

If the master cultivated his lands himself, as *Ischomachos* did, (*Xenoph. Econ.* 12, 2,) he employed numerous slaves under an overseer, ἐπίτροπος, who was himself also a slave, and on whom the entire management frequently devolved, the possessor devoting himself to public duties, or other employments. *Aristot. de Republ.* i. 7: αἱ γὰρ τὸν δούλον ἐπίστασθαι δεῖ ποιεῖν, . . . αὐτοῖ

τεύονται ἢ φιλοσοφοῦσιν. The house-steward was called ; indeed this word is often used as synonymous with ος and ἐπίτροπος. This ταμίας or ταμία superintended domestic arrangements, and kept the household stores back and seal, giving out what was required. See Xenoph. 9, 11 ; Aristoph. *Vespæ*, 612. He received, for this pur- signet-ring from his master. Aristoph. *Equites*, 947 :

καὶ νῦν ἀπόδος τὸν δακτύλιον, ὥς οὐκ ἔτι
ἔμοι ταμιεύσεις.

ταμίας must not be confounded with the ἐπίτροπος and ος mentioned by Lucian, *de Merc. Cond.* 12. The refer- in this case to Roman customs ; and the οἰκονόμος, who paymaster of the household, answers to the Roman *dis-* *r.* See *Gallus*, p. 204. Of the other domestic slaves and his peculiar duties. Among them may be mentioned χόος, the ἀγοραστής, (see Excursus on *The Markets and* *rice*, p. 287,) the ὑδροφόρος, (Lucian, *Vit. Auct.* 7,) and τανοφόρος (Plutarch, *Apophth. Reg.* i. p. 723.) word or two now on the female domestics. Their number

Epist. i. 34. Female slaves born in the house were called *σηκίδες*. *Poll.* iii. 76. A general term for female slaves is *δουλάρια*. See *Lucian, Lexiphl.* 25.

There were no learned slaves, as at Rome, nor any slaves who merely ministered to pleasure, as dancers, actors, or musicians. This however was the case at a later period, when the influence of Roman manners began to be felt. See *Lucian, Amor.* 10: *Χαρικλεί γε μὴν πολὺν ὀρχεστρίδων καὶ μουσουργῶν εἶπετο*. Yet the rich kept blacks and eunuchs; the former from mere vanity and love of show. *Theophr.* *Char.* 21: (*μικροφιλοτίμου*) *ἐπιμεληθῆναι ὅπως αὐτῷ ὁ ἀκόλουθος Αἰθίοψ ἔσται*. But the eunuchs were prized for their reputed fidelity. See *Herodotus*, viii. 105. Cf. *Heliodor. Æthiop.* viii. 17. Hence they were employed as treasurers; *Plutarch, Demetr.* 25: *ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ εἰώθεσαν εὐνούχους ἔχειν γαζοφύλακας*. In *Lucian, Imag.* 2, we have a *πλήθος ἡνούχων*, and the porter in the house of *Callias* is an eunuch. *Plato, Protag.* p. 314. There is no ground for the supposition that they were kept to guard the women.

The artisan-slaves were naturally more independent than those employed in domestic services. The latter were provided by their master with clothes, food, and even wine. See *Aristoph. Vespæ*, 442. This was not the case with the artisans, except when they were working on their lord's account: when they only paid him a fixed sum per diem, they found themselves in everything. The master, nevertheless, had to make good all damage that his slaves might do to others, as was enjoined by a law of *Solon*. *Lysias, in Theomn.* p. 362: *οἰκῆος καὶ δούλης τὴν βλάβην ὀφείλειν*. Cf. *Demosth. in Nicostr.* p. 1253; *Meier and Schömann, Att. Proc.* pp. 477, 573. Upon the whole the position of the Greek slave, in reference to his master, was far preferable to that of the Roman, and this is principally to be attributed to the character of the Athenian, which led him to establish a confidential relation between himself and his domestic. Hence the mute obedience of the Roman, and the familiar familiarity of the Greek slave. See the amusing anecdote related by *Plutarch, de Garrul.* 18. *P. Piso* had ordered his slaves never to speak about anything unless when asked. On one occasion he had invited *Clodius* to a banquet. The guests arrived, all but *Clodius*. *Piso* repeatedly sent the slave who had carried the

on to look if he were coming. At last he asked him if he was sure he had invited Clodius. 'Quite sure,' answered the slave. 'Why doesn't he come then?' enquired Piso. 'Because he declined the invitation,' answered the slave. 'And didn't you tell me that before?' 'Because you never asked me,' was the slave's reply. Plutarch adds: Οὕτως μὲν Ῥωμαῖκός ἐστιν ὁ δὲ Ἀττικὸς ἐρεῖ τῷ δεσπότῃ σκάπτων, ἐφ' οἷς γεγόνηκε διαλύσεις, οὕτως μέγα πρὸς πάντα ὁ ἐθισμός ἐστι. Cf. Cicero, *de Republ.* v. 11, p. 1313; Xenoph. *de Republ. Ath.* I, 2; Euripides, *Phœn.* 390, asserts that the greatest hardship of a slave's fate was being denied the *παρρησία*:

ΙΟ. τί φυγάσιν τὸ δυσχερές;

ΠΟ. ἐν μὲν μέγιστον, οὐκ ἔχει παρρησίαν.

ΙΟ. δούλου τόδ' εἶπας, μὴ λέγειν, ἃ τις φρονεῖ.

however of but limited application, and as far as Athens concerned, is contradicted by Demosthenes, *Phil.* iii. p. 111: τὴν παρρησίαν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων οὕτω κοινήν οἴεσθε δεῦρ ἵστασιν τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὥστε καὶ τοῖς ξένοις καὶ τοῖς δούλοις μεταδεδώκατε. καὶ πολλοὺς ἂν τις οἰκέτας ἴδοι παρ' ἡμῶν

οἱ εἰς τὰ οἰκετικά σώματα ἐξαμαρτάνοντες. Also Demosth. in *Mid.* p. 529: Ἐάν τις ὑβρίσῃ εἰς τινα, ἢ παῖδα, ἢ γυναῖκα, ἢ ἄνδρα, τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἢ τῶν δούλων, ἢ παράνομόν τι ποιήσῃ εἰς τούτων τινὰ, γραφέσθω πρὸς τοὺς θεσμοθέτας ὁ βουλούμενος Ἀθηναίων, οἷς ἔξεστιν κ.τ.λ. The idea entertained by Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 321, that a δίκη αἰκίας could be instituted, but not ἡ γραφὴ ὑβρεως, and that both the orators referred to one and the same law, seems erroneous. In Demosthenes, in *Nicostr.* p. 1251, ἡ free-born lad, παιδάριον ἄστον, is sent into a garden to demolish ἡ rose-bed, and this seems to militate against the assumption that ἡ γραφὴ ὑβρεως might be brought for an assault upon a slave; for the complainant adds: ἵν' εἴπερ καταλαβὼν αὐτὸν ἔγω πρὸς ἱργὴν δήσαιμι ἢ πατάξαιμι, ὡς δούλον ὄντα γραφήν με γράψαιτο ὑβρεως. But if we investigate the matter more narrowly, it will appear that the inference is inadmissible; because it is not a question of ὑβρις at all, since the criteria are wanting, viz. the ἔρχεσθαι χειρῶν ἀδίκων, and the προπηλακισμός. See Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 24, p. 1402. There is no doubt that if a slave had been dispatched to devastate the garden, and the owner had chastised him, an action of ὑβρις could not possibly have been supported: there would have been a better pretext for one on account of maltreating the free-born lad, though this would have had small shadow of justice.

Neither does it seem probable that Xenophon, or whoever was the author of the treatise *de Republica Atheniensium*, alleged the above-mentioned reason for the law against striking slaves, merely out of hostility to the Athenian democracy. See Æschin. in *Timarch.* p. 42: οὐ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐσπούδακεν ὁ νομοθέτης, ἀλλὰ βουλούμενος ἡμᾶς ἐθίσαι πολὺ ἀπέχειν τῆς τῶν ἐλευθέρων ὑβρεως, προσέγραφε, μηδ' εἰς τοὺς δούλους ὑβρίζειν. Cf. Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 777. With regard to the difference between the punishments imposed on the slave and the free-man, the leading distinction appears to be that in every instance a corporal penalty is inflicted on the former, while in the case of the latter this is only the last resource. Demosth. in *Timocr.* p. 752: καὶ μὴν εἰ θέλοιτε σκέψασθαι παρ' ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, τί δούλον ἢ ἐλεύθερον εἶναι διαφέρει, τοῦτο μέγιστον ἂν εὕροιτε, ὅτι τοῦ μὲν δούλου τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἀδικημάτων ἀπάντων ὑπέθυνόν ἴστι, τοῖς δ' ἐλευθέροις ὕστατον τοῦτο προσήκει κολάζειν. Hence

reference in the kinds of evidence required in a court of justice of the one or the other. Antipho, *de Choreut.* p. 778: ἡ μὲν τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὅρκοις καὶ πίστεσιν ἀναγκάζειν, αὐτοῖς δὲ τοὺς ἐλευθέρους μέγιστα καὶ περὶ πλείστον ἐστίν. ἐξείη δὲ τοὺς ἐτέραις ἀνάγκαις, ὑφ' ὧν, καὶ ἣν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι οὐκ ἔχοντες, ὅμως ἀναγκάζονται τὰ ληθῆ λέγειν. One of the most striking features of the slave's position was that when maltreated he was not allowed to defend himself. Plato, *Gorg.* p. 483: οὐδὲ γὰρ τὸ τοῦτο γ' ἐστὶ τὸ πάθημα, τὸ ἀδικεῖσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀνδραποδιστὴς ὃς κρεῖττον τεθνάναι ἐστὶν ἢ ζῆν, ὅστις ἀδικούμενος πηλακίζομενος μὴ οἷός τέ ἐστιν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ βοηθεῖν, μηδὲ ἄν κηδεῖται. If the injury were done by a stranger, the slave might take the matter up, and lodge a complaint, since he himself could not sue, or be sued; but the only defence against his owner's cruelty was by taking refuge in the temple, or at some other altar, whereupon the master might be compelled to sell him. See Petit, *Leg. Att.* p. 258; Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* pp. 403, 557. Public slaves, who had no master, were not allowed an action of *aikia*, appear to have sought protection in a

with the rest of the treatment they experienced. Their simple testimony passed for nothing, unless extorted by the rack, except perhaps when they came forward as *μηνυταί*, in cases of heavy crimes, such as murder: see Plato, *Leg.* xi. p. 937; Antipho, *de Cæde Vol.* p. 633. Thus Demosthenes, in *Onet.* i. p. 874, says: δούλων δὲ βασανισθέντων οὐδένες πώποτ' ἐξηλέγχθησαν, ὥς οὐκ ἀληθῇ τὰ ἐκ τῆς βασάνου εἶπον. Also Isæus, *de Ciron. Her.* p. 202: καὶ ὅποταν δούλοι καὶ ἐλεύθεροι παραγένωνται καὶ δέη εὐρηθῆναί τι τῶν ζητουμένων, οὐ χρησθε ταῖς τῶν ἐλευθέρων μαρτυρίαις, ἀλλὰ τοὺς δούλους βασανίζοντες οὕτω ζητεῖτε εὐρεῖν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν γεγενημένων. This was called ἐκ τοῦ σώματος, or ἐν τῷ δέρματι τὸν ἑλεγχον δίδοναι. Demosth. *adv. Timoth.* p. 1200. The possibility of obtaining evidence of this kind tended to depreciate the judicial value of the voluntary testimony of free-men. Thus Lycurgus, in *Leocr.* p. 160, says: βασανίζειν καὶ τοὺς ἔργοις μᾶλλον ἢ τοῖς λόγοις πιστεύειν. The orators of course decry or extol such evidence, just as it suits their purpose. Thus Antipho, *de Choreut.* p. 778, declares it worthy of confidence, and again, *de Cæde Herod.* p. 720, rejects it as unsafe.

The punishments inflicted on slaves were almost invariably corporal. No mention occurs of any that were merely ignominious, as the Roman *furca*. See *Gallus*, p. 223. Beating with rods, thongs, or whips, was very common. As negroes have been flogged till a pipe could be leisurely smoked out, so, if not in Greece, at least in Etruria, a somewhat similar barbarity seems to have been practised. Plutarch, *de Cohib. Ira*, 11: 'Αριστοτέλης ἱστορεῖ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐν Τυβέρηνιᾳ μαστιγοῦσθαι τοὺς οἰκέτας πρὸς αὐλόν.

Fetters, *πέδαι*, were often fastened on the feet, not only by way of punishment, but also to prevent the escape of the slaves, especially of those who worked in the fields or mines. Athen. vi. p. 272: καὶ αἱ πολλαὶ δὲ αὗται Ἀττικαὶ μυριάδες τῶν οἰκετῶν δεδεμέναι εἰργάζοντο τὰ μέταλλα. The *ποδοκάκη* or *ποδοκάκκη* was a cumbrous fetter employed as a punishment for offenders. See Lysias, in *Theomn.* p. 356; Demosth. in *Timocr.* p. 733. Cf. Suidas, s. v. Identical with, or similar to this, was the *χοῖνιξ*. Aristophanes puns on its double sense of a measure and a fetter. *Vesp.* 440:

οὐκ ἐγὼ 'δίδαξα κλάειν τέτταρ' ἐν τῇ χοῖνικᾳ.

ing of the same kind was the σφαλός. Poll. viii. 72. The
 as an elaborate apparatus, in which the culprit was fixed,
 neck, hands, and feet, in five different holes. Aristoph.
 1049:

δῆσαι σ' ἐκέλευε πεντεσπυρίγγῳ ξύλῳ.

oliast on the passage. Suidas is wrong in taking this to
 nymous with the ποδοκάκη. The κλοιός, again, was some-
 the same kind, but only fastened the neck and the hands.

. *Hist. Gr.* iii. 3, 11: ἐκ τούτου μέντοι ἤδη δεδεμένος καὶ
 ε καὶ τὸν πρᾶχλον ἐν κλοιῷ, μαστιγούμενος καὶ κεντού-
 ὅς τε καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν περιήγοντο.

Lucian, *Toxar.* 29: καὶ πονήρως εἶχεν, οἷον εἰκὸς χαμαὶ
 ρτα καὶ τῆς νυκτὸς οὐδὲ προτείνειν τὰ σκέλη δυνάμενον ἐν
 ρ κατακεκλεισμένα· τῆς μὲν γὰρ ἡμέρας ὁ κλοιὸς ἤρκει καὶ
 χεῖρ πεπεδωμένη, εἰς δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἔδει ὅλον καταδεδέσ-

from this passage it appears that this instrument did not
 ily fasten the hands, and would then be merely a collar
 neck, the same as is elsewhere called περιδέραιον. Lucian,

10. According to the Scholiast on Aristoph. *Plut.* 476,

δεσπότας ἀποκτείναντες, ἐὰν ἐπ' αὐτοφώρῃ ληφθῶσιν, οὐδ' οὔτοι
 θνήσκουσιν ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν προσηκόντων, ἀλλὰ παραδιδόασιν αὐτοὺς
 τῇ ἀρχῇ κατὰ νόμον ἐμετέρους πατρίους. So also Eurip. *Hecub.*
 289 :

νόμοι δ' ἐν ἡμῖν τοῖς τ' ἐλευθέροις ἴσοι
 καὶ τοῖσι δούλοις αἵματος κεῖται πέρι.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the character of the slaves themselves might render necessary such harsh treatment; for it is from the accounts given by their masters that we gather all our information on the subject. It would be absurd to deny that among the multitudes of slaves in Greece there were not a great number of intelligent and worthy, nay, even noble-minded persons. Thus Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 776, says : πολλοὶ γὰρ ἀδελφῶν ἤδη δούλοι καὶ νιέων τισὶ κρείττους πρὸς ἀρετὴν πᾶσαν γενόμενοι σεσέκασιν δεσπότας καὶ κτήματα τὰς τε οἰκίσεις αὐτῶν ὅλας. Aristotle, too, despite his theory, is obliged to confess that nature sometimes errs, and accords to slaves the qualities of free-men : *De Republ.* i. 5. That the affecting instance of Tyndarus in *The Captives* of Plautus was founded on fact, we cannot doubt. On the other hand, it is no doubt true that there were many who, by the degradation of their nature, their want of fidelity to their masters, and their vices of all kinds, might seem to deserve their lot. See Plato, *Phæd.* p. 69.

But the real blame lay often with the master, and the badness of the slave was an index of the character of his owner, and of his domestic arrangements. Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 777 : Ταῦτα δὲ διαλαβόντες ἕκαστοι τοῖς διανοήμασιν, οἱ μὲν πιστεύουσί τε οὐδὲν γένει οἰκετῶν, κατὰ δὲ θηρίων φύσιν κέντροις καὶ μάστιξιν οὐ τρις μόνον ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἀπεργάζονται δούλας τὰς ψυχὰς τῶν οἰκετῶν· οἱ δ' αὖ τάναντία δρῶσι τούτων πάντα. Cf. Xenophon, *Æcon.* 3, 4. The ordinary sentiments of the slave are nowhere better portrayed than in the dialogue between Æacos and Xanthias, in Aristoph. *Ranæ*, 745 :

- A. μάλα γ' ἐποπτεύειν δοκῶ,
 ὅταν καταρδῶμαι λάθρα τῷ δεσπότῃ.
 Ξ. τί δὲ τονθορίζων, ἡνίκ' ἂν πληγὰς λαβῶν
 πολλάς ἀπίη θύραζε; A. καὶ τόθ' ἤδομαι.
 Ξ. τί δὲ πολλὰ πράττων; A. ὦε, μὰ Δί', οὐδὲν οἷδ' ἐγώ.
 Ξ. Ὁμόγνιε Ζεῦ· καὶ παρακούων δεσποτῶν
 ἄττ' ἂν λαλῶσι; A. καὶ μάλα πλεῖν ἢ μαίνομαι.
 Ξ. τί δὲ τοῖς θύραζε ταῦτα καταλαλῶν; A. ἐγώ;
 μὰ Δί', ἀλλ' ὅταν δρῶ τοῦτο, κἀκμαίνομαι.

tarch, *Non Posse Suav.* 8. It was from this coarse and vulgar way of thinking usual among slaves, that every ignoble was called ἡδονὴ ἀνδραποδῶδης. Plato, *Epist.* vii. p. 335; *Eth. Nic.* iii. 10, 11; Plutarch, *Amat.* 4. They seem to have been considered incapable of noble feelings, and their chief duty was to commit no crime. Philostr. *Vit. Apoll. Tyan.* iii. αἰνον ποιοῦνται τῶν ἀνδραπόδων τὸ μὴ κλέπτειν αὐτά. Runaway slaves were not uncommon, even when there was no law to encourage their desertion. See Plato, *Protag.* p. 310; *Memor.* ii. 10, 1. On this account, when out of doors, slaves preceded his master, instead of going behind. Theophr. *Char.* 8: καὶ τὸν παῖδα δὲ ἀκολουθοῦντα κελεύειν αὐτοῦ ὀπισθεν ἵζειν, ἀλλ' ἔμπροσθεν, ἵνα φυλάττηται αὐτῷ, μὴ ἐν τῇ οἴῳ ὄσσειν. Slave-rebellions actually took place once and again, (Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 272; Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 777,) and that such outbreaks were constant causes of apprehension, we see from Plato, *Republ.* ix. p. 578.

Slaves were sometimes manumitted by the state as a reward for meritorious services, such as informing against criminals, or good conduct in war: but the master was always indemnified. Plato

Still their feelings toward the *προστάτης* were very frequently not of the most friendly kind. Demosth. in *Timocr.* p. 739: *πονηρῶν καὶ ἀχαρίστων οἰκετῶν τρόπους ἔχοντες. καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων, ὡς ἄ. δ., ὅσοι ἂν ἐλεύθεροι γένωνται οὐ τῆς ἐλευθερίας χάριν ἔχουσι τοῖς δεσπόταις, ἀλλὰ μισοῦσι μάλιστα ἀνθρώπων ἀπάντων, ὅτι συνίσασιν αὐτοῖς δουλεύσασιν.*

In conclusion, it may be remarked that, besides the slaves, there were many of the poorer classes, especially among the *ξένοι* or *μέτοικοι*, who performed the same services for hire, *μισθωτοί*. Plato, *de Republ.* ii. p. 371: *οἱ δὴ πωλοῦντες τὴν τῆς ἰσχύος χρεῖαν, τὴν τιμὴν ταύτην μισθὸν καλοῦντες, κέκληνται, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, μισθωτοί.* Id. *Polit.* p. 290: *οὗς γε ὁρῶμεν μισθωτοὺς καὶ θῆτας πᾶσιν ἐτοίμους ὑπηρετοῦντας.* Cf. Aristot. *de Republ.* i. 11. Such people were hired, not only as artisans and farm-servants, but also as domestics. Thus Plato, *Lys.* p. 208: *ἔστι τις ἡνίοχος, παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς μισθὸν φέρων.* The women who engaged themselves as nurses have been mentioned already, and the out-door attendants were also hired sometimes. Theophr. *Char.* 22: *μισθοῦσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους παιδίον ἀκολουθῆσον.* Occasionally the services of a poor relation were made use of in this capacity. Isæus, *de Dicæog. Her.* p. 94. Lastly, there were messengers, like our ticket-porters, waiting about the market-place at Athens, who were ready to run errands or do jobs at a moment's notice. Poll. vii. 132: *δύο γὰρ ὄντων τῶν κολωνῶν, ὁ μὲν ἵππειος ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ δ' ἦν ἐν ἀγορᾷ παρὰ τὸ Εὐρυσάκειον, οὗ συνήεσαν οἱ μισθαροῦντες.* Cf. Suidas and Harpocration, s. v. *Κολωνίτης*.

EXCURSUS TO SCENE VIII.

THE DOCTORS.

account of the medical practice of the Greeks, or an estimate of the scientific acquirements of their physicians, would be a knowledge of medicine itself, as well as a deep study of the medical literature of the ancients. But such an attempt would be foreign to the object of this work, which professes to describe the details of daily life. Yet it will not be unproductive to cast our eyes for awhile from cheerful scenes of domestic life to the sick chamber and the bed of suffering, and to learn the mode of succour resorted to on such trying occasions. We shall describe the doctor's person and ordinary appearance; we shall investigate his position in society, the repute in which he is held, his behaviour towards the sick, the amount of his fees, and we shall see how he at one time paid visits, at another received his patients at home. These particulars will

οἷδε οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ ἐγὼ κείβομαι, συνέστησε τὴν ἡμετέραν τέχνην.
Cf. *Id. de Republ.* iii. p. 406.

Many however looked on the art and its professors with great contempt. Thus of Pausanias, the Lacedæmonian, we read in Plutarch, *Apophth. Lac.* i. p. 921: κράτιστον δὲ ἔλεγε τοῦτον ἱατρὸν εἶναι τὸν μὴ κατασήκοντα τοὺς ἀρρώστούοντας, ἀλλὰ τάχιστα θάπτοντα. Again, Aristophanes, *Nubes*, 332, designates them as swindlers; and in *Plutus*, 407, we have:

τίς δῆτ' ἱατρός ἐστι νῦν ἐν τῇ πόλει;
οὗτε γὰρ ὁ μισθὸς οὐδὲν ἔστ', οὐθ' ἡ τέχνη.

Athenæus, also, calls them charlatans and pedants; ix. p. 377: Μέγας δ' ἐστὶ σοφιστὴς καὶ οὐδὲν ἥττων τῶν ἱατρῶν εἰς ἀλαζονείαν καὶ ὁ παρὰ Σωσιπάτρῳ μάγειρος. Cf. xv. p. 666. The caricature too in Plautus, *Menæch.* v. 3—5, is perhaps from a Grecian original. Yet it would be unfair to infer from these passages that the profession generally was looked down upon in Greece. Incompetent doctors there were, no doubt, as now; but there were others possessed of great experience and skill. See Antipho, *Tetral.* iii. p. 689: νῦν δὲ πολλαὶς ἡμέραις ὕστερον πονηρῷ ἱατρῷ ἐπιτρεφθεὶς διὰ τὴν τοῦ ἱατροῦ μοχθηρίαν, καὶ οὐ διὰ τὰς πληγὰς ἀπέθανε. προλεγόντων γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν ἄλλων ἱατρῶν, εἰ ταύτην τὴν θεραπείαν θεραπεύσοιτο, ὅτι ἰάσιμος ὦν διαφθαρήσοιτο, δι' ὑμᾶς τοὺς συμβούλους διαφθαρεῖς ἐμοὶ ἀνόσιον ἔγκλημα προσέβαλεν.

At Rome it was usual to have a house-physician in the number of the slaves, those who healed for money being looked on with distrust. The elder Cato contented himself with a recipe-book, *commentarius*, which probably contained all sorts of prescriptions for particular cases. See *Gallus*, p. 208. In Greece also, there were numerous works on medical subjects, as we see from Xenophon, *Memor.* iv. 2, 10: πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἱατρῶν ἐστὶ συγγράμματα. Yet these general treatises were not held sufficient for the individual cases that might occur, and this ἱατρεῦεσθαι κατὰ γράμματα, was considered useless. A doctor was therefore consulted on every occasion. See Euripides, apud Stob. *Tit.* C. 3, p. 308:

Πρὸς τὴν νόσον τοι καὶ τὸν ἱατρὸν χρεὼν
ιδόντ' ἀκείσθαι, μὴ 'πιτακτὰ φάρμακα
διδόντ', εἰν μὴ ταῦτα τῇ νόσῳ πρέπῃ.

Cf. *Aristot. de Republ.* iii. 16, p. 1287: ὅτι τὸ κατὰ γράμματα

θαι φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ αἰρετώτερον χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἔχουσιν
 νας. He adds, however, that when the doctor was sus-
 of having been tampered with, the γράμματα would be
 insulted. Cf. Plato, *Polit.* p. 298: ὃν μὲν γὰρ ἐθέλησωσιν
 ὁντων ἐκάτεροι σώζειν, ὁμοίως δὲ σώζουσιν· ὃν δ' ἂν λω-
 βουληθῶσι, λωβῶνται τέμνοντες καὶ καίοντες. . . καὶ δὲ καὶ
 ντες ἢ παρὰ ξυγγενῶν ἢ παρὰ τινων ἐχθρῶν τοῦ καίμοντος
 α μισθὸν λαμβάνοντες ἀποκτινύουσιν. The doctor, if he
 to play false, had the law in his favour, as it naturally
 d him of all responsibility in case any thing happened
 atient. See Antipho, *Tetral.* iii. p. 694: εἰ δ' ἔτι καὶ ὑπὸ
 ροῦ ἀπέθανεν, ὥς οὐκ ἀπέθανεν, ὁ μὲν ἱατρὸς οὐ φονεὺς
 στιν, ὁ γὰρ νόμος ἀπολύει αὐτόν. Also Philemon, apud
lit. CIL. 6, p. 333:

μόνον δ' ἱατρῷ τοῦτο καὶ συνηγόρῳ
 ἔξεστιν, ἀποκτείνειν μὲν, ἀποθνήσκειν δὲ μή.

at. Hist. xxix. 1, 6: 'Medico tantum hominem occidisse
 as summa est.' Cf. Plato, *Leg.* ix. p. 865. Still, in cer-
 es, they seem to have been legally accountable for their

Dicaeopolis says to the countryman, who begs him for some ointment for his eyes :

ἀλλ', ὦ πόνηρ', οὐ δημοσιεύων τυγχάνω.

At the same time he directs him, πρὸς τοὺς Πιττάλου. The Scholiast says : δημοσίᾳ χειροτονούμενοι ἰατροὶ καὶ δημόσιοι προῖκα ἐθεράπευον. Cf. Plato, *Gorg.* p. 455 : ὅταν περὶ ἰατρῶν αἰρέσεως ᾖ τῇ πόλει ξύλλογος. But Plato also distinctly mentions the two classes ; those in the pay of the state, and those not. *Polit.* p. 259 : εἴ τῃ τις τῶν δημοσιενόντων ἰατρῶν ἱκανὸς συμβουλευεῖν, ἰδιωτεύων αὐτός. So Strabo, iv. 1, 291, speaking of the introduction of Greek customs into Gaul, says : σοφιστὰς γοῦν ὑποδέχονται τοὺς μὲν ἰδίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ αἱ πόλεις κοινῇ μισθούμεναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἰατροὺς. Democedes also, had practised for a year in Ægina, on his own account, before he was taken into the public pay. Herodot. iii. 131. The salary was sometimes, as in this instance, very considerable. Democedes at first received from the Æginetans a talent per annum. Next year the Athenians sent for him, and paid him one hundred minæ, and at last Polycrates of Samos secured his services at a salary of two talents. See Böckh, *Public Econ. of Athens*, p. 120.

In addition to this salary, the patient paid a fee, as we see from Aristotle, *ib.* : ἀρνυνται τὸν μισθὸν τοὺς κάμνοντας ὑγιάσαντες. We certainly cannot draw the inference from this passage that the fee was conditional upon recovery. Besides the general expression μισθός, there were other more honourable terms for the fee, as, for instance, σῶστρον and ἰατρεῖα. Poll. vi. 186 : ἰδίᾳ δὲ ἰατρῷ μὲν σῶστρον, σωτήρια καὶ ἰατρεῖα. Sometimes the doctor demanded his fee in advance, before he attempted the cure. Thus Aspasia, wife of Cyrus the Younger, when a girl, had a tumour on her face : Δείκνυσι γοῦν αὐτὴν ὁ πατήρ ἰατρῷ. ὁ δὲ ὑπέσχετο ἰάσασθαι εἰ λάβοι τρεῖς στατῆρας. ὁ δὲ ἔφατο μὴ ἔχειν. ὁ δὲ ἰατρός μὴδὲ αὐτὸς εὐπορεῖν φαρμάκων. Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 1. See also Achill. Tat. iv. 15. Occasionally, the reason for this procedure was, because the doctor had to provide the remedies at his own expense, as we see from the passage in Ælian ; and this is confirmed by Plato, *Polit.* p. 298.

The physicians were under the necessity of dispensing their own drugs, as there were no apothecaries' shops, where the prescriptions could be made up. The booths of the φαρμακοπῶλαι were

tirely different nature. These people were nothing better than quacks and mountebanks, who, among other things, vended medicines compounded by themselves without the aid of a qualified physician, and which were adapted merely for common disorders. They also cried their nostrums about the streets. Lucian, *pro Domestico*. 7: τὸ δ' ὅλον ἐκείνῳ τῷ φαρμακοπώλῃ ἔοικας, ὃς ἅπτα βηχὸς φάρμακον, καὶ αὐτίκα παύσειν τοὺς πάσχοντας ὑμῖνος, αὐτὸς μεταξὺ σπώμενος ὑπὸ βηχὸς ἐφαίνεται. See also *de Prof. in Virt.* 8. They probably carried serpents with them, to aid their mysterious feats of jugglery, at which it is would appear to be the meaning of the fragment of Lucian preserved by Pollux, x. 180:

καὶ τοὺς μὲν ὄφεις, οὕς ἐπιπέμπεις
ἐν κίστῃ που κατασήμεναι,
καὶ παῦσαι φαρμακοπωλῶν.

other wares they dealt in burning-glasses, as we see from *h. Nub.* 766:

ΣΤ. ἤδη παρὰ τοῖσι φαρμακοπώλαις τὴν λίθον
ταύτην ἐώρας, τὴν καλὴν, τὴν διαφανῆ,

κατεσκευασμένους
λαμπρότατον ἱατρεῖον ἐν χαλκοῖς πάννυ
λουτηρίοισιν, ἐξαλίπτροις, κυλικίσιν,
σικύαισιν, ὑποθέτοισι.

The doctors had also their assistants or pupils, who carried their instructions into effect. Plato, *Leg.* iv. p. 720. Thus we find Timarchos with Euthydicos, a doctor in the Piræus. See *Æschin. in Timarch.* p. 65: οὗτος γὰρ πρῶτον πάντων μὲν, ἐπειδὴ ἀπηλλαγὴ ἐκ παιδῶν ἐκάθητο ἐν Πειραιεὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Εὐθύδικου ἱατροῦ, προφάσει μὲν τῆς τέχνης μαθητής. To these ἱατρεῖα those persons resorted who wished to take some medicine on the spot, for a slight indisposition; Plato, *Leg.* i. p. 646. But others also came, who were labouring under severer complaints, Lamachos, for instance: *Aristoph. Acharn.* 1022.

The assistants seem to have been partly slaves, and these had principally to attend to those of their own class. That a slave could set up as doctor, on his own account, does not appear to have been the case. A very interesting passage about these slave-doctors, from which it appears that they were not remarkably delicate or conscientious in their treatment of their patients, is to be found in Plato, *Leg.* iv. p. 720: Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ ξυννοεῖς, ὅτι δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων ὄντων τῶν καμνόντων ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, τοὺς μὲν δούλους σχεδὸν τι οἱ δοῦλοι τὰ πολλὰ ἱατρεύουσι περιτρέχοντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἱατρείοις περιμένοντες; καὶ οὔτε τινα λόγον ἐκάστου περὶ νοσήματος ἐκάστου τῶν οἰκετῶν υἷδει τῶν τοιούτων ἱατρῶν δίδωσιν, οὐδ' ἀποδέχεται προστάξας δ' αὐτῷ τὰ δόξαντα ἐξ ἐμπειρίας, ὡς ἀκριβῶς εἰδὼς, καθάπερ τύραννος, αὐθαδῶς οἴχεται ἀποπηδήσας πρὸς ἄλλον κάμνοντα οἰκέτην. Free-men, on the contrary, especially the more wealthy, had none but free-men for their medical attendants, who proceeded to work in a very careful and conscientious manner. Plato, *ibid.*: ὁ δὲ ἐλεύθερος ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖστον τὰ τῶν ἐλευθέρων νοσήματα θεραπεύει τε καὶ ἐπισκοπεῖ. καὶ ταῦτα ἐξετάζων ἀπ' ἀρχῆς καὶ κατὰ φύσιν τῷ κάμνοντι κοινοῦμενος αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς φίλοις ἅμα μὲν αὐτὸς μαθαίνει τι παρὰ τῶν νοσούντων, ἅμα δὲ καθόσον οἷός τε ἐστί, διδάσκει τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα αὐτόν.

It was a rule of Hippocrates that a physician should maintain a becoming exterior, avoiding everything likely to cause an unpleasant impression on the patient. The hair and beard were to be carefully trimmed, and his dress to be even elegant. See Galen,

ocr. *Epid.* xvii. 2, p. 138: καὶ πρὸς τούτοις γε αὐτὸς ὁ
 ὢν πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα τὰς τε χεῖρας ἔχειν δεῖ κα-
 τας καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον τὰς τρίχας ἐπὶ τε τοῦ γενείου καὶ
 . ἐφεξῆς δὲ καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μόρια τοῦ σώματος, ὥσπερ γε
 ἐσθῆτα λαμπράν. His deportment should be equally
 of servility and of self-importance, he should be calm and
 d, and very guarded in expressing opinions as to the state
 atient. This wholesome advice was not always observed,
 ng to Galen; he says, p. 144: ἰατροὶ δὲ τινὲς εἰσιν, οἱ
 τοσοῦτον μωραίνουσιν, ὥς καὶ τοῖς κοιμωμένοις ἐπεισιέναι
 ὀφου ποδῶν, φωνῆς μείζονος, ὑφ' ᾧ ἐνίοτε διεγερθέντες οἱ
 ες ἀγανακτοῦσι κ. τ. λ. He also tells a story of a phy-
 who, when a sick person enquired the chance of his reco-
 answered him with the line:

κάτθανε καὶ Πάτροκλος, ὅπερ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.

adds: ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῶν νῦν ἰατρῶν, ...τραχέως καὶ αὐτοὶ προσ-
 α τοῖς νοσοῦσιν, ὥς μισηθῆναι, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἐξ
 ίου δουλοπρεπῶς κολακεύοντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ τούτου κατεφρο-
 . Lucian, *adv. Indoct.* 29, gives an account of the strata-
 incompetent practitioners who sought to blind people's

ἐξηλλαγμένον, καὶ τὴν καρδίαν δασεῖαν. See also Pausan. iv. 9, 5; Eustath. *ad Il.* i. 189.

It was not till long afterwards that the science of healing became divided into separate branches, such as the arts of oculists, dentists, &c. See Lucian, *Lexiph.* 4. The passage in Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* viii. p. 277, is hardly explicit enough to enable us to determine whether this was the case as early as the time of Diogenes the Cynic. He says: ἔλεγε θαυμάζειν, ὅτι εἰ μὲν ἔφη ὀδόντας ἰᾶσθαι, πάντες ἂν αὐτῷ προσήεσαν οἱ δεόμενοι ὀδόντα ἐξελεῖσθαι. καὶ, νῆ Δία, εἰ ὑπέσχετο ὀφθαλμοὺς θεραπεύειν, πάντες ἄνθρωποι ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτῷ ἐπεδείκνυν. ὁμοίως δὲ εἰ σπληνὸς ἢ ποδάγρας ἢ κορύζης εἶδέναι φάρμακον. Cf. *Gallus*, p. 208. The *ιατραλείπται* seem to have been distinguished by their attempting to cure diseases by means of embrocations, combined with bodily exercise and strict regimen. See Plato, *de Republ.* iii. p. 406: Ἡρόδικοι γὰρ...μίξαι γυμναστικὴν ἱατρικῇ, κ. τ. λ.

The Greek doctors were perpetually encountered by difficulties arising from the stupidity, distrustfulness, and blind superstition of the time. Thus when the plague was raging at Athens, during the Peloponnesian war, it was confidently believed that all the wells had been poisoned; see Thucyd. ii. 48: ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ὅτι οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα. Still more general was the superstition that certain persons, by incantations, tying of magic knots, and other secret arts, were able to afflict people with diseases, *μαγευτικὴ* or *φαρμακεία*, the different *núances* being termed *μαγγανεία*, *γοητεία*, and so forth. It is worthy of note that even Plato, who often mentions this belief, could not wholly bring himself to attribute it to mere superstition. In one passage, *de Republ.* ii. p. 364, he does seem to pronounce it an imposture; but in the *Laws*, where he treats the subject more at large, he appears to be undecided on this point. He distinguishes between two kinds of *φαρμακεία*; of which the first is *σώματι σώματα κακουργοῦσα*, i. e. by means of poison. Of the other he says: ἄλλη δὲ ἡ μαγγανείας τέ τισι καὶ ἐπὶ δαῖς... ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ περὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα ξύμπαντα οὔτε ῥᾶδιον ὕπως ποτὲ πέφυκε γιγνώσκειν, οὔτ', εἴ τις γνῶιη, πείθειν εὐπετέες ἑτέρον. His law on the subject is as follows: εἰάν δὲ καταδέσειν ἢ ἐπαγωγαῖς, ἢ τισιν ἐπὶ δαῖς, ἢ τῶν τοιούτων *φαρμακείων* ὠντινωνοῦν δόξῃ ὅμοιοι εἶναι βλάπτοντι. *Leg.* xi. p. 933.

Under these circumstances the use of counter-charms, ἀλεξί-
 ζα, was very natural. Plato, *Polit.* p. 280. Sympathetic
 were frequently tried; see Theocr. ii. 91. An important
 occurs in Demosthenes, in *Aristogit.* p. 793: ἀλλ' ἐφ' οὗ
 ἦν μιὰν Θεοδωρίδα, τὴν Λημνίδα, τὴν φαρμακίδα καὶ αὐ-
 τὸ γένος ἅπαν ἀπεκτείνετε, ταῦτα λαβὼν τὰ φάρμακα
 ἐπώδας παρὰ τῆς θεραπαίνης αὐτῆς...μαγχανεύει καὶ φε-
 καὶ τοὺς ἐπιλήπτους φησὶν ἰᾶσθαι. The usages customary
 occasions are enumerated in an interesting fragment of
 Her (Meineke, p. 42):

Περιμαζάτωσάν σ' αἱ γυναῖκες, ἐν κύκλῳ
 καὶ περιθειωσάτωσαν, ἀπὸ κρουνοῦ τριῶν
 ὕδατι περιέρβαν', ἐμβαλὼν ἄλλας, φακοὺς.

were called περικαθαρτήρια, and the accompanying songs
 ms, ἐπώδαι, were considered essential to success. Thus
 s says ironically: καὶ ἐγὼ μὲν εἶπον, ὅτι αὐτὸ μὲν εἴη φύλ-
 ἐπώδη δέ τις ἐπὶ τῷ φαρμάκῳ εἴη, ἢν εἰ μὲν τις ἐπώδοι
 χρωῖτο αὐτῷ, παντάπασιν ὑγιᾶ ποιοῖ τὸ φάρμακον· ἀνεν
 ἐπώδῃς οὐδὲν ὄφελος εἴη τοῦ φύλλον. Plato, *Charm.*

EXCURSUS TO SCENE IX.

THE BURIALS.

A VERY prominent feature in the Greek character was the pious conscientiousness with which they discharged those duties which were held to be due from the living to the dead. Among other nations of antiquity we find, it is true, a more pompous ceremonial, and usages more loudly expressive of grief, ending even in the bloody tragedy of self-sacrifice; we observe moreover a gloomy and superstitious veneration for the carefully-treasured relics of defunct kindred; but that modest piety which discharges the last labour of love to the departed, tending carefully the sepulchre, and testifying by often-recurring gifts an enduring recollection, is nowhere so distinctly traceable as among the Greeks. Originally, no doubt, a prudential consideration of the pernicious effects which the non-burial of the dead might have upon the living, may have given rise to the superstition that the unburied dead wandered restlessly about the earth. But as early as the time of Homer this discreet notion had been forgotten, and it was undoubtingly believed that an honourable interment was the happiest lot for the departed, and to provide it the most sacred duty of the survivor. Hence the wish expressed by Odysseus, when his bark is wrecked, that he had fallen before Troy, for then he says, τῷ κ' ἔλαχον κτερέων. In later times, also, splendid obsequies were held to be essential to human happiness: λέγω τῷινυν, αἰεὶ καὶ παντὶ, καὶ πανταχοῦ κάλλιστον εἶναι ἀνδρὶ πλουτοῦντι...ὐπὸ τῶν αὐτοῦ ἐκγόνων καλῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ταφῆναι. Plato, *Hipp. Maj.* p. 291.

Hence, except in cases of peculiar animosity, it was a rule among the Greeks not to deprive a fallen foe of the rites of sepulture. Thus in Euripides, *Suppl.* 524, Theseus is made to say:

νεκροὺς δὲ τοὺς θανόντας, οὐ βλέπτων πόλιν,
οὐδ' ἀνδροκμητὰς προσφέρων ἀγωνίας,
θάψαι δίκαιῳ, τὸν Πανελλήνων νόμον
σῶζων. τί τούτων ἐστὶν οὐ καλῶς ἔχον;

In cases where passion and hatred caused a departure from this rule, the procedure met with strong disapprobation. See Isocrates,

THE BURIALS.

[EXCURSUS.

is. p. 416: ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἴσον κακὸν οὐδ' ὅμοιον τοὺς τεθνεῶ-
φῆς εἶργεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας πατρίδος ἀποστερεῖσθαι
ν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν ἀπάντων, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν δεινότερον τοῦ
τιν ἢ τοῖς ἀτυχοῦσιν, κ.τ.λ. And a notion actually existed
imals, and even insects, were capable of a like respect to
d of their kind. Cf. Plutarch, *de Sol. Anim.* 11.

How much more natural therefore was it that in civil life the
sepulture was looked on as a very holy one; so that when
absolved children from all other duties to unworthy parents,
made it incumbent on them to provide for them a suitable
ent. So the law of Solon cited by Æschines, in *Timarch.*
μὴ ἐπάναγκες εἶναι τῷ παιδὶ ἡβήσαντι τρέφειν τὸν πατέρα,
ἵκησιν παρέχειν, ὅς ἂν ἐκμισθώσῃ ἐταιρεῖν ἀποθανόντα δέ
ω καὶ τᾶλλα ποιείτω τὰ νομιζόμενα. Individual instances
ect, such as that mentioned by Demosthenes, in *Erat.*
are referred to in terms which sufficiently shew the horror
hich such unnatural conduct was generally regarded. See
sias, in *Phil.* p. 883; Isæus, *de Philoctem. Hered.* p. 143;
str. *Hered.* p. 78. But all these were examples of aban-

done on a person's death was to insert an obolos in his mouth as a ναῦλον for the ferry-man of Hades: ἐπειδὴν τις ἀποθάνῃ τῶν οἰκείων, πρῶτα μὲν φέροντες ὀβολὸν εἰς τὸ στόμα κατέθηκαν αὐτῷ, μισθὸν τῷ πορθμεῖ ναυτιλίας γενησόμενον. Thus in Aristophanes, *Ran.* 140, Dionysos is attended by Xanthias, and therefore has to pay for two:

ἐν πλοιαρίῳ τυννουτῶι σ' ἀνὴρ γέρων
ναύτην διάξει, δὴ ὀβωλῶ μισθὸν λαβών.

This ναῦλον was also called δανάκη. Hesychius: Δανάκη, νομισμάτιόν τι βαρβαρικὸν (Περσικόν) δυνάμενον πλέον ὀβολοῦ ὀλίγω τιμί. ἐλέγετο δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῖς νεκροῖς διδόμενος ὀβολός.

A curious confirmation of these passages was obtained on opening a grave in Cephallenia, when the coin was discovered still sticking between the teeth of the skeleton. Stackelberg, *die Gräber der Hellenen*, p. 42. The dead were provided therewith as soon as possible, it being thought that their transit would be thus expedited. See Lucian, *Catapl.* 18: ἀδικεῖς, ὦ Χάρων, ἔωλον ἤδη νεκρὸν ἀπολιμπάνων. ἀμέλει γράψομαί σε παρανόμων ἐπὶ τοῦ Παθαμάνθους.

According to Lucian, *de Luctu*, 11, the corpse was next washed, anointed with the most precious perfumes, crowned with flowers, and dressed in a splendid garment: Μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ λούσαντες αὐτοὺς, ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῆς τῆς κάτω λίμνης λουτρον εἶναι τοῖς ἐκεῖ, καὶ μύρῳ τῷ καλλίστῳ χρίσαντες τὸ σῶμα πρὸς δυσωδίαν ἤδη βιάζομενον, καὶ στεφανώσαντες τοῖς ὀραίοις ἄνθεσι, προτίθενται λαμπρῶς ἀμφιέσαντες, ἵνα μὴ ῥιγῶεν δηλονότι παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν, μηδὲ γυμνοὶ βλέποιντο τῷ Κερβέρῳ. These offices were not performed by a hireling and stranger, as the Roman *pollinctor*, but by the nearest female relatives. Isæus, *de Philocten. Her.* p. 143; *de Ciron. Her.* p. 209. Hence the demand of Antigone, Eurip. *Phœniss.* 1667:

σὺ δ' ἄλλὰ νεκρῷ λουτρά περιβαλεῖν μ' ἔα.

The corpse was always dressed in white. It may be objected that Plato appears to mention this as a distinctive mark in the obsequies of an ἱερεὺς, *Leg.* xii. p. 947. There are, however, many other passages which shew that this was always the colour used. Archilochus, ap. Plutarch, *de Aud. Poët.* 6:

εἰ κείνον κεφαλὴν καὶ χαρίεντα μέλη

Ἦφαιστοι καθαροῖσιν ἐν εἵμασιν ἀμφεπονήθη.

san. iv. 13, 1; and Artemidor. *Oneirocr.* ii. 3: Ἄνδρὶ δὲ
 λευκὰ ἔχειν ἱμάτια θάνατον προαγορεύει διὰ τὸ τοῦ
 ὄντας ἐν λευκοῖς ἐκφέρεισθαι τὸ δὲ μέλαν ἱμάτιον σωτη-
 ροσημαίνει. οὐ γὰρ οἱ ἀποθανόντες, ἀλλ' οἱ πενθοῦντες τοὺς
 σκοντας τοιούτοις χρῶνται ἱματίοις. In Lucian, *Philop.*
 the youngsters endeavour to frighten Democritus by dressing
 in *νεκρικῶς ἐσθῆτι μελαίνῃ*, but this, despite the verdict
 of the Scholiast, ὅτι τοὺς νεκροὺς οἱ παλαιοὶ μελαίνας στολαῖς
 ὤσαν, is no argument against the statement above; because
 as well as night, and her children, dreams, was also
 said to be μελάμπεπλος. Eurip. *Alc.* 860; Aristoph. *Ran.*

The use of garlands appears to have been universal. See
 Job. *Eccles.* 538; *Lysist.* 602. These were brought by re-
 latives and friends, especially on the demise of young persons.
 Alciphron, *Epist.* i. 36, an hetæra complains: ἐγὼ δὲ ἡ τά-
 ρην φθόρον, οὐκ ἐραστὴν, ἔχω, στεφάνιά μοι καὶ ῥόδα, ὥσπερ
 ἀφ' αὐτῆς πέμπει. They were composed of the flowers in season,
 ὥσαντες τοῖς ὡραίοις ἄνθεσι, as Lucian says. The leaves

the burial of a person in a trance. Plato, *Leg.* xii. p. 959. For an account of this *πρόθεσις*, see Aristophanes, *Eccles.* 1030 :

ὑποστόρεσαι νυν πρῶτα τῆς ὀρίγανου,
καὶ κλήμαθ' ὑπόθου ξυγκλάσασα τέτταρα,
καὶ ταινίωσαι, καὶ παράθου τὰς ληκύθους,
ὑδατὶ τε κατάθου τοῦστρακον πρὸ τῆς θύρας.

This custom of laying the bed with *ὀρίγανος* and broken vine-branches does not appear to be elsewhere mentioned. Near the bed were placed earthen vessels painted, which were called by the general name *λήκυθοι*. Cf. *ibid.* v. 538 and 994. The *κλίνη* was an ordinary bedstead, with a *προσκεφάλαιον* to support the head and back. Lysias, in *Eratostr.* p. 395: ἀλλὰ τῶν φίλων ὁ μὲν ἱμάτιον, ὁ δὲ προσκεφάλαιον, ὁ δὲ ὅ,τι ἕκαστος ἔτυχεν, ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου ταφὴν. The face of the corpse was turned to the door, ἀνὰ πρόθυρα τετραμμένος. Eustath. *ad Iliad.* xix. 212.

Before the house-door was placed a vessel of water, called *ἀρδάνιον*, in order that visitors on leaving the house might purify themselves; and inasmuch as the house of mourning, with all belonging to it, was considered polluted by the presence of the corpse, this water had to be obtained from another house. Poll. viii. 65: καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ πενθοῦντος ἀφικνούμενοι ἐξιόντες ἐκαθαίροντο ὕδατι περιβραινόμενοι. τὸ δὲ προὔκειτο ἐν ἀγγεῖῳ κεραμέῳ ἐξ ἄλλης οἰκίας κεκομισμένον. τὸ δὲ ὄστρακον ἐκαλεῖτο *ἀρδάνιον*. See also Hesychius and Suidas, s. v. *ἀρδανία*.

The relatives and friends, as well as others not particularly connected with the deceased, were present in the house, and around the bed the females lamented and wept. The best notion of such a scene may be derived from Plato's regulations as to the burial of an *ιερεὺς*, though we must bear in mind that the description is probably ideal to some extent. *Leg.* xii. p. 947: τελευτήσασι δὲ προθέσεις τε καὶ ἐκφοράς καὶ θήκας διαφόρους εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων πολιτῶν. λευκὴν μὲν τὴν στολὴν ἔχειν πᾶσαν, θρήνων δὲ καὶ ὀδυρμῶν χωρὶς γίγνεσθαι. κορῶν δὲ χορὸν πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ ἀρρένων ἕτερον περιῡσταμένους τῇ κλίνῃ ἐκατέρους οἶον ὕμνον πεποιημένον ἔπαινον εἰς τοὺς ἱερέας ἐν μέρει ἐκατέρους ᾄδειν, εὐδαιμονίζοντες ὥδῃ διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας. In more ancient times the scenes of woe were offensively exaggerated; but Solon curtailed the ceremony, and forbade the excessive lamentations of the women. Plutarch, *Sol.* 12, and 21: Ἀμυχὰς δὲ κοπτομένων καὶ

THE BURIALS.

[EXCURSUS.]

οὐκ ἐν πεποιημένα, καὶ τὸ κωκύνει ἄλλον ἐν ταφαῖς ἑτέρων
 . ἐναγίζειν δὲ βούν οὐκ εἶασεν, οὐδὲ συντιθέναι πλέον ἱμα-
 ρίων. It is doubtful, however, to what extent this law was
 d with. The chorus of virgins at the grave of Agamem-
 ulges in all the more extravagant manifestations of grief,
 beating the breast, lacerating the cheeks, rending their
 ts. Æschyl. *Choëph.* 20—28; cf. Eurip. *Hecub.* 642.
 et, it is true, may have only been faithfully portraying
 oms of early times, or indulging in an allowable poetical
 ation; but there are other reasons for supposing that these
 anifestations of woe prevailed till a later period. Thus
 n praises his wife for omitting them on the death of her
Consol. ad Uxor. 3: Καὶ τοῦτο λέγουσιν οἱ παραγενόμενοι
 μάζουσιν, ὥς οὐδὲ ἱμάτιον ἀνείληφας πένθιμον, οὐδὲ σαντῇ
 υσῆγαγες ἢ θεραπαινίσιν ἀμορφίαν καὶ αἰκίαν. Cf. Lucian,
 ι, 12: Οἰμωγαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ κωκυτὸς γυναικῶν, καὶ
 ἄντων δάκρυα, καὶ στέρνα τυπτόμενα, καὶ σπαραττομένη
 ἢ φοινισσόμεναι παρειαί. καὶ πον καὶ ἐσθῆς καταρρήγννται
 ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ πᾶσσεται, καὶ οἱ ζῶντες οἰκτροτέρου τοῦ

that the corpse had been allowed to lie two days without any preparations having been made for the *πρόθεσις*. This indeed is not mentioned in the law of Solon, which however is very imperfectly quoted by Demosthenes; though the deficiency is amply supplied by Antipho, *de Chor.* p. 782.

On the following day the *ἐκφορά* legally took place. According to Plato, *Leg.* xii. p. 960, the early morning was the time, *πρὸ ἡμέρας ἕξω τῆς πόλεως εἶναι*, and this is corroborated by Demosthenes, *ibid.*: *ἐκφέρειν δὲ τὸν ἀποθανόντα τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ, ἢ ἂν προθῶνται, πρὶν ἥλιον ἐξέχειν*. In other places, and perhaps in later times, the burial took place as early as the second day. See Callimachus, *Epigr.* 15; Diog. Laert. i. 122. On the other hand, Timoleon's burial is put off several days, to allow of the arrival of distant friends. Plutarch, *Timol.* 39.

The corpse was carried to the place of interment upon the *κλίνη*. Who the bearers were is doubtful: it is not likely that there were special *νεκροθάπται* for the purpose, though a passage in Pollux, vii. 195, would seem to imply that this was the case: *εἶεν δ' αὖ τινες καὶ νεκροφόροι καὶ ταφεῖς*. No early writer mentions them, and it would seem more probable that relatives performed the office. In particular cases, when an extraordinary distinction was designed for the dead, youths (*ephebi*) were specially selected for the purpose. Plato, *Leg.* xii. p. 947: *ἔωθεν δ' εἰς τὴν θήκην φέρειν αὐτὴν μὲν τὴν κλίνην ἑκατὸν τῶν νέων τῶν ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις, οὓς αὖ οἱ προσήκοντες τοῦ τελευτήσαντος ἐπόψονται*. Also Plutarch, *Timol.* 39: *καὶ τὸ λέχος οἱ ψήφῳ τῶν νεανίσκων προκριθέντες ἔφερον*. The corpse of Demonax was borne by sophists. Lucian, *Demon.* 67; cf. Plutarch, *Philop.* 21.

Hired *θρηνῳδοί* preceded or followed the corpse, like the *præfæci*, the *cornicines* and *tubicines* of the Romans. Plato, *Leg.* vii. p. 800: *οἷον οἱ περὶ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας μισθούμενοι Καρικῇ τι μούσῃ προκέμπουσι τοὺς τελευτήσαντας*. It is remarkable that Plato uses the masculine gender, whereas women, *Καρίναι*, are elsewhere mentioned. Hesychius: *Καρίναι, θρηνῳδοὶ μουσικαί, αἱ τοὺς νεκροὺς τῷ θρῆνῳ παρακέμπουσαι πρὸς τὰς ταφὰς καὶ τὰ κῆδη. παρελαμβάνοντο δὲ αἱ ἀπὸ Καρίας γυναῖκες*. Comparing this passage with Pollux, iv. 75, it appears that they were flute-players. Lucian also, *de Luctu*, 20, mentions a hired *θρηνῳδός*,

THE BURIALS.

[EXCURSUS.

probably he is referring to the *πρόθεσις* rather than to *φορά*. See Schol. ad Aristoph. *Vesp.* 289.

rest of the procession consisted of the relations, and who chose to join it; the men before, and the women according to Solon's law, apud Demosth. in *Macart.* p. βαδίζειν δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας πρόσθεν, ὅταν ἐκφέρωνται, τὰς δὲ ὀπίσθεν. Plato arranges his funeral procession much in the way: πρώτους δὲ προΐεναι τοὺς ἡϊθέους, τὴν πολεμικὴν ἐνδεδυκότας ἐκάστους...καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ὡσαύτως. παῖδας δὲ τὴν τὴν κλίνην ἔμπροσθεν τὸ πατριον μέλος ἐφύμνεῖν. καὶ πομένας ἐξόπισθεν ὅσαι τ' αὖ γυναῖκες τῆς παιδοποιήσεως γγμέναι τυγχάνωσι. Women who were not at least first children to the deceased were not allowed to follow, except the case of those above sixty years of age. Demosth. μὴδ' ἀκολουθεῖν ἀποθανόντι, ὅταν εἰς τὰ σήματα ἄγῃται, ἤκοντ' ἐτῶν γεγονυῖαν, πλὴν ὅσαι ἐντὸς ἀνεψιαδῶν εἰσίν. The case of a daughter following her step-mother is mentioned in *de Cœd. Erat.* p. 11. The rule seems also to be violated in Terence, *Andr.* i. 1, 90.

Diog. Laert. v. 70, it is ordered : *περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς καὶ καύσεως ἐπιμελεσθήτωσαν Βούλων καὶ Καλλίνος μετὰ τῶν συνηθῶν.* Cf. Plutarch, *Dec. Or. Vit.* p. 405 ; Lucian, *Nigr.* 30. How then, in the face of these examples, can it be affirmed that interment was exclusively practised at any period ?

On the other hand, there is the clearest evidence to shew that the dead were also inhumed in the proper sense of the word. The word *θάπτειν*, it is true, proves nothing, as it is applied to all modes of sepulture, and is even used with regard to ashes after burning. Dionys. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* v. 48 : *ἐμέλλησαν αὐτὸν... καίειν τε καὶ θάπτειν.* The proper expression for inhumation is *κατορύττειν*, as in Plato, *Phæd.* p. 115, *supra*, where it is opposed to *καίειν*. It is doubtful whether *σοροὶ*, *πύελοι*, *ληνοὶ*, and *δροῖται*, mean actual coffins for unburnt corpses, or receptacles for ashes. Cf. Homer, *Ilias*, xxiii. 91 ; xxiv. 795. But all doubts respecting a later period are removed by a fragment of Pherecrates, apud Pollux, x. 150, where *κατορύττειν* is used in connexion with *ληνοὶ* ; see also Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 600 ; *Vesp.* 1365 ; Eurip. *Suppl.* 531. That inhumation was customary in very early times is shewn by the tales of opened graves. See the legend about the bones of Theseus, which were brought from Scyros to Athens, in consequence of a Delphic oracle. Plutarch, *Thes.* 36 : *εὐρέθη δὲ θήκη τε μεγάλου σώματος, αἰχμὴ τε παρακειμένη χαλκῇ καὶ ξίφος.* But the custom is proved to a certainty by the contest between Athens and Megara for the possession of Salamis, where the claims of each party were based on the different modes of burial. Plutarch, *Sol.* 10 : *Θάπτουσι δὲ Μεγαρεῖς πρὸς ἑω τὸν νεκρὸν στρέφοντες· Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν. Ἡρέας δ' ὁ Μεγαρεὺς ἐπιστάμενος λέγει, καὶ Μεγαρέας πρὸς ἐσπέραν τετραμμένα τὰ σώματα τῶν νεκρῶν τιθέναι.* Cf. Ælian, *Var. Hist.* v. 14 ; vii. 19 ; Diog. Laert. i. 48. Also Pausanias, ii. 7, 3, speaking of the Sicyonians, says, *τὸ μὲν σῶμα γῇ κρύπτουσι.* At Sparta also, the custom of inhumation was the prevailing one. Plutarch, *Lyc.* 27 ; Thucyd. i. 134.

These passages prove beyond dispute that burying and burning were practised coevally. In Lucian's time also, burying must have been customary, notwithstanding what he says, (*ὁ μὲν Ἕλλην ἔκαυσε*, κ. τ. λ.) for otherwise there would be no point in his proverb, *τὸν ἕτερον πόδα ἐν τῇ σορῇ ἔχων*, (*Hermetol.* 78,) and,

ἐπιβήσιν αὐτὸν τοῦ σοροῦ. (*Mort. dial.* vi. 4.) Cf. Plutarch, *Metam.* iv. p. 277; and x. p. 699, where a Greek custom is probably alluded to.

Setting aside all this weight of documentary evidence, the existence of both methods is proved incontestably by the remains of ancient Grecian graves. In Magna Græcia several unburnt skeletons have been discovered surrounded by vases. Böttiger, it is true, is loth to admit that these are Grecian corpses, but this objection has been set at rest by the discovery, in Greece itself, of undisturbed skeletons, in addition to the remains of corpses that had been burnt. See Stackelberg's valuable work, *Die Gräber der Hellenen*. One custom, no doubt, have been more common than the other at any particular period; but neither was totally superseded till the introduction of Christianity by degrees put an end to burning.

In some cases the coffins were of wood. Thus in Thucydides, ἀρνάκες κυπαρίσσιναί are mentioned. More usually, however, they were the work of the potter. For their forms, see Stackelberg, Pl. 7 and 8. According to him, the oldest form was a three-sided prism constructed of tiles which were some-

or bronze. See Isæus, *de Nicostr. her.* p. 78; Sophocl. *Electr.* 54, 747.

The tombs, *θήκαι, τάφοι, μνήματα, μνημεῖα, and σήματα*, were not all placed in one common spot appropriated to the purpose. In ancient times, according to Plato, a person's own house was used as his place of sepulture, in order that the remains of the defunct might be as near as possible to his friends. Plato, *Min.* p. 315. But it was afterwards forbidden to bury within the city, chiefly, no doubt, from an idea of the contamination arising from the contact or neighbourhood of corpses. This was the case in Athens at least, and Sicyon, though the feeling was far from being universal throughout Greece. Lycurgus, in order to accustom the Spartans to survey death without fear or aversion, allowed or rather commanded burials within the city. Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 27; *Apophth. Lac.* i. p. 954. This, however, is only in keeping with the other peculiarities of Spartan customs and legislation. Cf. Thucyd. i. 134. At Tarentum all the graves, in obedience to an oracle, were in a particular quarter of the city. Polyb. viii. 30: *Τὸ γὰρ πρὸς ἑω μέρος τῆς τῶν Ταραντίνων πόλεως μνημάτων ἐστὶ πλήρες διὰ τὸ τοὺς τελευτήσαντας ἔτι καὶ νῦν θάπτεσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς πάντας ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν κατὰ τι λόγιον ἀρχαῖον.* This was likewise the case at Megara; Pausan. i. 43, 2: *εἰσὶ δὲ τάφοι Μεγαρέων ἐν τῇ πόλει.* Timoleon's ashes were buried in the market-place of Syracuse, and a gymnasium, called after his name, was built over the spot; Plutarch, *Timol.* 39. Many other instances might be adduced. On the other hand, Plutarch, *Arat.* 53, speaking of Sicyon, says: *νόμου ὄντος ἀρχαίου, μηδένα θάπτεσθαι τειχῶν ἐντὸς, ἰσχυρᾶς τε τῇ νόμῳ δεισιδαιμονίας προσούσης.* The very necessity of a special law, however, shews that burial within the walls must have been usual elsewhere. But at Athens even the cenotaphs of the fallen warriors were outside the walls, on the road to the Academy; (Thucyd. ii. 34; Pausan. i. 29, 4;) and at Delos, from the time of Peisistratos, no graves were allowed in sight of the temple, and, after the sixth year of the Peloponnesian war, nowhere at all on the island. Thucyd. iii. 104: *τότε δὲ πᾶσα ἐκαθάρθη τοιῷδε τρόπῳ· θῆκαι ὅσαι ἦσαν τῶν τεθνεώτων ἐν Δήλῳ, πάσας ἀνεῖλον, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν προεῖπον, μήτε ἐναποθνήσκειν ἐν τῇ νήσῳ, μήτε ἐντίκτειν, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν Ῥήνειαν διακομίζεσθαι.*

a public place of burial. At the
 the Itonic gate and the road thither was hence called the *Gr*
Char. 14: πόσους οἶε κατὰ τὰ
Etyim. M.: Ἡρίαί πυλαί Ἀθῆν
 ἐκεῖ ἐπὶ τὰ ἡρία, ὃ ἐστὶ τὸν
 πορ. s. v. Ἡρία.

These tombs remained the
 and no stranger was ever allow
 even before a court of justice
 dence of consanguinity. Den
 τούτους εἰς τὰ πατρῶα μνήματι
 κοῦσι. καὶ τούτων οὐδέκ οὐκ ἀπ
 ἔλαχε. καίτοι τίς ἂν ἐστὶν, ὅστι
 ἐν γένει προσήκοντας τιθέναι ἐὰ
 καὶ μνήματος ὄντος κοινῷ ἅπα
 νοι, κ.τ.λ. Burying in another
 of Solon. Cic. *de Leg.* ii. 26:
 Solonem amplius quam, ne qui

The construction of these
 tained by excavations. Setting
 stones, χώματα, κολῶναι, τύμβοι

by law. Cicero, *de Leg.* ii. 26: 'ne quis sepulcrum faceret oporosius, quam quod decem homines effecerint triduo.' Cf. Plato, *Leg.* xii. p. 959: *χωμα δὲ μὴ χωνύναι ὑψηλότερον πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἔργον, ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἀποτελούμενον. λίθινα δὲ ἐπιστήματα μὴ μείζω ποιεῖν ἢ ὅσα δέχεσθαι τὰ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐγκώμια βίον, μὴ πλείω τεττάρων ἡρωϊκῶν στίχων.* This sumptuary enactment does not seem, however, to have remained long in force, as great sums continued to be spent on the erection of monuments. Thus one—a modest erection—is mentioned as costing twenty-five minæ; Lysias, in *Diogit.* p. 905. So Phormio erects one to his wife at an expense of more than two talents; Demosth. in *Steph.* i. p. 1125. Of the monument to Isocrates, we are told by Plutarch, *Dec. Orat. Vit.* p. 364: *αὐτῷ δὲ Ἰσοκράτει ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος ἐπὶ κίων τριάκοντα πηχῶν, ἐφ' οὗ σειρήν πηχῶν ἑπτὰ συμβολικῶς.* According to Cicero, *ibid.*, Demetrius Phalereus again tried unsuccessfully to restrain this sumptuousness. 'Sepulchris autem novis finivit modum; nam super terræ tumulum noluit quid statui, nisi columellam tribus cubitis ne altiore, aut mensam, aut labellum, et huic procurationi certum magistratum præfecerat.'

The *στήλαι*, in their strict signification—for the word often denotes tombs generally—were slabs of stone standing upright, rather than pillars. Upon these usually rested an *ἐπίθημα*, sometimes gable-shaped, sometimes rounded like a coping-tile, and mostly ornamented with arabesques. Often too they were adorned with reliefs or paintings. Pausan. ii. 7, 4. See Stackelberg, Pl. 1—6. The Sicyonian grave-stones were all of one peculiar form. Pausan. ii. 7, 3: *λίθου δὲ ἐποικυδομήσαντες κρηπίδα κίονας ἐφιστᾶσι καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίθημα ποιοῦσι κατὰ τοὺς αἵτοντας μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς.*

The regular columns, *κίονες*, very frequently occur on vases. See Stackelberg, Pl. 44—46; Millin, *Point. d. Vas.* i. 16; ii. 29, 51; Millingen, *Point. d. Vas.* 39. The *mensa* mentioned by Cicero was a cubical or other four-cornered stone, having a flat surface above, while on the sides there were perhaps reliefs. See Plutarch, *Dec. Orat. Vit.* p. 364: *ἦν δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ τράπεζα πλησίον ἔχουσα ποιητάς τε καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους αὐτοῦ, ἐν οἷς καὶ Γοργίαν εἰς σφαῖραν ἀστρολογικὴν βλέποντα, αὐτόν τε τὸν Ἰσοκράτην παρεστῶτα.* The *labella* are probably identical with

the Athenians who possessed a piece of land, frequently chose to have themselves buried in it, and hence the graves were often in the fields; see Demosth. in *Euerg.* p. 1159.

The usual choice, however, was by some frequented road—thus the family sepulchre of Isocrates was near the Cynic gate, and that of Thucydides by the Melitic gate. Plutarch, *Vit.* p. 363. So too on a child's tombstone we read,

ἦν γονέες πενθούντες ἐπὶ τριόδου κατέθαψαν.

p. Inscr. p. 545, no. 1003. But for those who neither had such ground, nor the means of purchasing it, there was no place of burial. At Athens this was the space between the Cynic gate and the road to the Piræus, and the gate leading thence was hence called the Grave-gate,—*Ἡρίαὶ πύλαι*. Theophr. *4*: πόσους οἶει κατὰ τὰς Ἡρίας πύλας ἐξενηνέχθαι νεκρούς; *M.*: Ἡρίαὶ πύλαι Ἀθήνησι διὰ τὸ τοὺς νεκρούς ἐκφέρεισθαι τὰ Ἡρία, ὃ ἐστὶ τοὺς τάφους. Cf. Pollux, ix. 15; Harpocration. *Ἡρία*.

The tombs remained the inviolable property of the family, and no stranger was ever allowed to be buried therein; so that before a court of justice this was brought forward as evi-

by law. Cicero, *de Leg.* ii. 26: 'ne quis sepulcrum faceret oporosius, quam quod decem homines effecerint triduo.' Cf. Plato, *Leg.* xii. p. 959: *χωμα δὲ μὴ χωνύναι ὑψηλότερον πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἔργον, ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἀποτελούμενον. λίθινα δὲ ἐπιστήματα μὴ μεῖζω ποιεῖν ἢ ὅσα δέχεσθαι τὰ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ἐγκώμια βίου, μὴ πλείω τεττάρων ἡρώϊκων στίχων.* This sumptuary enactment does not seem, however, to have remained long in force, as great sums continued to be spent on the erection of monuments. Thus one—a modest erection—is mentioned as costing twenty-five minæ; Lysias, in *Diogit.* p. 905. So Phormio erects one to his wife at an expense of more than two talents; Demosth. in *Steph.* i. p. 1125. Of the monument to Isocrates, we are told by Plutarch, *Dec. Orat. Vit.* p. 364: *αὐτῷ δὲ Ἰσοκράτει ἐπὶ τοῦ μνήματος ἐπὶ κίων τριάκοντα πηχῶν, ἐφ' οὗ σειρήν πηχῶν ἐπτά συμβολικῶς.* According to Cicero, *ibid.*, Demetrius Phalereus again tried unsuccessfully to restrain this sumptuousness. 'Sepulchris autem novis finivit modum; nam super terræ tumulum noluit quid statui, nisi columellam tribus cubitis ne altiore, aut mensam, aut labellum, et huic procurationi certum magistratum præfecerat.'

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οι or ληνοί, and so perhaps are many of the so-called agi.

inscription contained, in addition to the name of the deceased, a few notices about his life in an epigrammatic form, addressed to the survivors, and frequently imprecations on those who should touch or desecrate the tomb. For example, *Corp. Inscr.* p. 531, no. 916: Παραδίδωμι τοῖς καταχ-
 ρατοῖς θεοῖς τοῦτο τὸ ἡρώον φυλάσσειν, Πλούτωνι καὶ Δήμητρι
 στεφόνῃ καὶ Ἐρ[ι]νύσι καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατα[χ]θονίοις θεοῖς.
 ἵποκοσμήσει τοῦτο τὸ ἡρώον ἢ ἀναστομ[ώ]σει ἢ τι καὶ
 μετακινήσει ἢ αὐτὸς ἢ δι' ἄλλου, μὴ γῆ βατῇ, μὴ θάλασσα
 [ἔσται], ἀλλὰ ἐκριζωθήσεται πανγενεῖ. πᾶσι τοῖς κακοῖς
 ὥσει καὶ φρεῖκῃ καὶ π[υ]ρε[τῶ] τριταίῳ] καὶ τεταρταίῳ
 ὄντι. καὶ ὅσα κακὰ καὶ [ὀλέθρια] γίνεται, ταῦτα γενέσθω
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἡρώῳ μετακινήσῃ τι. Also *ib.* p.
 s. 989, 990, 991; and *Gallus*, p. 522. Many directed that
 should keep watch by the tomb. Lucian, *Nigr.* 30. In
 places, however, the epitaphs were usually short and simple.
 Pausanias, ii. 7, 3, speaking of Sicyon, says: ἐπίγραμμα
 μὲν γράφουσιν οὐδὲν, τὸ δὲ ὄνομα ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ καὶ οὐ πα-

painting shews that the practice endured over the best period of Grecian art. The time of the decline of the custom can be known only from conjecture. It is certain, however, that it was so utterly forgotten in Greece at Cæsar's time, that when, on the rebuilding of Corinth, graves were discovered containing such vessels, these were regarded by the Romans as curiosities, and eagerly bought up. See Strabo, viii. 6, 23.

In the walled graves of Magna Græcia these vessels either stand round the corpse, or hang on the walls; so also in the earthen coffins. In the coffin of a child which has been already mentioned, p. 392, there were fifteen vessels of various shapes, among which were four large *lecythi*, as well as four sitting figures of earthenware. Mirrors, trinkets, and so forth, were also put into the tomb. See Stackelberg, Pl. 72.

The burial was followed by a funeral-feast, *περίδειπνον*. Lucian, *de Luctu*, 24: ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τούτοις τὸ περίδειπνον, καὶ παρ-
εἰσιν οἱ προσήκοντες καὶ τοὺς γονέας παραμυθούνται τοῦ τετελευ-
τηκότος, καὶ πείθουσι γεύσασθαι ὡς οὐκ ἀηδῶς, μὰ Δί', οὐδ' αὐτοὺς
ἀναγκαζομένους, ἀλλ' ἤδη ὑπὸ λιμοῦ τριῶν ἐξῆς ἡμερῶν ἀπηυδη-
κότας. See Cic. *Leg.* ii. 25. It was naturally held in the house of
the nearest relative. When Demosthenes was selected to deliver
the funeral oration for those who had fallen at Chæroneia, their
parents and brothers agreed to celebrate the *περίδειπνον* at his
house, he being regarded as the representative of all. Demosth.
de Coron. p. 321: ἀλλὰ δέον ποιεῖν αὐτοὺς τὸ περίδειπνον, ὥς παρ'
οἰκείοτάτῃ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, ὥσπερ τᾶλλ' εἴωθε γίγνεσθαι, τοῦτ'
ἐποίησαν παρ' ἐμοί. Cf. Id. in *Macart.* p. 1071. On these occa-
sions the deceased person was regarded as the host. Artemidor.
Oneirocr. v. 82: Ἔθος μὲν γὰρ τοῖς συμβιώταις καὶ εἰς τὰ τῶν
ἀποθανόντων εἰσιέναι καὶ δειπνεῖν. ἡ δὲ ὑποδοχὴ λέγεται γενέσθαι
ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποθανόντος κατὰ τιμὴν τὴν ἐκ τῶν συμβιωτῶν εἰς τὸν
ἀποθανόντα. Cf. Plutarch, *Frag.* v. p. 881.

On the succeeding days various sacrifices took place. Poll.
viii. 146: Προθέσεις, ἐκφοραὶ, τρίτα, ἔννατα, τριακάδες, ἐναγίσ-
ματα, χοαὶ, τὰ νενομισμένα. First come the τρίτα, which hap-
pened on the third day. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 611:

μῶν ἐγκαλεῖς, ὅτι οὐχὶ προϋθέμεσθα σε;
ἀλλ' ἐν τρίτῃ γοῦν ἡμέρᾳ σοι πρῶ πάντ'
ἤξει παρ' ἡμῶν τὰ τρίτ' ἐπεσκευασμένα.

ἐπειδὴ τῇ τρίτῃ τὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ἄριστον ἐφέρετο. But the most important sacrifice was the *ἐνατα* or *ἐννατα*, which took place on the ninth day, and formed the conclusion of the regular funeral rites. *Æschin. in Ctesiph.* p. 617; *Isæus, de Ciron. Her.*

In what the *ἐνατα* consisted does not clearly appear, but from Plautus, *Aul.* ii. 4, 45, it would seem to have been a grand feast prepared for the dead. Cf. *Id. Pseud.* iii. 2, 4. The mourning of the survivors was not yet complete. See *Æschin. in Ctesiph.* p. 468; Plutarch, *Demosth.* 22. At Athens the mourning was usually terminated on the thirtieth day, as may be inferred from *Æsop, de Cæde Erat.* p. 15: ἔδοξε δέ μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, ἐψιμνεῖν τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τεθνεώτος οὕτω τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας. Cf. Pollux, *Onom.* s. v. *τριάκας*. At Sparta Lycurgus ordered that the mourning should finish sooner; Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 27: δὲ πένθους ὀλίγον προσώρισεν, ἡμέρας ἑνδεκα· τῇ δὲ δωδεκῇ σάντας ἔδει Δήμητρι λύειν τὸ πένθος. With regard to the custom at Argos, see Plutarch, *Quæst. Gr.* 24.

The outward signs of mourning consisted in a studied avoidance of everything betokening joy and happiness; the usual dress was worn, and even the hair was cut off. From the very

34; and *Ælian, Var. Hist.* vii. 8. After all this, it is not easy to understand the meaning of a passage in Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 14, where he says: καὶ γὰρ παρ' Ἑλλήσιν, ὅταν δυστυχία τις γένηται, κείρονται μὲν αἱ γυναῖκες, κομῶσι δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν τὸ κείρεσθαι, ταῖς δὲ τὸ κομᾶν σὺνθές ἐστιν. In this assertion he is supported by Artemidorus, *Oneirocr.* i. 19, though the statement appears to be contradicted by Athenæus, xv. p. 675; by Eustathius, *ad Iliad.* ii. 6; and even by Plutarch himself, *de superst.* 7. These passages appear to be irreconcilable, unless we suppose the custom to have altered.

The mourning dress was, as we have seen, generally black; hence the boast of Pericles: οὐδεὶς δι' ἐμέ τῶν ὄντων Ἀθηναίων μέλαν ἱμάτιον περιεβάλετο. Plutarch, *Peric.* 38. Black garments were worn not only in cases of death, but also on other occasions of mourning. Lysias, in *Agorat.* p. 469: καὶ δὴ καὶ Διονυσόδωρος μεταπέμπεται τὴν ἀδελφὴν τὴν ἐμὴν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον, γυναῖκα ἐαντοῦ οὔσαν. πυθομένη δ' ἐκείνη ἀφικνεῖται μέλαν τε ἱμάτιον ἡμφιεσμένη, ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς, τοιαύτη συμφορᾷ κεχηρμένη. Cf. Aristoph. *Acharn.* 1023. In different states, however, the custom varied; at Argos, for instance, the colour of mourning was white. Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 26: ἐν δὲ Ἀργεὶ λευκὰ φοροῦσιν ἐν τοῖς πένθεσι, ὡς Σωκράτης φησὶν, ὡδατόκλυστα. It should also be observed that in every case a black himation only, is mentioned; and it is the more probable that the chiton was not changed, because dark-coloured undergarments were frequently worn in common life.

The graves were piously and assiduously tended by the surviving relatives; the light in which they were regarded is shewn by the mention of them in the climax of the impassioned harangue before the battle of Salamis. *Æschyl. Pers.* 408:

ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων, ἴτε
ἐλευθεροῦτε πατρίδ', ἐλευθεροῦτε δὲ
παῖδας, γυναῖκας, θεῶν τε πατρώων ἔδη,
θήκας τε προγόνων· νῦν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών.

See also Lycurg. in *Leocr.* p. 141: τί γὰρ χρὴ παθεῖν τὸν ἐκλιπόντα μὲν τὴν πατρίδα, μὴ βοηθήσαντα δὲ τοῖς πατρώοις ἱεροῖς, ἐγκαταλιπόντα δὲ τὰς τῶν προγόνων θήκας; It was also usual, at the Docimasia of the Athenian Archons, to enquire whether the candidate had neglected the graves of his forefathers. Xenoph.

ii. 2, 13: Καὶ, νῆ Δία, εἰάν τις τῶν γονέων τελευτήσας τάφους μὴ κοσμήῃ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐξετάζει ἡ πόλις ἐν ταῖς γόντων δοκιμασίαις. Cf. Dinarch. in *Aristog.* p. 86; Isocr. *us.* p. 418. On stated days the tombs were crowned and with *tanis*, and various offerings were made. One of monies in honour of the dead was the *γενέσια*, mentioned ecian custom by Herodotus, iv. 26, and which has been y explained. The most reasonable solution of the diffi- that which the etymology would indicate, namely, that he festival on the birth-day of the defunct; and this is ed by the will of Epicurus; Diog. Laert. x. 18: σκοπού- τε τὰ ἐναγίσματα τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τῇ μητρὶ, καὶ τοῖς, καὶ ἡμῶν εἰς τὴν εἰθισμένην ἄγεσθαι γενέθλιον ἡμέραν ἐκάσ- τῃ προτέρᾳ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Γαμηλιῶνος. See also Suidas; ius; and Lobeck on Phryn. p. 104. Besides this there other festival held on the anniversary of the day when son died. At Athens also there was a public festival in of the dead, called *νεκύσια*. Hesychius: *Γενέσια*, ἑορτὴ Ἀθηναίοις· οἱ δὲ τὰ νεκύσια. καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ γῇ θύουσι- ere what are called ἀποψάσδες ἡμέραι by Plato. *Leg.* vii.

agreeable, as the approach of his enemies was hateful. *Isæus, de Astyph. Her.* p. 232: καὶ τὸν ἐμὸν πατέρα ἀσθενοῦντα ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα ἤγαγον, εὖ εἰδότες, ὅτι ἀσπάζοιτο αὐτὸν Ἀστυφίλος. Again, p. 242, a dying person wills that certain parties should not approach his tomb. Cf. Sophocl. *Ajax*, 1372:

σὲ δ', ὦ γεραιοῦ σπέρμα Λαέρτου πατρός,
τάφου μὲν ὁκνῶ τοῦδ' ἐπιψάυνει εἶν,
μὴ τῷ θανόντι τοῦτο δυσχερὲς ποιῶ.

It now only remains to allude to the particular cases in which, from religious or political causes, the burial was omitted altogether, or was performed in an extraordinary manner; or when, it being impossible to recover the body, vicarious ceremonies only, were performed. Firstly, the bodies of those struck by lightning were either left uninterred, or at least were not placed in a tomb with others, since they were looked on as struck by the deity, and therefore *ιερὸν νεκρὸν*. See Eurip. *Suppl.* 935:

Θ. τὸν μὲν Διὶς πληγέντα Καπάνεα πυρὶ—
Α. ἢ χωρὶς, ἱερὸν ὡς νεκρὸν, θάψαι θέλεις;
Θ. ναί. τοῦτε δέ γ' ἄλλους πάντας ἐν μιᾷ πυρᾷ.

Also Artemid. *Oneirocr.* ii. 9: οὐδεὶς γὰρ κεραυνωθείς ἄτιμός ἐστιν ὄθην γε καὶ ὡς θεὸς τιμᾶται...οὐ γὰρ οἱ κεραυνωθέντες μετατίθενται, ἀλλ' ὅπου ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καταληφθῶσιν, ἐνταῦθα θάπτονται. Cf. Philost. *Imag.* ii. 31; and Plutarch, *Sympos.* iv. 2, 3. Malefactors also, who had been condemned to death, were left unburied, though this appears to have been intended as an aggravation of their punishment. At Athens there was a place where such corpses were thrown, and the same was the case in Sparta. Plutarch, *Themist.* 22; Thucyd. i. 134. Traitors to their country were also denied burial; as for instance was the case with Poly-nices, Ajax, and also, according to the legend, with Palamedes. See Philostr. *Heroic.* 7; Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* xxxi. p. 580; Thucyd. *ibid.* The right hands of those who had committed suicide were hacked off, but burial was not refused them. *Æschin. in Ctesiph.* p. 636: καὶ εἰάν τις αὐτὸν διαχρήσηται, τὴν χεῖρα τὴν τοῦτο πράξασαν χωρὶς τοῦ σώματος θάπτομεν. Plato thinks that such should be buried privately, and without any monument. *Leg.* ix. p. 873: θάπτειν ἀκλεεῖς αὐτοὺς, μήτε στηλαῖς, μήτε ὀνόμασι δηλοῦντας τοὺς τάφους. Perhaps such burials took place at night, which was certainly the case in special instances; so

THE BURIALS.

[EXCURSUS.

tra prophesies concerning Agamemnon; Eurip. *Troades*,

ἡ κακὸς κακῶς ταφήσει νυκτός, οὐκ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ.

who had died a violent death were interred with particular
ies. To symbolize the pursuit of the murderer, which was
ent on the relations, a lance was carried in front of the
on, and stuck upright by the grave, and this was watched
re days. Cf. Demosth. in *Euerg.* p. 1160: πρῶτον μὲν
εἰν δόρυ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκφορᾷ καὶ προαγορεύειν ἐπὶ τῷ μνήματι,
προσήκων ἐστὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου· ἔπειτα τὸ μνήμα φυλάττειν
ἡμέρας. Cf. Harpocr. s. v. ἐπενεγκεῖν δόρυ. Eurip. *Troad.*
When the body could not be obtained, as in the case of
who had been lost at sea, a fictitious burial took place.
iv. 1: καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τὸ σῶμα εὔρηται τοῦ δυστυχῶντος,
ῆμος οὗτος ἀρχαῖος Ἑλλήνων, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀφανεῖς τά-
σμεῖν. Eurip. *Helen.* 1241:

"Ελληνσίην ἐστὶ νόμος, ὅς ἂν πόντιφ θάνῃ...

κενοῖσι θάπτειν ἐν πέπλων ὑφάσμασιν.

riton the εἰδῶλον of Chæreas is carried on the κλίνη. But

EXCURSUS TO SCENE X.

THEATRE-GOING.

OMITTING all enquiry as to the structure of the theatre, the method of scenic representation, and the numberless appliances of the stage, we shall confine ourselves to the spectators, and collect a few particulars as to who they were, what was their appearance, how they manifested their approval or disapproval of the performance, and how Greek character and manners were displayed in the theatre.

Who then were the spectators? The answer to this question is by no means easy, but nevertheless of much importance to any one who would arrive at a just comprehension of the habits of the Greek people, since its solution involves our estimate of the social position of the women, the efficiency of the educational system, and moreover our verdict as to the Athenian drama, and the appropriateness of the characters introduced upon the stage.

Böttiger was the first to assert that the females of Athens were not present at the dramatic representations; and he further affirmed that no young Athenian was allowed to visit the theatre before his eighteenth year, at which period he was admitted among the *ephebi*. These positions were attacked by Schlegel and Böckh, and Böttiger has even contradicted himself by inadvertently speaking of women and children being present at the theatre. *Kl. Schr.* ii. p. 279. Heindorf, Welcker, Voss, and Jacobs, also agree that women were among the audience. Of late the question has again been mooted by Meier, who thinks that maidens and respectable women did not often go to the theatre at Athens. And finally Passow comes to the conclusion that the Athenian females were present at tragedies, but not at comedies.

All the passages bearing on the subject have been again and again brought forward in the course of the controversy, but it is worthy of remark, that among them all, there is not one positively deciding the matter either way. Those who argue against the presence of the women rely mainly on the assumed seclusion of the sex, and also on the absence of clear positive assertions to

trary ; while their opponents rest chiefly on sundry passages which appear, in their natural sense, to refer to the presence of women among the auditors. But before entering on this dispute, we would first enquire whether there was anything in the nature of the tragic drama which might render it undesirable for women to be present. In tragedy itself, that most solemn and sublime of poetry, which, full of earnestness and propriety, addressed to convey to mankind warning and instruction couched in the noblest language ; that held up to him the nothingness of man and the might of the deity ; the perniciousness of passion, the value of just and dispassionate action, and the slow, sure, punishment of transgression ; in short, the sublimest of human doing and suffering ;—in such representations it can be discovered rendering it unfit for women to be present. It would indeed be strange if the Greeks, with whose poetry was such a generally acknowledged means of forming the mind, had denied this advantage to the women, unless some reasons existed for this step. It will therefore be necessary to go back on Böttiger's assertion, that it would have been con-

however it does not necessarily follow that this word *θεωρία* relates to the theatre at all. Cf. Poll. ii. 56. Moreover, the passage which Pollux, x. 67, cites from Aristophanes is inconclusive, as we are ignorant of the context. The same objection applies also to a fragment of Alexis, ap. Poll. ix. 44. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 832—841, and *Eccles.* 23, are not applicable to the question. The Scholiast's explanation of the latter passage was probably manufactured by himself for the occasion. But a third passage of Aristophanes, *Ranæ*, 1049, seems conclusive as to the fact that noble ladies were present at the representation of tragedies, such as the *Phædra* of Euripides, and were deeply shocked at the insults to their sex.

Much weight, moreover, should be attached to Plato, *Leg.* ii. p. 658. To illustrate the influence of age and education on the judgment, he supposes a contest between jugglers, comedians, tragedians, and rhapsodists, and then says: *εἰ μὲν τοίνυν τὰ πάνν σμικρὰ κρίνοι παιδία, κρινούσι τὸν τὰ θαύματα ἀποδεικνύντα... ἐὰν δέ γ' οἱ μείζονες παῖδες, τὸν τὰς κωμῳδίας τραγῳδίαν δὲ αἴτε παιδευμένοι τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τὰ νέα μεράκια καὶ σχεδὸν ἴσως τὸ πλῆθος πάντων, κ.τ.λ.* If women had been systematically excluded from the theatre, it would be difficult to account for their preference for tragedy. Equally conclusive is *Leg.* vii. p. 817, where, when the tragedians and actors apply for admission into the new state, the citizens reply: *μὴ δὴ δόξητε ἡμᾶς ῥαδίως γε οὕτως ὑμᾶς ποτε παρ' ἡμῖν εἰσεῖν σκηνάς τε πῆξαντας κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ καλλιφώνους ὑποκριτὰς εἰσαγομένους μείζον φθεγγομένους ἡμῶν ἐπιτρέψειν ὑμῖν δημηγορεῖν πρὸς παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὸν πάντα ὄχλον κ.τ.λ.* The most decisive passage in Plato, however, is in *Gorg.* p. 502: ΣΩ. Οὐκοῦν ἡ ῥητορικὴ δημηγορία ἂν εἴη, ἣ οὐ ῥητορευεῖν δοκούσιν σοι οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις; ΚΑΛ. Ἔμοιγε. ΣΩ. Νῦν ἄρα ἡμεῖς εὐρήκαμεν ῥητορικὴν τινα πρὸς δῆμον, τοιοῦτον, οἷον παῖδων τε ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ ἀνδρῶν, καὶ δούλων καὶ ἐλευθέρων, ἣν οὐ πάντ' ἀγάμεθα. Here we find it stated in plain words that the δῆμος in the theatre consisted of men, women, and children, of slaves and free. That hetærae visited the theatre there can be no doubt at all. See Athen. iv. p. 157, where the nickname *Θεατροτορὶνῆ* is applied to Melissa, from her appearance in the theatre being the signal for disturbance. Still none of the above passages mention as a fact the presence of women on any

lar occasion. But fortunately such evidence is supplied by an anecdote of Alcibiades contained in a fragment of the comic Satyros, ap. Athen. xii. p. 534: ὅτε δὲ χορηγοίη πορεύοντο ἐν πορφυρίδι, εἰσιὼν εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἐθαυμάζετο οὐ μόνον οἱ ἄνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν. The place alluded to is Athens, and the period that of the Peloponnesian war.

The well-known legend of the fright of the women on the entrance of the chorus in the *Eumenides*, may be a later tradition or exaggeration, as is the opinion of Hermann and others. It does not come to us on sufficiently good or early authority to do us any service in the present argument.

On a Greek vase found at Aulis there is a remarkable representation of a Grecian theatre, (Millin, *Peint. d. Vas.* ii. pl. 55, 56), which from the view of the temple of the Acropolis above, is evidently that of Dionysos at Athens. It is in three compartments, the middle of which represents a portion of the stage, and the other two, which are separated from the middle by low divisions, are seats for the spectators; one division of the seats is empty, the other and larger one, we see two women in the long chiton and himation; one sitting, the other standing. Behind

τοὺς νῆαίς εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν καὶ τὸν παιδαγωγόν. It need not excite surprise that the women are not here mentioned, since they sat apart in a separate portion of the theatre. Another passage is *Isæus, de Ciron. Hæc.* p. 206: ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς Διονύσια εἰς ἀγρὸν ἦγεν αἰὲ ἡμᾶς, καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου (τοῦ πάππου) τε ἐθεωροῦμεν καθήμενοι παρ' αὐτόν, κ.τ.λ. With respect to the comedies, clear proof may be derived from the comedians themselves. See *Aristoph. Nub.* 537:

οἱ δὲ σάφρων ἐστὶ φύσει, σκέψασθ' ἥτις πρῶτα μὲν
οἰδὼν ἦλθε βαψαμένη σκύτινον καθαιμένον
ἐρυθρόν ἐξ ἄκρου, παχὺ, τοῖς παιδίοις ἴν' ᾧ γέλωε.

See also *Pax*, 50:

ἐγὼ δὲ τὸν λόγον γε τοῖσι παιδίοις,
καὶ τοῖσιν ἀνδρίοις, καὶ τοῖς ἀδράσι,
καὶ τοῖς ὑπερτάτοις ἀνδράσιν φράσω.

Cf. Ib. 766. So too a fragment of Eupolis apud *Aristot. Ethic. Nic.* iv. 2: γελῶσιν, ὡς ὄρε, τὰ παιδιά. Also for a later period, see *Lucian, de Gymn.* 22: καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἐς τὸ θέατρον συνάγοντες αὐτοὺς δημοσίᾳ παιδεύομεν ὑπὸ κωμῳδίας καὶ τραγῳδίας, ἀρετὰς τε ἀνδρῶν παλαιῶν καὶ κακίας θεωμένους, ὡς τῶν μὲν ἀποτρέποντο, ἐπ' ἐκείνα δὲ σπενδοῖεν.

It is true that this seems in opposition to the otherwise strict discipline in which youths were kept; and it is not very comprehensible how an Autolykos or a Charmides could have been spectators of an Aristophanic comedy. The universal license of the Dionysia may perhaps have countenanced a departure of this kind from ordinary rules. Probably also the custom was not universal, and some fathers may have been too careful of their sons to allow them to be present on such occasions.

The spectators then were men, boys, and, as far as tragedy is concerned, women. To these, on Plato's authority, we must add slaves. *Gorg.* p. 502. The above cited passage of Theophrastus shews that the pedagogues, who were slaves, were present; and it was no doubt usual for an attendant, ἀκόλουθος, to accompany his master to the theatre. Moreover, Theophrastus (*Char.* 2) introduces the κόλαξ as taking the cushion from the slave, and placing it himself for the object of his attentions: καὶ τοῦ παιδοῦ ἐν τῇ θεάτρῳ ἀφελόμενος τὰ προσκεφάλεια αὐτὸς ὑποστρώσαι. *Cf. Æschin. in Ctesiph.* p. 467. But it is doubtful whether these slaves remained in the theatre, and whether others

to thither by themselves. At all events, it was not allowed at the time when the prologue to the *Pœnulus* of Plautus was written (v. 23):

Servi ne obsideant, liberis ut sit locus.

where the pedisequi allowed to remain (v. 40):

Dum ludi fiunt, in popinam pedisequi

Irruptionem facite.

In Athens, where the relation between slave and free-man was on a different footing, the former may very possibly have been admitted, from the period when money was paid for entrance. The entrance-money, *θεωρικόν*, was, from the time of Pericles, taken out of the treasury to the poorer classes, and by degrees to the poorer. It amounted to two oboles, which went to the architect of the building, *ἀρχιτέκτων*, or to the person who managed the theatre, *θεατρώνης*, who was also called *θεατροπώλης*, as selling the seats. But it seems from Plato, *Apol.* p. 228, that a higher charge was made for the better places (*Alciphron*, *τὸ καλὸν τοῦ θεάτρου*), and some were as high as a drachma a piece. It will be unnecessary to pursue this subject further, since it has been very fully discussed in Böckh's *Public*

from the men, and this opinion is supported by the inscriptions of the theatre at Syracuse; for an excellent account of which the reader is referred to a paper by Götting, in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1834, p. 103 sqq. This theatre consisted of three stories, separated by passages, διαζύματα, eight feet wide. The whole of the seats throughout all three stories were divided into nine κατατομαὶ or κερκίδας, (cuneos,) and the inscriptions on most of them are still legible. On the first κερκίς to the east nothing can be deciphered; on the second is inscribed ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΝΗΡΗΙΔΟΣ; on the third, ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΑΣ ΦΙΛΙΣΤΙΔΟΣ; on the fourth ΒΑΣ...ΝΟΣ. Proceeding further to the west the inscriptions are more defaced, and on the fifth and seventh Götting could only make out a few disconnected letters. Landolina, however, who saw the inscriptions toward the end of the last century, was able to read on the fifth, or centre one, ΔΙΟΣ ΟΛΥ...ΙΟΥ; and on the seventh, Η . ΑΚΛΕΟΞΕ . ΦΡΟΝΙΟΥ; though on the eighth and ninth compartments he could decipher nothing intelligible. From this it would seem that on the centre and four western compartments there were male names, and female ones on the four to the east, (those namely to the right of the spectator). This can scarcely be supposed a fortuitous arrangement; on the contrary, it is probable that the seats of the women were denoted by female, and those of the men by male, names. These inscriptions were the appellations of the whole κατατομή, and do not denote the seats of individuals, as Götting has satisfactorily shewn. Cf. Panofka, *Lettera sopra una Inscriz. del Teatro Syracus.*

The ὑπηρέται mentioned by Demosthenes in the passage just quoted, (in *Mid.* p. 572,) are the ραβδοφόροι or ραβδοῦχοι employed to preserve order, and answer to the *præcones* of the Roman theatre, who also oust (*suscitant*) those who are not in their proper places. See Schol. ad Aristoph. *Pax*, 718.

The representations began early in the morning, and places were taken ἔωθεν. Philochoros, apud Athen. xi. p. 464, says: Ἀθηναῖοι τοῖς Διονυσιακοῖς ἀγῶσι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἥριστῆκότες καὶ πεπωκότες ἐβάδιζον ἐπὶ τὴν θέαν καὶ ἐστεφανωμένοι ἐθεώρουν, παρὰ δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα πάντα φνοχοεῖτο καὶ τραγήματα παρεφέρετο, καὶ τοῖς χοροῖς εἰσιούσιν ἐνέχεον πίνειν καὶ διηγωνισμένοις, ὅτ' ἐξεπορεύοντο ἐνέχεον πάλιν μαρτυρεῖν δὲ τούτοις καὶ Φερεκράτη

ικόν, ὅτι μέχρι τῆς καθ' αὐτὸν ἡλικίας οὐκ ἀσίτους εἶναι
 οὐκ οὐκ. This statement that they breakfasted first can
 true of the earliest period, for that it was not so in the
 Aristophanes is clear from *Aves*, 784:

οὐδὲν ἐστ' ἄμεινον, οὐδ' ἡδίων, ἢ φῦσαι πτερὰ.
 αὐτίχ' ὑμῶν τῶν θεατῶν εἴ τις ἦν ὑπόπτερος,
 εἴτα πεινῶν τοῖς χοροῖσι τῶν τραγωδῶν ἤχθετο,
 ἐκπετόμενος ἂν οὗτος ἡρίστησεν ἐλθὼν οἴκαδε,
 κατ' ἂν ἐμπλησθεῖς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὖθις αὖ κατέπετο.

ing to all accounts, however, the performances commenced
 ry early hour. See Æschin. in *Ctesiph.* p. 467: καὶ ἅμα
 α ἡγείτο τοῖς πρέσβεσιν εἰς τὸ θέατρον. So Demosth. in
 538: ἐγὼ δ' ὑπ' ἐχθροῦ νήφοντος ἔωθεν...ὑβρίζομην. This
 continued till a late period. Plutarch, *Non Posse Suas.*
 λέγεις, ὦ Ἐπίκουρε; κιθαρωδῶν καὶ αὐλητῶν ἔωθεν ἀκροασό-
 τὸ θέατρον βαδίζεις, κ.τ.λ. Eating and drinking was per-
 in the theatre; but many only sat out part of the perform-
 while others did not come till late, when the money-taker
 e, and they could get in for nothing. The βδελυρὸς did
 heophr. *Char.* 30: καὶ ἐπὶ θεῶν τηνικάδε πορεύεσθαι ἄγως

Lucian, *de Salt.* 83, relates that an actor played the mad Ajax so naturally that τό γε θέατρον ἅπαν συνεμεμήνει τῷ Αἴαντι, καὶ ἐπήδων καὶ ἐβῶν, καὶ τὰς ἐσθήτας ἀπερρίπτουν. This, however, seems rather to pertain to the Roman custom, *togam jactare*. It has been supposed that certain passages were encored, the audience raising a loud cry of αὔθις (*da capo*). This may perhaps be inferred from the analogous case in Xenoph. *Symp.* 9, 4: Οἱ δὲ συμπόται ὀρῶντες ἅμα μὲν ἐκρότουν, ἅμα δὲ ἐβῶν 'αὔθις.' The ordinary mode of expressing disapprobation was by hissing; thus Demosthenes says to Æschines, who had been a bad tragic actor, ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον. *De Coron.* p. 315. The audience, however, were not always content with this, but sometimes proceeded to beat an actor who displeased them, so that the tragic Agon became an ἀγὼν περὶ ψυχῆς. See Demosth. *de Coron.* p. 314: μισθώσας σαυτὸν τοῖς βαρυστόνοις ἐπικαλουμένοις ἐκείνοις ὑποκριταῖς, Σιμόλῳ καὶ Σωκράτει, ἐτριταγωνίστεις, σῦκα καὶ βότρυς καὶ ἐλάας συλλέγων ὥσπερ ὀπωρώνης ἐκείνος ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων χωρίων, πλείω λαμβάνων ἀπὸ τούτων, ἢ τῶν ἀγώνων οὐς ὑμεῖς περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἡγωνίζεσθε. ἦν γὰρ ἄσπονδος καὶ ἀκήρυκτος ὕμιν ὁ πρὸς τοὺς θεατὰς πόλεμος· ὑφ' ὧν πολλὰ τραύματ' εἰληφώς εἰκότως τοὺς ἀπείρους τῶν τοιούτων κινδύνων ὡς δειλοὺς σκώπτεις. That these τραύματα are to be taken literally appears from a second passage, *de Falsa Leg.* p. 449: ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖτε ἀτοπώτατον ἀπάντων ἂν ποιῆσαι, εἰ ὅτε μὲν τὰ Θυέστον καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ Τροίᾳ κακὰ ἡγωνίζετο, ἐξεβάλλετε αὐτὸν καὶ ἐξεσυρίττετε ἐκ τῶν θεάτρων καὶ μόνον οὐ κατελεύετε οὕτως, ὥστε τελευτῶντα τοῦ τριταγωνιστεῖν ἀποστῆναι. See the anecdote of the parodist Hegemon, *Athen.* ix. p. 406: εἰσῆλθε δέ ποτε καὶ εἰς τὸ θέατρον διδάσκων κωμῳδίας, λίθων ἔχων πλήρες τὸ ἱμάτιον· οὐς βάλλων εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν διαπορεῖν ἐποίησε τοὺς θεατὰς. καὶ ὀλίγον διαλιπὼν εἶπε, Λίθοι μὲν οἶδε. βαλλέτω δ' εἴ τις θέλει. For the poet himself sometimes received a reception of this kind, or was forcibly expelled from the theatre, as was the case with Diphilus. *Athen.* xiii. p. 583.

But it would be wrong to argue from these instances that the profession of a player was despised; on the contrary, talented actors were honoured and regarded. See Plutarch, *Apophth. Lac.* i. p. 848. At a later time troops of despised and ill-paid actors went about Greece, and they seem even to have consisted of slaves.

Lucian, *Icaromen.* 29: (σοφισταί) εοικότες μάλιστα τοῖς τραγικοῖς ὑποκριταῖς, ὧν ἦν ἀφέλγῃς τὰ προσωπεῖα καὶ τὴν χρυσό-
 ἐκείνην στολὴν, τὸ καταλειπόμενον ἐστὶ γελοῖον, ἀνθρώπων
 παρὰ τὸν ἀγῶνα μεμισθωμένον. Lucian does not
 use much higher terms even of actors who were in considerable
 repute. *Merc. Cond.* 5: ἐνίοτε δὲ μαστιγούμενοί τινες αὐτῶν
 ὑπὸ θεάτρῳ δοκῇ. Cf. *Necyom.* 16; *Nigrin.* 8; Dio Chrysost.
Orat. p. 302; Plutarch, *de Sera Num. Vind.* 9. At this
 time, however, the stage was at a very low ebb.

What has been said shews that the behaviour of the spectators
 was somewhat coarse, (see Theoph. *Char.* 11,) yet there is
 at the same time abundant proof of the attention with which
 they followed the piece, and of their fine taste and correct dis-
 crimination, which allowed no ἀσχημονεῖν on the part of the actor
 to pass without expressions of disapprobation. Cf. Plu-
 tarch, *de Aud. Poet.* 12.

In the course of the tragic representations were listened to with
 gravity and tranquillity than the comedies. The deep im-
 pression made by the former on the feelings of the Athenian,

EXCURSUS I. TO SCENE XI.

THE DRESS.

IN the discussion of this voluminous subject, the difficulties arise from the superfluity, instead of the paucity of those materials—both literary and artistic,—which classical antiquity has transmitted to us. Indeed, to explain the names and peculiarities of all the various articles of Greek attire with which we are acquainted, would be utterly beyond the scope and limits of the present treatise.

The older writers on the subject, Ferrarius and Rubenius, as well as Montfaucon, are out of date, owing to the immense amount of material which has been discovered since their time, and Winkelmann is far from having exhausted even the special department he has chosen. One of the chief labourers in this field is Böttiger, whose numerous isolated memoirs are very valuable, though they are deficient in unity of purpose, and moreover give no notion of every-day Greek costume. Müller's *Handbuch der Archäol.* contains many very valuable hints, and his *History of the Dorians*, ii. pp. 271—278, conveys a very satisfactory idea of the dress of that people.

In the following pages an attempt will be made to describe, in the first place, the general national dress, and afterwards to review the casual peculiarities brought about by time, fashion, or foppery.

Upon the whole, the same remark applies to the Greek dress as to the Roman, that its separate portions continued, from the earliest to the latest period, essentially unchanged. It was characterized by great simplicity, which is partly attributable, to the mildness of the climate, partly to the inborn taste for simple nobleness of form. There was no pinching up the proportions of the body, no multiplicity of garments drawn one over another, and no useless display of heterogeneous ornaments.

The articles of Greek costume may be divided into two chief classes, ἐνδύματα; and ἐπιβλήματα or περιβλήματα, generally ἀναβολή.

The sole ἐνδυμα was the chiton, and this, at an early period,

erent among the different races, till at last the more useful species got into vogue, and perhaps became general. This worn by the men, was a short woollen shirt, without while the Ionic race, and more especially the Athenians, longer linen chiton. It is hard to say whether this was in Athens before the historic period, or whether it was first introduced there from the Ionic colonies. The account given by Herodotus (i. 6) must be familiar to every one. Speaking of the Persians, he says: οὐ πολλὸν χρόνος, ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦν φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναστῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τὸν πρῶτον κατατὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπιπολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχε. However, in his *Dorians*, ii. p. 278, rejects this testimony, assigning the invention of this chiton to the more effeminate Ionians of Ionia. Nevertheless the Greek historian's account is supported by the fact that the epithet ἐλκεχίτωνες is applied by Homer (*Il.* xiii. 685) to the Ionians, among whom the Persians are comprehended. Pausanias (i. 19, 1) mentions an improbable legend, that Theseus came to Athens in a dress of women, and was laughed at by the Athenians: οἷα δὲ γυναικῶν

mention of the exploits at Marathon. See *Equit.* 1330; *Nub.* 984. It is also clear from Aristophanes that at the time of the Peloponnesian war this dress had gone out entirely, and the epoch of the adoption of the shorter chiton may be fixed at that period when Pericles was at the head of affairs. Eustath. *ad Il.* xiii. 689: μέχρι γὰρ, φασί, τῆς Περικλέους στρατηγίας ποδήρεις εἶχον χιτῶνας, φοροῦντες καὶ τέττιγας.

The chiton, which from this time formed the universal attire of the men, had two varieties of form. Poll. vii. 47: χιτῶν δέ, ὁ μὲν ἀμφιμάσχαλος ἐλευθέρων σχῆμα. ὁ δὲ ἑτερομάσχαλος οἰκετῶν. It is by no means necessary to suppose that even the ἀμφιμάσχαλος invariably possessed sleeves; there were often merely arm-holes, though the shoulders were always covered. See Hesychius; Suidas; and Schol. *ad Aristoph. Equit.* 882. The ἑτερομάσχαλος had an arm-hole only for the left arm, leaving the right, with a part of the breast, quite bare, and hence it was also called ἐξωμῖς. See Hesychius; Phot. *Lex.* p. 25; Schol. to Aristoph. *Vesp.* 444; and Heliod. *Æthiop.* iii. 1: τὸ μὲν ζῶσμα ἐκάστω χιτῶνα λευκὸν εἰς ἀγκύλην ἀνέστελλε. χεῖρ δὲ ἢ δεξιὰ σὺν ὤμφῃ καὶ μαζῇ παραγυμνουμένη πέλεκυν δίστομον ἐπεκράδαιεν. See also Pausan. v. 16, 2: χιτῶν ὀλίγον ὑπὲρ γόνατος καθήκει, τὸν ὤμον ἄχρι τοῦ στήθεος φαίνουσι τὸν δεξιόν. But the ἐξωμῖς was not only a chiton, but could also serve as an ἱμάτιον or περίβλημα. Hesychius at least, asserts this to have been the case: 'Εξωμῖς' χιτῶν ὁμοῦ καὶ ἱμάτιον. τὴν γὰρ ἑκατέρου χρεῖαν παρείχεν καὶ χιτῶνα μὲν διὰ τὸ ζώνυσθαι, ἱμάτιον δέ, ὅτι τὸ ἕτερον μέρος ἐβάλλετο. παρ' οὗ καὶ οἱ κωμικοὶ ὅτε μὲν Ἐνδυθι, ὅτε δὲ Περιβαλοῦ. The same meaning appears to attach to a passage of Ælius Dionysius, ap. Eustath. *ad Il.* xviii. 595: χιτῶνος εἶδος καὶ ἡ ἐξωμῖς· ἐξωμῖς γὰρ, φησί, χιτῶν ἅμα καὶ ἱμάτιον τὸ αὐτό. Pollux, however, states that there were two different garments, both of which bore the same name, exomis. He says: ἡ δ' ἐξωμῖς καὶ περίβλημα ἦν, καὶ χιτῶν ἑτερομάσχαλος. This view is supported by the artistic remains, one of the most important of which is a relief figured in the *Mus. Pio-Clem.* iv. pl. 11, representing an Hephestos clad in the exomis, which is no chiton, but an indubitable himation. Cf. Stuart and Revett, *Antiq. of Athens*, ii. 4, p. 36, and iii. 1, pl. 8. On the other hand, instances of the genuine χιτῶν ἑτερομάσχαλος occur in two polychromatic vase-

THE DRESS.

[EXCURSUS I.]

s, given by Stackelberg, *Die Gräber der Hellenen*, pl. 47,
one of which the accompanying wood-cut is a copy.



λεύς. It is true that an article of dress is often mentioned, which apparently differed from the regular chiton. It is called *χιτωνίσκος* when worn by the men, and *χιτώνιον* in the case of women; and though Plutarch once uses the former name for both sexes, yet the latter word is exclusively restricted to the female garment. Lucian, *Lexiph.* 25: ὅτε χιτώνιον μὲν καὶ τὸν ἀνδρεῖον φων λέγεσθαι, δουλάρια δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄρρένας· ἃ τις οὐκ οἶδεν, ὅτι χιτώνιον μὲν γυναικὸς ἐσθῆς, δουλάρια δὲ τὰ θήλεα καλοῦσι. Eustath. *ad Il.* xviii. 595: ὁ δὲ ἀνδρεῖος χιτωνίσκος, ὃ τινες ἐπενδύτην, τὸ δὲ βραχὺ χιτωνισκάριον· χιτώνιον δὲ καὶ χιτωνάριον λεπτὸν ἔνδυμα γυναικεῖον πολυτελές. See also Plutarch, *de Gen. Socr.* 14: σοὶ δέ, ὦ πάτερ, Μιλησίαν χλαμύδα, τῇ δὲ μητρὶ παραλουργὸν ᾤησόμεθα χιτώνιον. Cf. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 150. The word *χιτωνίσκος* is, however, used for an article of female dress by Plutarch, *Mul. Virt.* 26, where he says, speaking of Xenocrita: παρεκαλύψατο τῇ χιτωνίσκῃ τὸ πρόσωπον, but the reason is because the Cuman women had to wear male attire. Cf. *Alcib.* 39.

As an article of female costume, *χιτώνιον* seems to mean an under shift, as will presently be shewn. But when Böttiger assumes that the *χιτωνίσκος* filled an analogous position in male attire, and proceeds to explain *μονοχίτων* of one who only wore the chitoniscos, without an upper chiton, and *ἀχίτων*, on the other hand, of one who wore no under shirt, he is quite wrong. For the chitoniscos is only a short chiton, not a shirt worn under the chiton, but, as Eustathius says, *ἐπιπολάζων*. It is the chiton of the men, and, as may be proved by many passages, it is the outer (or rather only) visible one. Thus Antiphanes, *apud Athen.* xii. p. 545, describing an Academic, says,

λευκὴ χλανίς, φαίδς χιτωνίσκος καλός.

See Demosth. *in Mid.* p. 583: ὥστε με, ὦ ἄ. Ἀ., φοβηθέντα τὸν ὑμέτερον θόρυβον, τοιμάτιον προέσθαι καὶ μικροῦ γυμνὸν ἐν τῇ χιτωνίσκῃ γενέσθαι. Cf. *Æschin. in Timarch.* p. 142; *Lysias in Theomn.* p. 350. An opposite conclusion would seem to be derivable from Aristoph. *Ran.* 1067: χιτῶνά γ' ἔχων οὐλῶν ἐρίων ὑπένερθε. The *ὑπένερθε* will be found, however, if the context be considered, to refer to the *ράκια* or *tribonion* before mentioned. See also *Aves*, 944. The clearest proof however is from Plato, *Hipp. Min.* p. 368, where the articles of Hippias' wardrobe are

one enumerated by Socrates. We have signet, sandals, αἱ τὸ ἱμάτιον καὶ τὸν χιτῶνίσκον. A third garment, would have been infallibly mentioned.

As, then, the ἱμάτιον, χλαῖνα, or χλανὶς, and the χιτῶν or χιτών, appear universally as the two sole articles of male dress, and there is no such thing as an inner shirt. And μονοχιτών denotes one who wore no περιβόλαιον over the chiton, i. q. ἄχιτων: see *Odyss.* xiv. 488. Cf. Pythænetos, ap. Athen. xiii.

On the other hand, ἄχιτων denotes one who wore the chiton only, without the chiton, which was often done by persons of a simple and austere manner of life. See Xenoph. *Memor.* where Antiphon says to Socrates: καὶ ἱμάτιον ἡμφίεσαι καὶ φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ τὸ αὐτὸ θέρουσ τε καὶ χειμῶνος, ἀνυπόδητοι καὶ ἄχιτων διατελεῖς. *Ælian, Var. Hist.* vii. 13, speaking of Alcibiades, says: γέρων ἤδη ὢν ἀνυπόδητος πολλάκις καὶ ἄχιτων τὸν τρίβωνα περιβαλλόμενος αὐτὸν, καὶ ταῦτα ἐωθινὸς ἐν περὶ φ. Cf. Plutarch, *Apophth. Lac.* i. p. 838. And *Siculus*, xi. 26, says of Gelon: ἄχιτων ἐν ἱματίῳ προσελθὼν. It would indeed have been an unexampled instance of

θαι or ἀμπισχνεῖσθαι; and according to a man's skill or awkwardness in doing it, was he pronounced genteel, or clownish and un-Greek. The token of the ἀνελεύθερος and ἀπαιδευτος is expressly stated by Plato, *Theæt.* p. 175, to be ἀναβάλλεσθαι μὴ ἐπίστασθαι ἐπιδέξια ἐλευθέρως. Cf. Athen. i. p. 21: "Ἐμελε δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ κοσμίως ἀναλαμβάνειν τὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ τοὺς μὴ τοῦτο ποιοῦντας ἔσκωπτον. See also Aristoph. *Aves*, 1565, where Poseidon says to the barbarians:

οὔτος, τί δρᾷς; ἐπ' ἀριστέρ' οὔτως ἀμπείχει;
οὐ μεταβαλεῖς θοῖμάτιον ὡς ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ;

At an earlier period it was the fashion, as with the Romans (*colhibere brachium*), to keep the right hand in the garment, ἐντὸς τὴν χεῖρα ἔχειν, a rule which does not apply to orators alone. *Æschin. in Timarch.* p. 52; Demosth. *de Falsa Leg.* p. 420; Müller, *Handb. d. Archäol.* pp. 85, 468. Many adhered to this ancient custom, Phocion, for instance, as we are told by Duris, apud Plutarch, *Phoc.* 4.

The himation reached properly to the knee at least, and a shorter ἀναβολή was considered unbecoming. Theophr. *Char.* 4: (ἀγροίκου) ἀναβεβλημένος ἄνω τοῦ γόνατος καθίζανειν, ὥστε τὰ γυμνὰ αὐτοῦ φαίνεσθαι. Philetærus, ap. Athen. i. p. 21: 'Ἀμφὶ στέρνοισι φᾶρος οὐ καθήσεις, μὴδ' ἀγροίκως ἄνω γόνατος ἀμφέξει; Usually it reached even lower. Quint. *Instit.* xi. 3, 143: 'Togas veteres ad calceos usque demittebant, ut Græci pallium.' Cf. Böttiger, *Vasengemälde*, p. 56. Still, when Athens was at her zenith, so long a garment would have been thought a mark of luxury and pride. Plato, *Alcib.* i. p. 122; Demosth. *de Falsa Leg.* p. 442: καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀγορᾶς πορεύεται, θοῖμάτιον καθείς ἄχρι τῶν σφυρῶν. Even in Lucian's time it was thought a sign of τρυφή. See *Amor.* 3: παιδρὰ μὲν ἐσθῆς μέχρι ποδῶν τὴν τρυφήν θειμένην.

The Spartans wore a short mantle, of coarse texture, called τρίβων or τριβώνιον. Those who aped Spartan customs, the Λακωνίζοντες, and the philosophers of the cynic and stoic schools, naturally adopted it also. See Thucyd. i. 6; Plato, *Protag.* p. 342; Aristot. *Ethic. Nic.* iv. 13; Müller, *Dorians*, ii. p. 279. Of course a good deal would depend on a man's means and condition, and the lower classes would frequently content themselves with such a garment. See Isæus, *de Dicæog. Her.* p. 94; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 116, 1131; *Eccl.* 850.

boys at Athens used, in early times, to wear the simple chiton, but towards the period of the Peloponnesian war it became usual for them to wear an upper garment also. See Aristoph. *Eccl.* 964, 987. The boys of Sparta, as above-mentioned, wore the chiton only till their twelfth year; afterwards the himation was their sole article of dress, in winter as well as summer. *Plutarch, de Republ. Laced.* 2, 4: Καὶ ἀντί γε τοῦ ἱματίου δια-
τεταγμένοι, ἐνόμισεν ἐν ἱματίῳ δι' ἔτους προσεθίζεσθαι, νομίζων
καὶ πρὸς ψύχην καὶ πρὸς θάλην ἄμεινον ἂν παρασκευάσασθαι.
Plutarch, Dec. Or. Vit. iv. p. 379: ἱμάτιον ἐν καθ' αὐτὸ
τοῦ χειμῶνος καὶ τοῦ θέρους.

After the Athenian lad had attained to the age of an ephebus, his upper dress was the chlamys, a garment entirely different from



the himation. It originally came from Thessaly or Macedon, whence it seems to have been spread over all Greece. Poll. vii. 46: τὰς δὲ Θετταλικὰς χλαμύδας Θετταλικά πτερὰ ὀνόμαζον, καὶ ἐν-τεθετταλίσμεθα ἔλεγον τὸ χλαμυδοφοροῦμεν. The clearest description of its form is in Plutarch, *Alex.* 26, where its shape is compared to that of the city of Alexandria: κυκλοτερῇ κόλπον ἦγον, οὐ τὴν ἐντὸς περιφέρειαν εὐθεῖαι βάσεις, ὥσπερ ἀπὸ κρασπέδων εἰς σχῆμα χλαμύδος, ὑπελάμβανον ἐξ ἴσου συνάγουσαι τὸ μέγεθος. It is also represented very frequently in vase-paintings, and other artistic remains. See the accompanying wood-cut, which represents Oedipus before the Sphinx, and is taken from Tischbein, *Engrav.* ii. 24. The chlamys which he wears appears to be of an oblong quadrangular shape. It has a purple border, and tassels at the four corners. It was fastened by a button on the right shoulder, and sometimes also across the breast, and the tassels which hang down are the πτερὰ or πτέρυγες. Hesychius: Θετταλικά πτερὰ τοῦτο εἴρηται διὰ τὸ πτέρυγας ἔχειν τὰς Θετταλικὰς χλαμύδας. Πτέρυγες δὲ καλοῦνται αἱ ἐκατέρωθεν γωνίαι, διὰ τὸ εἰκέναι πτέρυξιν. The time when this garment got into vogue throughout Greece is unknown. The first mention of it is said to occur in Sappho. Poll. x. 124: οἱ μέντοι Ἀττικοὶ τὸ λεπτὸν χλανίδα, τὸ δὲ ἱππικὸν χλαμύδα, ὡς Θετταλῶν. πρώτην δὲ φασὶ χλαμύδα ὀνομάσαι Σαπφῶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἑρωτος εἰποῦσαν, Ἑλθόντ' ἐξ ὀρανῶ πορφυρέαν ἔχοντα προΐεμενον χλαμύν. Pollux rightly calls it τὸ ἱππικόν, for it is the proper riding coat, and was worn on journeys. Müller, *Dorians*, ii. p. 278. Other names, such as χλαῖνα, χλανίς, &c. refer not so much to the form as to the material which was adopted.

The dress of the women was in its main features the same as that of the men, though distinguished by various additions. Care, however, must be taken to distinguish between the two chitons, the Doric and the Ionic. The Doric was a very simple woollen shift, perhaps consisting only of two short pieces of cloth, sewed together up to the breast, (at least on one side,) while the parts covering the breast and back were fastened over the shoulders, and thus formed arm-holes. The σχιστός of the virgins, alluded to in the Excursus on *The Gymnasia*, p. 298, is only one species. For this garment see the accompanying figure of Nike, which is copied from Stackelberg, *Grüb. der Hell.* pl. 60. The σχιστός

THE DRESS.

[EXCURSUS I.]





A Bronze from Herculaneum, *Mus. Borb.* ii. 6.

ere the adjustment of the Chiton is complete. On the shoulders are the clasps which fasten together the *πρόφυες*. The Chiton is girded under the bosom, and the ruffled part, which is thus made to hang over, (*κόλπος*;) forms a parallel line with the *ἐπὶ πλοῖον*.



ὁ δὲ ἀληθεῖ λόγῳ χρεωμένοισι οὐκ ἴατο αὐτὴ ἡ ἐσθὴς τὸ παλαιὸν ἀλλὰ Κάειρα· ἐπεὶ ἥ γε Ἑλληνικὴ ἐσθὴς πᾶσα ἡ ἀρχαίη τῶν γυναικῶν ἡ αὐτὴ ἦν, τὴν νῦν Δωριδα καλέομεν.

The διπλοῖς, διπλοῖδιον, or ἡμιδιπλοῖδιον, is intimately connected with the chiton, or rather is a part of it. Böttiger supposes this diploidion, or the ἐπωμίς, to have been a separate article of dress, a kind of double mantle, which at last came to be drawn on like a tunic. In the case of the sleeved chiton, which was not fastened with a clasp over the shoulder, this may have been the case, but originally, and in most instances, it was nothing more than the turn-over or lappet of the chiton itself. This is very clearly seen in many vase-paintings; but no antiquaries shew the arrangement of this garment more unmistakably than the two bronzes from Herculaneum which are here engraved. The parts covering the breast and back are much too long, and hence this flap or turn-over, which in some cases falls as low as the hips, or lower; and inasmuch as the chiton was double so far as this reached, it was called διπλοῖδιον. When the lappet was formed on the breast only, or on the back, instead of on both, it may have borne the name ἡμιδιπλοῖδιον; or perhaps this name was used when the flap did not double the chiton more than half way down. There is no passage which determines which of these two meanings properly attaches to the word. This diploidion was also called ἐπωμίς, because it was fastened over the shoulders by agraffes. Müller, it is true, supposes that ἐπωμίς merely means the end which was fastened across the shoulder. *Handb. d. Archäol.* p. 472. In support of this position he adduces Eurip. *Hec.* 553:

λαβοῦσα πέπλους ἐξ ἀκρας ἐπωμίδος
ἔρρηξε λαγόνος ἐν μέσσοι παρ' ὀμφαλόν.

He also cites a fragment of Chæremón, apud Athen. xiii. p. 608:

ἔκειτο δ' ἡ μὲν λευκὸν εἰς σεληνόφωτο
φαίνουσα μαστὸν λελευμένην ἐπωμίδος.

In these passages, however, the word ἐπωμίς may just as well be understood of the garment itself, and it is evidently taken in this sense by Pollux, vii. 49: Καὶ ἴδια δὲ γυναικῶν ἐπωμίς, διπλοῖδιον, ἡμιδιπλοῖδιον, κ.τ.λ. So too a fragment of Apollodorus, ap. Suidas, s. v. ἐγκομβώσασθαι:

τὴν ἐπωμίδα
πτύξασα διπλὴν ἀνθεν ἐνκομβώσασθαι.

also takes ἔγκυκλον as synonymous with diploidion; but very doubtful. The Scholiast to Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 261, properly observes: δῆλον δὲ, ὅτι τὸ ἔγκυκλον ἱμάτιον, ὃ ἔστιν ἐνδυμα: and again, *Lysistr.* 114, we have τοῦ ἔγκυκλου ἀταθεισαν. Pollux, however, understands the word to mean a coloured border. See vii. 53.

The sleeves of the proper Ionic chiton seem quite closed, and worn down in folds like broad pouches; but they were often slit



open from the shoulder on the upper side, and fastened with clasps, so that the arm might be seen. This sort Böttiger very improperly terms *χιτών σχιστός*.

The Ionic chiton was generally much longer than the body, and was so drawn up by the girdle as just to reach to the feet. The fold or lappet (*κόλπος*) which was by this means caused under the breast or lower, (according to the position of the girdle,) forms a parallel line with the border of the diploidion. See Figure on p. 423. When the chiton was not girded, but hung loose from the top, it was called *ὀρθοσταδῖος*, or *συμμετρία χιτῶν*. Poll. vii. 48: *χιτῶν ὀρθοσταδῖος ὁ οὐ ζωννύμενος*. Phot. *Lex.* p. 346: *Ὀρθοσταδῖοι οἱ στατοὶ χιτῶνες· οἱ γὰρ συνρόμενοι συρτοί*. The chiton was called *συρτός*, before it was girt up; it was never worn with a train. Sometimes it had below a flounce with folds, and was then called *στολιδωτός*. Poll. vii. 54: *εἷη δ' αὖ τις καὶ στολιδωτός χιτῶν· στολίδες δὲ εἰσιν αἱ ἐξεπίτηδες ὑπὸ δεσμοῦ γιγνόμεναι κατὰ τέλη τοῖς χιτῶσιν ἐπιπτυχαί· μάλιστα ἐπὶ λινῶν χιτῶνίσκων*. Cf. Xenoph. *Cyrop.* vi. 4, 2.

The girdle used by women is called *ζώνιον* or *στρόφιον*. Ptolem. *Ascal. de differ. voc.* 87: *ζώνην λέγουσι τὴν τοῦ ἀνδρός· ζώνιον δὲ τὸ γυναικός*. Moer. *Att.* p. 124; Poll. vii. 67; Aristoph. *Theam.* 139; *Lysistr.* 72. This must be distinguished from the band placed around the breast (usually) under the chiton. It was called by several names, of which the most usual are *ταινία*, *μίτρα*, *ἀποδέσμος*, and *στηθόδεσμος*. Poll. vii. 65: *τὸ δὲ τῶν μαστῶν τῶν γυναικείων ζῶσμα ταινίαν ὠνόμαζον καὶ ταινίδιον*. Cf. *Anthol. Pal.* v. 199; Anacr. 20, 13. The *ἀποδέσμος* corresponds to the *fascia pectoralis*, (see *Gallus*, p. 432,) but is also generally a bosom-band. Lucian, *Dial. Mer.* xii.: *ἡ δὲ φιλήσασα μεταξὺ τῶν μαστῶν ὑπὸ τῇ ἀποδέσμῳ παρεβύσατο*. The manner of wearing it is seen in a bronze, figured in the *Antich. d'Erc.* vi. 17, 3. The body-band, *περίζωμα*, was different, being used as a *περὶ τῇ κοιλίᾳ ζῶσμα*. Poll. vii. 65. The Greek women had an infinity of means for improving the figure, though few, perhaps, beside hetærae made use of them. Alexis, ap. Athen. xiii. p. 568, gives a long catalogue:

οὐκ ἔχει τις ἰσχία·
ὑπενέδυσ' ἑρράμμέν' αὐτήν, ὥστε τὴν εὐπυγίαν
ἀναβοᾶν τοὺς εἰσιδόντας· κοιλίαν ἀδράν ἔχει·

THE DRESS.

[EXCURSUS I.]

στηθί' ἔστ' αὐταῖσι τούτων, ὧν ἔχουσ' οἱ κωμικοί.
ὀρθὰ προσθεῖσαι τοιαῦτα γούν αὐτῶν τῆς κοιλίας,
ὥσπερὶ κύντοισι τούτοις εἰς τὸ πρόσθ' ἀπήγαγον.

ἐπίβλημα, or upper garment of the women, in all essential resembled the himation of the males; hence the same might be worn by both man and wife. *Ælian, Var. Hist.* vii. 9: ἡ Φωκίανη τὸ Φωκίωνος ἱμάτιον ἐφόρει καὶ οὐδὲν ἔδειτο οὐ κροτάφον οὐ Ταραντίνου, οὐκ ἀναβολῆς, οὐκ ἐγκυκλίου, οὐ κεκρυφάλου, οὐ πεπτασίου, οὐ βαπτῶν χιτῶνίσκων. The same author relates that Antippe refused to go out in her husband's himation, which was enough. The usual name for this female himation is ἡμιχίτωνη or ἀμπεχόριον, and the use of the diminutive shews that smaller shawl-like garments were also worn. See the figure of the σκιάδειον, p. 426. The word πέπλος, with the exception of the Panathenaic, denotes any article of apparel ordinarily worn. See Poll. vii. 49. If there was originally a particular garment called by this name, it must have become obsolete.

Before proceeding to describe these garments further, let us return for a moment to the question whether the χιτῶν and ἀμπεχόριον were fitted for a woman's attire, or whether an under shift

In the following engraving, taken from Tischbein, *Engravings*, i. pl. 59, one of the women, who are here performing their ablutions, has on such a short thin shift, *ἑξωμῖς*, which has all the peculiarities of a *χιτώμιον*, for it reaches scarcely half down the thigh, and is quite *διαφανές*, (Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 48,) and *ἐχέσαρκον*, like that of Phryne.



We will next speak of the materials of the several articles of Greek dress. After the linen chiton of the men had fallen into disuse, sheep's wool was the only material employed, the fabric being of coarser or finer texture, according to circumstances. The most celebrated wool came from Miletus. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 729; Strabo, xii. 7, 16: *φέρει δ' ὁ περὶ τὴν Λαοδικείαν τόποι προβάτων ἀρετὰς, οὐκ εἰς μαλακότητα μόνον τῶν ἐρίων, ἥ καὶ τῶν Μιλησίων διαφέρει, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν κοραξὴν χροάν.* See *Gallus*, p. 442. For winter wear the chiton was made of much stouter cloth, and shagged on one or both sides. Thus in Aristophanes, *Ran.* 1067, we have: *χιτῶν οὐλῶν ἐρίων*: and Pollux, vii. 57, mentions the *χιτῶν δασύς, μαλλωτός ἢ ἀμφίμαλλος*. The *χλαῖνα*, which was probably like the ordinary himation in form,

garment, and so, probabl

The female attire was made of
and linen. The byssus claims th
ject is obscure, since the ancient
stuffs by this name. The byssus
tinct, being a tuft of silky thread
larks, of which the *Pinna maris*
known to the ancients. See Ter
de Anim. Propr. 88. But the by
vegetable product, consisting of th
this all writers, ancient and moder
were is not so easy to say. Herodo
ence to the Egyptian mummies: κ
δότος βυσσίνης τελαμῶσι κατατετμ
supposed that mummies, at least
classes, were enveloped in swathes
case, Herodotus must have taken
microscopical investigations, howe
fibres of the mummy-cloth are c
Herodotus, vii. 181, mentions βύσσινον
a purpose to which cotton is not
37; Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xix. 1, 2.
Apollon. ii. 20. σανα· καὶ βύσσινον

ἐξ οὗ τὴν ἐσθῆτα λίνου ἂν τις μᾶλλον φαίη προσεοικέναι, πλὴν τοῦ πάχους. On the whole, the best authorities have inclined to the opinion that by βύσσος cotton is meant. See Forster, *de Byssu Antiquorum*, p. 47; Böttiger, *Aldobrand. Hochz.* p. 127; Sprengel, *Hist. rei Herb.* i. p. 15. There can however be no doubt that several fabrics, essentially different from each other, all bore this name. The usual byssus was white, like cotton; but there was also one kind of a yellow colour. Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* ii. 20: καὶ ἡσθῆναι τῇ βύσσῳ φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔοικε φαῖφί τριβωνί. Empedocles, apud Plutarch, *de Def. Orac.* 4: βύσσῳ δὲ γλαυκῆς κρόκου καταμίσγεται. Pausan. vii. 21, 7; and v. 5, 2: ἡ δὲ βύσσος ἡ ἐν τῇ Ἠλείᾳ λεπτότητος μὲν εἵνεκα οὐκ ἀποδεῖ τῆς Ἑβραίων, ἔστι δὲ οὐχ ὁμοίως ξανθή. Cf. Plin. xix. 1, 4. But the enormous price of this yellow byssus, which grew around Elis, makes it probable that it was used for cauls and other ornaments, but hardly for whole dresses. According to Voss, ad Virg. *Georg.* ii. 120, the true byssus is the yellow cotton (*Gossypium religiosum?*); but the question is, what he means by the true byssus, for Herodotus certainly is not thinking of the yellow kind, and that grown at Elis was evidently not the common article. It seems then that we must assume that, originally, there was a great resemblance among a variety of stuffs, owing to a similarity in the style of manufacture; and the confusion and perhaps intentional imitation which took place will account for the contradictory nature of the descriptions which have come down to us. See Wedel, *de Purp. et Byssu*; Bertolini, *de Byssu Ant.*; Heeren, *Ideen*, i. 1, p. 106.

The period at which cotton garments were introduced into Greece is uncertain. The fragment of Empedocles, quoted by Plutarch, is too brief to afford us any information as to the use of byssus for clothing; a βύσσινον φάρος, however, is mentioned, with reference to the same period, in a fragment of the *Laocoon* of Sophocles, apud Dionys. Halic. *Ant. Rom.* i. 48. Plutarch, also, *de Virt. et Vit.* 2, affirms that at the Homeric period, wool and linen, only, were known. There is a remarkable passage in Diogenes Laertius, (vi. 90,) referring to the surveillance exercised by the *Asynomi* over luxuriousness in dress; where the obscure expression σινδῶν may originally denote linen, but in any case of foreign manufacture. He says: ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀθηνησιν ἀστυνόμῳ

θεῖς, ὅτι σινδόνα ἡμφίεστο, ἔφη, Καὶ Θεόφραστον ἡμῶν
 σινδόνα περιβεβλημένον. ἀπιστούντων δὲ ἀπήγαγεν ἐπὶ κοινῇ
 καὶ ἔδειξε κειρόμενον. See Poll. vii. 72; Phot. *Lex.* p. 512:
 τῆς χιτῶν' λινούς. But since Herodotus mentions the σιν-
 δόνη, it would appear that fabrics of cotton were also
 known by this name. Hence, if in the above story from Diogenes
 the robes of cotton are meant, it will follow that this was,
 in that period, a very unusual dress for men; but how early
 the made use of this material does not appear. Cf. Art.
 in the *Real-Encyklop. d. Class. Alterth.*

Another somewhat similar material was a very fine sort of
 which derived its name from the island Amorgos, where the
 was grown. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 150, mentions χιτῶνα ἀμόρ-
 γου and these are doubtless synonymous with the διαφανῆ
 of v. 48. See Æschin. in *Timarch.* p. 118: γυναῖκα
 να ἐπισταμένην ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἔργα λεπτὰ εἰς τὴν ἀγο-
 ρήν φέρουσαν. The garments thus made were particularly
 fine and transparent, and seem to have resembled those of
 Harpocr. Ἀμοργός· ἔστι παραπλήσιόν τι βύσσῳ. Pol-

ἔπειτα βομβύλιος, ἐκ δὲ τούτου νεκύδαλος· ἐν ἑξ δὲ μηνὶ μεταβάλλει ταύτας τὰς μορφὰς πάσας. Ἐκ τούτου τοῦ ζώου καὶ τὰ βομβύλκια ἀναλύουσι τῶν γυναικῶν τινες ἀναπνηζόμεναι κᾶπειτα ὑφαίνουσι. Πρώτη δὲ λέγεται ὑφῆναι ἐν Κῷ Παμφίλου Πλάτew θυγάτηρ. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 17, 20, and xi. 22, 23, has merely reproduced Aristotle's account, with the addition of a few blunders from other sources; while Strabo, xv. 1, 21, follows Nearchus, and gravely states that silk came ἐκ τινων φλοιῶν ξαινομένης βύσσου. The traditions followed by Pausanias, vi. 26, 4, and Eustathius, ad Dionys. Perieg. 753, are still more absurd. The latter takes *σηρικὰ* to be a different thing from silk, and Pollux, vii. 76, fancies it was made from something resembling spiders' webs.

Silk came both in a raw and manufactured state to the West; and in the latter case perhaps, was called *σηρικὰ*. By far the larger quantity, however, was imported in a raw condition, and was then denominated *μέταξα*. Procop. *Bell. Pers.* i. 20; *Bell. Goth.* iv. 17. Cf. Hesychius, s. v. Σῆρες. The cocoons, on arrival, were first unwound, (according to Aristotle on the isle of Cos,) and the *βομβύλκινα* were then woven from the thread. The obscurity of Aristotle's words, ἀναλύουσιν ἀναπνηζόμεναι κᾶπειτα ὑφαίνουσι, and still more of Pliny's, vi. 17, 20, 'unde geminus feminis labor, redordienti fila rursumque texendi,' has given rise to the erroneous notion that the webs, already finished, were again unravelled. Forster, *de Byss. Ant.* 16, shares in this error. The word ἀναλύειν refers only to the cocoons, as is correctly remarked by Salmasius and Schneider.

In all probability silken garments were not used in Greece till a late period, but the Asiatics wore them from the earliest times; for the ἐσθῆτες Μηδικαί, which Herodotus (iii. 84, vii. 116) mentions as gifts of honour, were certainly of silk, as Procopius expressly states; *Bell. Pers.* i. 20: (μέταξα) ἐξ ἧς εἰώθεσαν τὴν ἐσθῆτα ἐργάζεσθαι, ἣν πάλαι μὲν Ἕλληνες Μηδικὴν ἐκάλουν, τὰ δὲ νῦν σηρικὴν ὀνομάζουσιν. In Aristotle's time the manufacture was still very limited in Greece; for his words are, ἔναι τῶν γυναικῶν. This, to be sure, does not prove that silk dresses were not imported; but the silence of the writers of the time, and the enormous price which the article maintained at a later period, shews that its use must have been extremely limited. In after times silk chitons even are mentioned. Alciph. *Epist.* i. 39:

δ' ἦν τὸ χιτῶνιον. Cf. *Gallus*, p. 442; and Art. *Bom-*
the *Real-Encycl. d. Class. Alterth.*

cannot therefore be doubted that the notorious Coän robes
gauze-like silk fabric; but the εἴματα διαφανῆ, often
to at an earlier period, must have been of another mate-
σσινα or ἀμόργινα. See Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 48: διαφανῆ

Philemon, *Fragm.* (p. 387, Mein.): ἱμάτια διαφαίνοντα.
were often employed by artists, as through them the con-
the form was pretty visible. See the wood-cut, p. 460.

August. iii. 105; *Marm. Oxon.* 5; *Mus. Borb.* iii. 36.
Amor. 41, aptly terms such a dress an εἰς πρόφασιν

Cf. Hippolochus, apud Athen. iv. p. 129: εἰσβάλλονσιν
δες καὶ μουσουργοὶ καὶ σαμβυκίστριαί τινες Ῥόδιαί, ἐμοὶ
ναὶ δοκῶ, πλὴν ἐλεγόν τινες αὐτὰς ἔχειν χιτῶνας.

manufacture of asbestos fabrics at Carystos in Eubœa
mentioned as a curiosity. Strabo, x. 1, 6; Steph. Byz.
ρυστος. Clothes of such a material were never actually

s were not required, on account of the mildness of the

the higher classes, and at Athens purple and other colours were even considered the marks of immodest women.' *Kl. Schr.* iii. p. 44. In one of his latest essays, however, he states his views in a materially modified form. He there says, 'Though the Greek women unquestionably wore coloured garments, and, as is clear from the pictures of Polyguotus, often wore dresses of yellow, and of variable colours, yet these are very different from stripes and flaring patterns.' *Kl. Schr.* i. p. 293. This more recent opinion is certainly that which will best bear examination. On this subject we read in Pollux, vii. 55: *αἱ δὲ ἀπὸ χρωμάτων ἐσθῆτες καλούμεναι, αὐουργίς, πορφυρίς, φοινικίς καὶ φοινικοῦς χιτῶν, βατραχίς. αὗται μὲν ἀνδρῶν. Γυναικῶν δὲ, κροκωτός, κροκώτιον, παραλουργίς, ὀμφάκινον. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ χρώματι καὶ Ἄλέξανδρον ᾗδεσθαι λέγουσι, τὸ δὲ ὑδροβαφὲς εἶη αὖν ἱμάτιον, ὃ νῦν ψυχροβαφὲς καλοῦσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ κίλλιον ἐσθῆτος χρῶμα, τὸ νῦν ἀνάγρινον καλούμενον. καὶ κίλλον γὰρ τὸν ὄνον οἱ Δωριεῖς, καὶ κιλλακτῆρα τὸν ὀηλάτην. φαιὸν δὲ καὶ μέλαν ἀλλήλοισι ἐστὶν ἐγγύς. καὶ τὸ κοκκοβαφὲς δὲ καλεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ χρώματος.* Here there is an express distinction drawn between those colours which were worn by the men, and those which were confined to the women. In another place the same writer mentions the colours appropriated to particular characters on the stage; and we should bear in mind that comedy, especially the new, was an imitation of the manners of ordinary life. Poll. iv. 118: *κωμικῇ δὲ ἐσθῆς ἐξωμῖς. ἐστὶ δὲ χιτῶν λευκὸς ἄσημος... γερόντων δὲ φόρημα ἱμάτιον, καμπύλη· φοινικίς ἢ μελαμπόρφυρον ἱμάτιον, φόρημα νεωτέρων. πήρα, βακτηρία, διφθέρα, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀγροίκων. καὶ πορφυρᾷ δὲ ἐσθῆτι ἐχρῶντο οἱ νεανίσκοι. οἱ δὲ παρὰ σοῖτοι μελαίνῃ ἢ φαιᾷ... Ἡ δὲ γυναικῶν ἐσθῆς κωμικῶν, ἡ μὲν τῶν γραῶν μηλίνη, ἡ ἀερίνη, πλὴν ἱερείων· ταύταις δὲ λευκῇ... ἡ δὲ τῶν νέων λευκῇ ἢ βυσσίνῃ. ἐπικλήρων δὲ λευκῇ, κροσσωτή. πορνοβοσκοὶ δὲ χιτῶνι βαπτῶ καὶ ἀνθειῶ περιβολαίῳ ἐνδεδυνται, κ. τ. λ.* From this passage it must not be inferred that because a young man, in contrast to a γέρων, wears a dark-coloured garment, μελαμπόρφυρον, and a lad a bright purple one, πορφυρᾷ ἐσθῆς, that therefore they were always so clad; on the contrary, we only conclude that a coloured robe was not unusual in common life among the higher orders, or they would never have thus appeared in one on the stage.

Besides, it would be wonderful if that passion for magnificence

which was so prevalent in Ionia, had not exercised some influence on the costume of the mother-country. The Ionians wore remarkably brilliant colours for their attire, though this was not the case at Athens, at least till a very late period. See a fragment of Democritus of Ephesus, ap. Athen. 25: Τὰ δὲ τῶν Ἰώνων ἰοβαφῇ καὶ πορφυρᾷ καὶ κρόκινα ὑφαντά, καὶ σαράπεις μήλινοι καὶ πορφυροῖ καὶ λευκοί, λουργεῖς, καὶ καλασίρεις Κορινθιουργεῖς. εἰσὶ δὲ αἱ μὲν αἱ τούτων, αἱ δὲ ἰοβαφεῖς, αἱ δὲ ὑακίνθιναι· λάβοι δ' ἂν τις γίνας καὶ θαλασσοειδεῖς. There is distinct proof, moreover, that in the mother-country the use of coloured garments partially prevailed, even among the men. Thus there must be some meaning in the line in Aristoph. *Plut.* 533:

οὐθ' ἱματίων βαπτῶν δαπάναις κοσμηῆσαι ποικιλομόρφων.

See Xenoph. *Æcon.* 10, 3: ἐπιδεικνύς τε ἀργύριον κίβδηλον χρυσόν τε ὑποξύλους, καὶ πορφυρίδας ἐξιτήλους φαίην ἀληθινὰς. Plutarch, *de Tranq. An.* 10: ἡ πορφύρα τριῶν μινῶν. The philosopher Socrates shews that a garment is here meant. Occasionally we even meet with notices of the dress of individuals.

brown, as manufactured from the undyed wool of the brown sheep, or else gray. See Phot. *Lex.* p. 637: *χρῶμα σύνθετον ἐκ μέλανος καὶ λευκοῦ ἤγουν μύινον*. Cf. Suidas, s. v. *φαιός*.

Coloured dresses were prevalent to a far greater extent among the female sex. In theory, no doubt, white was considered the most becoming for a discreet and modest woman. See Phintys, apud Stob. *Tit.* lxxiv. 61: *περὶ δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ τῷ περὶ τὸ σῶμα δοκεῖ μοι οὕτως. Δεῖ λευχέμονα ἡμεν καὶ ἀπλοῖκάν, καὶ ἀπερίσσειτον. Ἐσεῖται δὲ τοῦτο, αἶκα μὴ διαφανέεσσι, μηδὲ διαποικίλοις, μηδὲ ἀπὸ βέμβικος ὑφασμένοις χρᾶται τοῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ μετρίοις καὶ λευκοχρωμάτοις*. Evidently enough this advice is directed against the prevailing practice. What is related of Polygnotus by Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 9, 35, 'primus mulieres lucida veste pinxit,' may indicate a change in attire which took place after the Persian war, or rather perhaps an improvement in the art of painting and the preparation of pigments; and it is certain that the painter would never have ventured on this step, if, as Böttiger supposes, coloured clothes had been at Athens the legal distinction of hetæræ; nor does it follow, because he was the first to paint women in brilliant colours, that his predecessors had attired their females in white only. The polychromatic vase-paintings and terracottas published by Stackelberg, in his *Gräber der Hellenen*, which represent figures from the life, are the more valuable, inasmuch as they corroborate, in the most striking manner, many of the statements made by Pollux. Though in most instances the colours have been much faded by age, yet the ground tone still remains; and the fact that white as well as coloured chitons and himatia occur, demonstrates that the scenes are from every-day life. Thus in Plate 44, 2, are represented two female figures, one of whom wears a dark upper garment (*ἀμπερόνη*) with a white border, over a pale yellow sleeved-chiton. The latter, which looks like nankeen, is probably of byssus. Cf. Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* ii. 20: *καὶ ἡσθῆναι τῇ βύσσῳ φησὶν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος, ἐπειδὴ ἔοικε φαιῷ τρίβωνι*. This colour frequently occurs in women's dress. The himation, with its white border, is what is called *περίλευκον* by Pollux, vii. 51: *τὰ δὲ περίλευκα τοῦναντίον εἶη ἂν ὑφασμα ἐκ πορφύρας ἢ ἄλλου χρώματος, ἐν τῷ περιδρόμῳ λευκὸν ἐνυφασμένον*. The second figure is in a gold-brown *diplōis*, also with a white edging. In Pl. 45, 1, are seen two females, one of

THE DRESS.

[EXCURSUS I.]

wears a white chiton with sleeves, under a red himation; the second is wrapped in a red mantle. Pl. 46, 2, is especially interesting. One of the women who stand at the tomb is clad in the blue cloak, which entirely conceals the under garment; the other wears a short and close-fitting purple chiton, without the seam of which is adorned with a tolerably broad border of yellow. This border consists of upright indentations, as are seen elsewhere on monochromatic vase-paintings; see, for instance, in *Engrav.* i. 15; Millin, *Peint.* i. 52, 61. But under the dress the woman seems to have also a chitonion of the usual white colour, the sleeves of which are visible. On these poly-chrome *lecythæ* there are also representations of men in coloured dresses, for instance in Pl. 45, 2, is seen a young man in a red coloured chlamys; and the shades in Charon's bark wear red dresses. See Pl. 48. Charon's exomis, however, is gray or brown, which was the usual colour for sailors. Plaut. *Mil.* iv. 4, 43: Palliolum habeas ferrugineum; nam is colos thalassicus est. The garb of the working classes was always dark-coloured. *Oneirocr.* ii. 3, p. 132: οὐ γὰρ πρὸς ἔργῳ ὄντες οἱ

Cf. Id. *Thesmoph.* 253: τὸν κροκωτὸν πρῶτον ἐνδύου λαβάν. Pollux gives an erroneous explanation of this word: he says, ὁ δὲ κροκωτὸς ἱμάτιον, having manifestly in view Aristoph. *Ranæ*, 46; but in that passage there is not the slightest allusion to an himation. The κροκωτὸς was also occasionally worn by men, though of course not as a diplois. Cf. Suidas, s. v. κροκωτὸς, and Diog. Laert. vii. 169. It certainly was never of silk, as is affirmed by the Scholiasts to Aristoph. *Ranæ*, 46.

The other colours mentioned by Pollux are ὀμφάκινον, perhaps olive-green; μήλινον, apple-green or yellow; αἴρινος, not only azure, but a variety of tints, even to a bright gray. There is much more obscurity about the ὑδροβαφές, which Pollux, doubtfully, compares with ψυχροβαφές. If with this we compare the ὑδάτινα βράκη in Theocr. xxviii. 11, and the ὑδατόκλυστα of Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 26, it would almost seem that we are to suppose watered cloth (moiré) to be meant, and the same sort of thing is probably intended by the *undulata vestis* of Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* viii. 48, 74, and the *cumatile* (κυματῶδες) of Plautus, *Epid.* ii. 2, 49.

The ornaments of the chiton may be divided into horizontal borders, vertical stripes, figures irregularly embroidered, and lastly, regular patterns running over the whole garment. The first kind of ornament ran along the bottom edge, or round the hole for the neck, and consisted either of simple coloured stripes, or of ornamental patterns. They were called πέζαι. Poll. vii. 62: αἱ δὲ παρὰ τὰς ὥας παρυφαὶ καλοῦνται πέζαι καὶ πεζίδες, καὶ περιπέζα τὰ οὕτω παρυφασμένα. These stripes also were apparently many-coloured. The diploidion of the figure of Νίκη, on p. 422, has a narrow blue stripe close to the lower edge, and above that a broader one of red; probably too it was shaded off. See a fragment of Menander, apud Athen. ii. p. 163:

τῇ σκιᾷ τὴν πορφύραν
 πρῶτον ἐνυφαίνουσ' εἶτα μετὰ τὴν πορφύραν
 τοῦτ' ἐστίν, οὐδὲ λευκόν, οὐδὲ πορφύρα,
 ἀλλ' ὥσπερ αὐγὴ τῇ κρόκῃ κεκραμένη.

These borders were usually woven in, but sometimes were sewn on, and, when faded, replaced by new ones. Poll. vii. 64: περιῶσαι δὲ ἔλεγον τῶν παλαιῶν ἱματίων τὰς ὥας ἀφελόντα καινὰς παραθεῖναι. Phot. *Lex.* p. 405: τὸ ἀπολήγον τοῦ χιτῶνος, ὃ ἡμεῖς ὦαν (sic) λέγομεν πρότερον γὰρ ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τρίβεσθαι δέρμα προβάτων προσέρραπτον. (?)

although this seems a mistake. Pl. 38, may be seen a chiton with hand, and which has a singular from the breast to the lower seam the whole length of the sleeve. See on men's chitons, being perhaps also. See Tischbein, *Engrav.* i. 3.

On the himatia also of both similar borders, which sometimes appear to be only on the two seams the former kind Pollux refers the. The second is said by Hesychius the dubious term *παράπηχυν*. Cf. Phot. to assign a different signification to *τὸ δὲ παράπηχυν ἱμάτιον ἦν τι λ παρυφασμένον. τὸ δὲ παρυφές καὶ ἔχον παρυφασμένην πορφύραν. Ἰω.*

Fringes also, *κροσσοί*, *θύσανοι*, ornaments, and tassels at the corners, were not for ornament merely, but down the dress by their weight. P.

The third class of ornaments consists of forth embroidered

seen two Attic maidens, who are being offered to the Minotaur. They are enveloped in garments of a chess-board looking pattern; which the artist could never have borrowed entirely from his own invention. A somewhat similar device occurs elsewhere for turbans. See *Plant. Epid.* ii. 2, 40, where the *vestis impluviata* is probably something of the sort.

There are but few names of dresses which yet remain to be mentioned, some of these are of a general import, others are peculiar to the lower classes and the slaves. The word *ζυστις* is very insufficiently explained by Böttiger to mean an embroidered purple coat. The grammarians give a variety of explanations, such as *ποδῆρες ἔνδυμα* and *τραγικὸν ἔνδυμα*, again, *χλανὶς κωμικὴ, ἱμάτιον πορφυροῦν, ἱππικὸν ἔνδυμα, ὁ λεπτόν ὕφασμα, κ. τ. λ.* See *Harpocr.*; *Hesych.*; *Phot.*; *Schol. ad Aristoph. Nub.* 70; *Schol. ad Theocr.* ii. 74. That it was not exclusively an ἔνδυμα, nor belonged merely to the tragic or comic stage, but might also denote a female robe of state, is evident from *Theocr.* ii. 74:

ἐγὼ δέ οἱ δὲ μεγάλαιτοι
 ἁμάρτευν, βύσσοιο καλὸν σύροισα χιτῶνα
 κάμφιστεylaμένη τὰν ζυστίδα τὰν Κλεαρίσταε.

The name *ζυστις* does not refer to the shape at all, but merely to the material and ornaments. Thus it is correctly observed by Pollux, vii. 49: *ζυστις, ἔνδυμά τε ὁμοῦ καὶ περιβλημα, καὶ χιτῶν.* The best proof of this is that rich coverlets, *στρώματα*, are also thus designated. See *Poll.* vi. 10; x. 42.

The name *ἑφестρίς* also refers more to a cloth or coverlet than to a garment of any particular shape. Hence Pollux, x. 42, reckons it among the *στρώματα*, as well as the *χλαῖνα*, though this too, served also as a robe. Nevertheless it is clear that it resembled the *chlamys*, being, like that garment, fastened by a clasp. The word is used for an himation in Xenophon, *Symp.* 4, 38; but in Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.* ix., it denotes a garment resembling a *chlamys*: *ἑώρακα δὲ καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἑφестρίδα περιπόρφυρον ἔμπεπορημένον.* See also *Id. Contempl.* 14; *Artemidor. Oneirocr.* ii. 3: *χλαμὺς, ἣν ἔνιοι μανδύην, οἱ δὲ ἑφестρίδα, οἱ δὲ βίβρον καλοῦσι.* In *Heliod. Æthiop.* iii. 6, it is used for the *ἀμπεχὼν* of the women. In *Agathias*, apud *Suidas*, it is used both for this, and also for a soldier's *chlamys*.

THE DRESS.

[EXCURSUS I.]

διφθέρα was a coat of skins used by herdsmen and
 folks. Aristoph. *Nubes*, 71:

"Ὅταν μὲν οὖν τὰς αἶγας ἐκ τοῦ Φελλέως,
 ὥσπερ ὁ πατήρ σου, διφθέραν ἐνημμένους.

ποιμενικὸν δὲ περιβόλαιον ἢ διφθέρα. Ἀττικοὶ δὲ λέγου-
 ῦν ἰσάλην καλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ ἐκ δέρματος. It could be
 over the head. Poll. vii. 70: (Περὶ σκυτίνων ἐσθήτων)
 δὲ στεγανὸς χιτῶν ἐπίκρανον ἔχων. See Aristoph. *Vesp.*
ato, *Crit.* p. 53; Lucian, *Tim.* 12. A herdsman wearing
 ἔρα is represented in the *Mus. Pio-Clem.* iii. 34. Proba-
 σισύρα was something similar, but serving more as an
 a than a chiton. It was also a κώδιον, see Aristoph.
 118, and it appears to have been mostly used as a coverlet,
 shewn in Note 8 to Scene viii. It also served the pur-
 cloak; and sometimes was not a skin, but was made of
 thick cloth. Lucian, *Rhet. Præc.* 16: ἡ πορφύρα μόνον
 λή καὶ εὐανθής, κὰν σισύρα τῶν παχειῶν τὸ ἱμάτιον ἦ.
 gus, *Past.* ii. p. 35.

κατωνάκη was a dress for slaves, probably used only in

none, though both kinds were known by the common terms *κυνῆ* and *πίλος*. The *πέτασος* is the best known form of the first kind; it was of Thessalian or Macedonian origin, like the chlamys, and quite appertained to it, and hence was commonly worn by the ephebi and those who appeared in the chlamys. Poll. x. 164 : *Τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐφήβων φόρημα πέτασος καὶ χλαμύς*. Hesych. *Πέτασος, τὸ τῶν ἐφήβων φόρημα*. The best illustrations of its use are the reliefs of the Parthenon, and many other monuments. The variations, which are very numerous, always occur in the brim. The ephebi from the Parthenon wear a petasos, the brim of which is bent downwards, and has four arch-shaped cuts, by which means four corners are formed, one of which projects right over the forehead. Another variety is seen on the Bellerophon in Tischbein, *Engrav.* i. 3, where the brim is entire, and bent upwards. The petasos of Hermes has often a very small brim. See Winkelm. iv. Pl. 7. a. But the invariable characteristic of all is the round arched crown. See the figure of Œdipus, p. 420. In Sophocl. *Œd. Col.* 315, Ismene wears such a hat, *ἡλιοστερῆς κυνῆ Θεσσαλὶς* : and the only explanation of a female wearing such an article, may be found in the equally unusual apparition of a virgin on such a journey. Cf. Böttiger, *Furienmaske*, p. 123.

The *κανσία*, also Macedonian in its origin, much resembled the petasos, only that it had a higher crown, flat at the top, and a horizontal brim, quite round, and often very broad. Tischbein, *Engrav.* i. 10. Probably the Arcadian *κυνῆ* resembled it. Böttiger erroneously supposes that this *κυνῆ* had a kind of shade, *παραπέτασμα*, on the brim, which was bent downwards. The mistake appears to have arisen from a misconception of Aristoph. *Aves*, 1202. Iris no doubt had a rainbow round her head, when she appeared on the stage, and this ring may have resembled the shade of an Arcadian sombrero. Concerning the *κανσία*, see Müller, *Ueber die Makedoner*, p. 48.

The cap-shaped coverings for the head vary but little; they were generally semioval in shape. They were worn by the boatmen, and consequently Charon is thus represented. See the wood-cut on p. 416; also Stackelberg, *Die Gräber der Hell.* Pl. 47, and 48. The same is also the case with Odysseus and Cadmos; Millingen, *Uned. Mon.* i. 27. The artisans also wore them, and therefore Hephæstos usually has one; Hirt, *Bilderb.* Pl. vi. 1, 2;

ttas in the Brit. Mus. 10. The workmen of the Argo similar cap with a somewhat broad rim running round it. The colour of these hats and caps was various. That of the preceding wood-cut should be red; while Plautus, *Truculentus* 4, 42, mentions a *causia ferruginea* among the *ornatus* of the *causici*. On another lecythos in Stackelberg, (Pl. 45, 2,) a man in a chlamys wears a white petasos with red rim. In Macedonia a purple *κανσία* was a mark of honour, bestowed on the brave. Plutarch, *Eumen.* 8: 'Εξῆν γὰρ Εὐμένει καὶ κανσίας ἑστῆς καὶ χλαμύδας διανέμειν, ἥτις ἦν δωρεὰ βασιλικωτάτης Μακεδόσι. Cf. Id. *Demetr.* 41. Occasionally, and especially in early times, the material may have been leather; afterwards it was generally felt, and hence all head-coverings go by the name of *πίλοι*. On this subject see Mongèz, *sur les Vêtements des Grecs*. *Mém. de l'Institut. Royal*, iv.; Clarac, *Musée de Clavier*, ii. p. 49; and Gallus, p. 403.

EXCURSUS II. TO SCENE XI.

THE SHOES.

IN-DOORS the Greeks always went about unshod, and even when abroad the use of a foot-covering was by no means universal. Already in the heroic ages we find persons putting on the *πέδιλα* just before going out, not on a journey, but for a common walk. See *Iliad*, ii. 44; *Odys.* ii. 4; xvii. 2. At a later period the custom continued the same. Shoes were only worn to protect the feet from injury in the street: at home they were never used, and at a stranger's, were put off, before reclining to the meal. See Excursus on *The Meals*, p. 318. Effeminate persons, in winter-time, may possibly have covered their feet with something at home; but this was not the rule; and many even went barefoot out of doors both in summer and winter. Plato, *de Republ.* ii. p. 372; Lucian, *Navig.* 1. At Sparta, in the case of younger persons, this was actually compulsory by law. Xenoph. *de Republ. Laced.* 2, 3: 'Αντί γε μὴν τοῦ ἀπαλύνειν τοὺς πόδας ὑποδήμασιν ἔταξεν, ἀνυποδησίᾳ κρατύνειν, νομίζων, εἰ τοῦτο ἀσκήσειαν, πολὺ μὲν ῥᾶον ἂν ὀρθιάδε βαίνειν, ἀσφαλέστερον δὲ πρηνῇ καταβαίνειν. Plato, *Leg.* i. p. 633. And even aged people did the same. Ælian, *Var. Hist.* vii. 13: 'Αγησίλαος ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος γέρων ἤδη ὢν ἀνυπόδητος πολλάκις καὶ ἀχίτων προήει...καὶ ταῦτα ἐωθινὸς ἐν ὥρᾳ χειμερίῳ. At Athens too, it was usual for those of simple habits never to wear anything on the feet, except on special occasions, when propriety demanded it. Plato, *Symp.* p. 220; cf. Xenoph. *Mem.* i. 6, 2. Of this Socrates was by no means a solitary instance, and it was also done by persons of consequence and wealth, such as Lycurgus the orator; Plutarch, *Dec. Or. Vit.* iv. p. 379: ὑπεδέδετο ταῖς ἀναγκαίαις ἡμέραις. So also Phocion; Plutarch, *Phoc.* 4. It was a special mark of the stricter philosophic sects, and, as such, affected by the later beard-philosophers. Lucian, *Icaromen.* 31.

With these exceptions, it was usual to wear sandals or some such thing out of doors; and masters also gave them to their slaves, at least in winter-time. See Aristoph. *Vespæ*, 448.

ite of numberless varieties of form, the foot-coverings of
 ks may be divided into two chief classes, sandals and
 But there are so many transition forms, that a complete
 adations may be adduced, from the simple sandal up to
 i-boot or endromis. Sandals bound under the foot are
 ine ὑποδήματα; and the often-repeated assertion of Sal-
 (ad Tertull. *de Pallio*, p. 387,) that ὑπόδημα denotes the
 hoe, and σανδάλιον the sandal, is entirely erroneous. The
 on this subject in Pollux, vii. 84, stood, in the old edi-
 έργοις δ' ἂν καὶ ὑποδήματα κοῖλα, βαθέα, εἰς μέσσην τὴν
 ἰνῆκοντα. τὰ δὲ οὐκ οἶδα εἰ μόνον ἀποχρῶν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν
 τα. It has, however, been thus corrected by Kühn from
 S.: τὰ δὲ οὐ (μὴ) κοῖλα αὐτὸ μόνον ἀποχρῶν ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν
 τα.

σανδάλιον or σάνδαλον is the first transition form to the
 hich covered the upper part of the foot. For it had a
 ross the toes, which grew into a small upper leather, and
 ed ζυγὸς or ζυγόν. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 416:

ὦ σκυτοτόμε τῆς μου γυναικὸς τοῦ ποδὸς
 τὸ δακτυλίδιον πιέζει τὸ ζυγόν.

sandals: οἱ δὲ ἱμάντες ἐπίχρυσοι. σανδάλιον γὰρ ἦν. Generally, however, σανδάλια are appropriated to the women. See Hesychius: Σανδάλια, σάνδαλα, γυναικεῖα ὑποδήματα, ἃ καὶ βλαύτια. Hence it is clear that σανδάλια could not have been mere sandals, for these were worn by men also.

Mere sandals, made of cow's hide, are mentioned by Homer, *Odys.* xiv. 24; and Hesiod, *Op.* 542; in later times such may have been worn by women in the house, or by the lower classes; but a stronger double-soled kind was worn on going out. See Winkelm. v. p. 41. Not only leather was employed, but cork was sometimes used to form the intermediate thickness of the sole. Concerning the manifold ways of fastening them, see *Gallus*, p. 425. The most usual plan was for a thong to go between the great and second toe, being fastened by a heart or leaf-shaped *fibula* to two side straps, or to another, which ran along the instep, and was then fastened to the back strap. Instead of thongs the poorer classes used σπάρτια, i.e. cords of twisted σπάρτος. See Athen. v. p. 220: τὰ ὑποδήματα σπαρτίοις ἐνημμένον σακροῖς. The thongs, however, were often so multiplied as to cover not only the foot, but the lower part of the leg up to the calf. See Millingen, *Peint. d. Vas.* Pl. 51; *Mus. Borb.* vii. 19. These, which were probably called βαῖδια, in some sort resembled shoes or boots with holes pierced in them, and therefore form a transition to the regular shoes, κοῖλα ὑποδήματα. These were made on a last, καλόπους, which was different, so as to suit each foot. They were worn both by men and women, and were like our high shoes, reaching to the ankle, and having a slit over the instep. See Millingen, *Peint. d. Vas.* Pl. 39; *Pitt. d'Ercol.* i. 13—28; *Mus. Borb.* vii. 20, 23—40.

The very numerous varieties of form mentioned by Pollux are difficult to specify and distinguish, owing to the brevity with which they are noticed. In this place we can only mention a few of the kinds which were most generally worn. The κρηπίς is one of those names whose explanation is the most dubious. From the other signification of the word it might be supposed to mean a mere sole; and this derives additional probability from the name being also applied to a kind of cake, which in form probably resembled this ὑπόδημα. Athen. xiv. p. 645: Ἐμπέπταται... πύρινος ἄρτος κοῖλος καὶ σύμμετρος, ὅμοιος ταῖς λεγομέ-

πῖσιν, εἰς αὖ ἐντίθεται τὰ διὰ τοῦ τυροῦ σκευαζόμενα
 τια. See also Poll. vi. 77. Cf. Suidas and Hesychius.
 is also distinguishes between the κρηπίς and the ὑπόδημα.
 xiv. p. 621: καὶ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ὑποδήμασιν ἐχρῆτο,
 ὃ Ἀριστοκλῆς, νῦν δὲ κρηπίσι. Cf. Poll. vii. 91: ἡ
 ὁδήμα καὶ ὀπισθοκρηπίς. From these passages the κρη-
 πῖς appear to have been a high sandal, differing from the
 ὑπόδημα in having several thicknesses; and in Pollux
 to be a sandal with a higher heel than usual. With
 counts it is difficult to reconcile what is said of the κόλαξ
 phrastus, *Char.* 2: καὶ συνωνούμενος δὲ κρηπίδας τὸν πόδα
 εὐρυθμότερον τοῦ ὑποδήματος. Most likely it was
 a half-shoe, which only covered the fore-part of the foot,
 fastened behind with thongs. See also Heliod. *Æthiop.*
 κρηπίς μὲν αὐτοῖς ἱμάντι φοινικῶ διάπλοκος ὑπὲρ ἀστρά-
 τείγγετο. Poll. vii. 35: κρηπίδες, τὸ μὲν φόρημα στρα-
 τῶν. Cf. Plutarch, *Alex.* 40. We cannot, however, confine
 the word to soldiers. The Romans formed out of κρηπίς the word

crēpidā, which is certainly not equivalent to *solea*, as is assumed by Heindorf, ad Hor. *Sat.* i. 3, 127. See Cic. *pro Rab.* 10; Liv. xxix. 19.

Something more definite is known about the ἐμβάδες. They were real shoes, and must therefore be reckoned among the κοῖλα ὑποδήματα in a more extended sense. They were worn exclusively by men, as is seen from Aristophanes, *Eccles.* 47, 314; *Equit.* 872. Also Suidas: ἐμβάς· τὰ ὑποδήματα τὰ ἀνδρεία. In the time of Aristophanes they seem to have been the most usual kind of common men's shoes, though they were not worn by the higher classes. See Isæus, *de Dicæog. Her.* p. 94: καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις κακοῖς ὀνειδίζει καὶ ἐγκαλεῖ αὐτῷ, ὅτι ἐμβάδας καὶ τριβώνια φορεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδικῶν, ὅτι ἀφελόμενος αὐτὸν τὰ ὄντα πένητα πεποίηκεν. This of course refers principally to Athens; for the ἐμβάς was not everywhere the same. Thus Herodotus, i. 195, tells us that the Babylonians wore ὑποδήματα ἐπιχώρια, παραπλήσια τῇσι Βοιωτῆσι ἐμβάσι. Pollux derives them from Thrace; he says, vii. 85: ἐμβάδες· εὐτελὲς μὲν τὸ ὑπόδημα, Θράκιον δὲ τὸ εὖρημα· τὴν δὲ ἰδέαν κοθόρνοις ταπεινοῖς ὅμοιον.

The Λακωνικαὶ were also men's shoes, and probably bore some resemblance to the ἐμβάδες. As the name imports, they originated at Lacedæmon, but were also very much worn in Athens. Sometimes they are distinguished from the ἐμβάδες, at others they are confounded with them. See Aristoph. *Vespæ*, 1157; *Eccles.* 314, 345, 507. Perhaps there were two sorts of Laconian shoes, a εὐτελέστερον and a πολυτελέστερον ὑπόδημα; and in this case the latter may be the Ἀμυκλαῖδες, which Pollux calls an ἐλευθεριώτερον ὑπόδημα. See also Hesychius: Ἀμυκλαῖδες· εἶδος ὑποδήματος πολυτελοῦς Λακωνικοῦ. Pollux proceeds to say that the Laconian shoes were red: αἱ δὲ Λακωνικαὶ τὸ μὲν χρῶμα ἐρυθραί. Hence they cannot be the so-called ἀπλαῖ, which the Λακωνίζοντες wore along with the tribon. Demosth. in *Conon.* p. 1267. Of these ἀπλαῖ Harpocration says: Καλλίστρατός φησι, τὰ μονόπελμα τῶν ὑποδημάτων οὕτω καλεῖσθαι, i. e. they had only one thickness of sole, and perhaps were not a regular shoe at all.

The βλαῦται or βλαυτία were shoes of a more elegant sort, and were worn by men when they went out to dinner. Thus shod, Socrates goes to Agathon's; Plato, *Symp.* 174: ἔφη γάρ οἱ Σωκράτῃ ἐντυχεῖν λελουμένον τε καὶ τὰς βλαύτας ὑποδεδεμένον,

ὀλιγάκις ἐποίει. Cf. Aristoph. *Equites*, 889. Pollux, calls them σανδαλίον τι εἶδος, and they were in fact a sort of shoe, fastened round the ankles by thongs. This explains Poll. ii. p. 543: χρυσοῖς ἀνασπαστοῖς ἐπέσφιγγε τῶν βλαναῶν ἀναγωγέας.

The foregoing names are those most frequently met with. Pollux however mentions the ἐνδρομίδες and καρβάτιναι, both for men. The first were high shoes, or rather boots, which perhaps led astray by the etymology, mentions as being for athletæ (iii. 155); though elsewhere (vii. 93) he assigns them to Artemis: ἴδιον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τὸ ὑπόδημα. This is corrected by a Scholion to Callim. *Hymn. in Del.* 238: Ἐνδρομίδας τῶν κυνηγῶν ὑποδήματα. Perhaps in essential points they are the same as the κόθορνος. See Salmasius, ad Tertull. *de Spect.* p. 310. Singularly enough, the word has quite another meaning in Latin; signifying a warm garment. See Mart. iv. 19, n. iii. 103. The καρβάτιναι, on the contrary, were probably the commonest foot-covering of the lower orders, and made of pressed leather. Poll. vii. 88: Καρβατίνη μὲν ἀγροικῶν ὑπό-

Aristoph. *Eccl.* 346: κόθορνος εἶδος ὑποδήματος, ἀρμόζον ἀμφοτέροις ποσί. Poll. vii. 90: ὁ δὲ κόθορνος ἐκάτερος ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ποδοῖν. Suidas: ὑπόδημα ἀμφοτεροδέξιον. Photius, *Lex.* p. 176, says it was κοινὸν ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν: but this is probably a confusion with the *colthurnus* of the chase. The βαυκίδες were a more elegant sort. See Pollux, vii. 94: αἱ δὲ βαυκίδες πολυτελές ἦν ὑπόδημα, κροκοειδές, γυναικεῖον. The περιβαρίς was a kind used for slaves. Poll. vii. 92. The Boeotian women wore a low purple shoe. Dicæarch. *Fragm.* p. 491: ὑπόδημα λιτὸν, οὐ βαθύ, φοινικῶν δὲ τῇ χροίᾳ καὶ ταπεινόν· ὑσκλητὸν δὲ, ὥστε γυμνοὺς σχεδὸν ἐκφαίνεσθαι τοὺς πόδας.

All these foot-coverings were generally of leather; and hence the designation σκυτοτόμος includes the shoemaker. But other materials were occasionally used. Cf. Plato, *Symp.* p. 220: ὑποδεμένων καὶ ἐνειλιγμένων τοὺς πόδας εἰς πῖλους καὶ ἀρνακίδας. So Antiphanes, apud Athen. xii. p. 545:

λευκή χλανίς, φαίδε χινυῖσκος καλός,
πιλίδιον ἀπαλόν, εὐρυθμος βακτηρία.

The word πιλίδιον in this place certainly refers to a shoe, not a hat. So Poll. vii. 171: οὐ μόνον δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἐπιτιθέμενος πῖλος οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ περὶ τοῖς ποσίν, ὡς δημοῖ Κρατῖνος ἐν Μαλθάκοις λέγων 'λευκοὺς ὑπὸ ποσσίν ἔχων πῖλους.' In Stackelb. *Gräber der Hell.* Pl. 45, is a young man who apparently wears boots of white felt. Such also were the shoes of Demetrius Poliorcetes. Duris, apud Athen. xii. p. 535: τὴν μὲν γὰρ ὑπόδεσιν, ἣν εἶχε, κατεσκεύαζεν ἐκ πολλοῦ δαπανήματος. ἦν γὰρ κατὰ μὲν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ἐργασίας σχεδὸν ἐμβάτης, πῖλημα λαμβάνων τῆς πολυτελεστάτης πορφύρας· τούτῳ δὲ χρυσοῦ πολλὴν ἐνύφαινον ποικιλίαν ὀπίσω καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἐνιέντες οἱ τεχνῖται. Felt socks were also worn inside the shoes or sandals. Hesiod, *Op.* 541:

ἀμφὶ δὲ ποσσὶ πέδιλα βοδὲ Ἴφι κταμένοιο
ἄρμενα δῆσασθαι πῖλοις ἐντοσθε πυκάσσαι.

These in some measure supplied the place of our stockings, as we see from Lucian, *Rhet. Præc.* 15: καὶ ἡ κρηπὶς Ἀττικὴ καὶ γυναικεία, τὸ πολυσχιδές· ἡ ἐμβαὲς Σικυννία, πῖλοις τοῖς λευκοῖς ἐπιπρέπουσα. Also Poll. vii. 91: ἃ δὲ πόδεια Κριτίας καλεῖ, εἴτε πῖλους αὐτὰ οἰητέον εἶτε περιελήματα ποδῶν, ταῦτα πέλυντρα καλεῖ ἐν Φοινίσσαις Αἰσχύλος,

πέλυντρ' ἔχουσιν εὐθέτοις ἐν ἀρβύλαις.

THE SHOES.

[EXCURSUS II.]

ἐλυντρα εἶδος ὑποδήματος, ὥσπερ αὖ τὰ πόδια ταυτὸν ἀναξυρίσιν, αἷς σκελέας ἔνιοι ὀνομάζουσι. Hesych. σκετῶν σκελῶν σκεπάσματα. These are the *udones* of the man time.

It was often used for the stronger sole, κάττυμα; it formed the inner layer; and women were very partial to such shoes, as added to their apparent height, and yet were not heavy.

Æcon. 10, 2: ὑποδήματα ἔχουσιν ὑψηλὰ, ὅπως μείζων ἵναι ἢ ἐπεφύκει. So Alexis, apud Athen. xiii. p. 568, of the arts of the hetærae, says:

τυγχάνει μικρά τις οὔσα· φελλὸς ἐν ταῖς βαυκίσιν
ἐγκεκάττυται. μακρά τις· διάβαθρον λεπτὸν φορεῖ.

Steger, *Ueber die Stelzenschuhe der Alten Griechinnen.*

Shoes were studded with nails, ἤλοι, to render them more comfortable, but of course this was not considered *à la mode*; and Lucian, *Char.* 4, mentions it as a mark of ἀγροικία. Still not unusual on a journey, and even gold and silver nails were sometimes used.

Being neatly shod was essential to propriety of attire. Hence

EXCURSUS III. TO SCENE XI.

HAIR AND BEARD.

THE Greeks bestowed great pains on that natural ornament of the head, the hair, οἰκεῖοι πῖλοι, as Plato calls it; and he is very adverse to having it covered up in any manner τῇ τῶν ἄλλο-
τρίων σκεπασμάτων περικαλυφῇ. *Leg.* xii. p. 942. Winkelmann (iii. p. 49) remarks that the natives of the south are endowed with a greater profusion of hair than the inhabitants of northern lands; and by the Greeks its growth was carefully cherished, as it was thought to contribute greatly to render the figure noble and attractive.

Moreover a certain political significancy was attached to the hair; families, grades of rank, and of age, being thereby distinguished. Even Homer mentions the *καρηκομόωντες Ἀχαιοὶ* and the *ὀπιθεν κομόωντες Ἀβαντες*; and in after times the Athenians, who followed the Ionic fashion, were distinguished from the Spartans, who adhered to the old Doric. The latter allowed the hair, as being the cheapest of ornaments, τῶν κόσμων ἀδαπανώτατος, to grow long. Plutarch, *Apophth. Reg.* i. p. 754. *Id. Lyc.* 22: κομῶντες εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων ἡλικίας, μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἐθεράπευον τὴν κόμην, λιπαράν τε φαίνεσθαι καὶ διακεκριμένην. *Id. Lysand.* 1: Λυσάνδρον δὲ ἐστὶν εἰκονικὸς (ἀνδρίας), εὖ μάλα κομῶντος ἔθει τῷ παλαιῷ καὶ πύγωνα καθειμένου γενναῖον. Οὐ γὰρ, ὡς ἐνιοὶ φασιν, Ἀργείων μετὰ τὴν μεγάλην ἦτταν ἐπὶ πένθει καρέντων οἱ Σπαρτιάται πρὸς τὸ ἀντίπαλον αὐτοῖς τὰς κόμας, ἀγαλλόμενοι τοῖς πεπραγμένοις, ἀνῆκαν. οὐδὲ Βακχιαδῶν τῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου φυγόντων εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ταπεινῶν καὶ ἀμόρφων διὰ τὸ κείρασθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς φανέντων, εἰς ζῆλον αὐτοὶ τοῦ κομᾶν ἦλθον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο Λυκούργειόν ἐστι. Καὶ φασιν εἰπεῖν αὐτὸν, ὡς ἡ κόμη τοὺς μὲν καλοὺς εὐπρεπεστέρους ὀρᾶσθαι ποιεῖ, τοὺς δὲ αἰσχροὺς φοβερωτέρους. See also Heliod. *Æthiop.* ii. 20; Xenoph. *de Republ. Lac.* 11, 3. This practice was certainly not an institution of Lycurgus, but an old Doric fashion. Plutarch's assertion, that the Spartans adorned their hair before battle, or on the eve of any imminent danger, is derived from Herodotus, vii.

9, where it is related that the spy of Xerxes found the
 as τὰς κόμας κτενίζομένους before the battle of Thermo-
 Cf. Müller, *Dorians*, ii. pp. 264, 282. Other passages,
 r, seem to contradict these accounts. See Plutarch, *Alcib.*
 οὓς πολλοὺς κατεδημαγῶγει καὶ κατεγοήτενε τῇ διαίτῃ λα-
 ὥσθ' ὀρώοντας ἐν χρῶ̃ κουριῶντα καὶ ψυχρολουτοῦντα,
 Also Lucian, *Fugit.* 27: γυναῖκα ἐν χρῶ̃ κεκαρμένην εἰς
 ωνικὸν, ἀρρενωπὴν καὶ κομιδῇ ἀνδρικήν. The only way of
 ing the discrepancy is to suppose that Plutarch confounded
 it of his own time with the earlier one; for the Spartans had
 ren up this antique fashion, certainly before the time of the
 league. Pausan. vii. 14, 2; Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* iii. 15.
 s stated that in Sparta it was on arriving at the age of an
 s that the hair was first allowed to grow, boys wearing it
 rt. Plutarch, *Lyc.* 16. Elsewhere, however, as at Athens,
 tom was exactly the reverse. There, as is well known,
 off the hair on the entering upon the age of an epehebos
 olemn act, accompanied by religious ceremonies. A sacrifice,
 Διμιστήρια, was first made to Hercules. Hesychius says:

In manhood, on the contrary, the hair was worn longer, and the correct quantity, and the fashion of the cut, served quite as much to indicate the polished gentleman, as did the adjustment of the himation, or the fit and fashion of the shoes. See Lucian, *Leiphr.* 10. In Theophrastus, *Char.* 21, *πλειστάκις ἀποκείρασθαι* is mentioned as a sign of ridiculous vanity.

Hair-cutting was performed in the barbers' shops, *κουρεία*, which were also, however, frequented as mere lounging-places; hence Theophrastus called them wineless symposia. Plutarch, *Symp.* v. 5: *Διὸ καὶ Θεόφραστος ἄοινα συμπόσια παίζων ἐκάλει τὰ κουρεία διὰ τὴν λαλιὰν τῶν προσκαθιζόντων.* A place of this kind, with the instruments and mirrors, is depicted by Lucian, *adv. Ind.* 29: *τοὺς κουρέας τούτους ἐπίσκεψαι, καὶ ὄψει τοὺς μὲν τεχνίτας αὐτῶν ξυρὸν καὶ μαχαιρίδας, καὶ κάτοπτρον σύμμετρον ἔχοντας, κ.τ.λ.* Cf. Plutarch, *de Aud.* 8; Alciphro. *Epist.* iii. 66. The instruments used by the *κουρεὺς* are enumerated by Pollux, x. 140.

Besides cutting the hair and trimming the beard, the *κουρεὺς* cleansed the nails, removed excrescences of the skin, (*τύλοι*, warts?) and other corporeal disfigurements. In small matters of this kind the *εὐσχημονεῖν* was carefully observed; for instance, it was considered very unseemly to appear with nails unpared. Theophr. *Char.* 19: *Ὁ δὲ δυσχερὴς τοιοῦτός τις, οἷος λέπραν ἔχων καὶ τοὺς ὄνυχας μεγάλους περιπατεῖν.* At Athens it does not seem to have been thought so much *infra dig.* for a person to pare his own nails as it was at Rome. (Cf. Hor. *Epist.* i. 7, 51: 'Cultello proprios purgantem leniter unguet.') Thus in Xenophon, *Memor.* i. 2, 54, we have, *αὐτοὶ τε γὰρ αὐτῶν ὄνυχας τε καὶ τρίχας καὶ τύλους ἀφαιροῦσι*: but the mention of the hair in this passage shews that it can hardly apply to persons of the upper class; and moreover it took place in the *κουρεῖον*, where there were *ὄνυχιστήρια λεπτὰ* for the purpose. See Posidippus, apud Poll. x. 140. People were also in the habit of using the *τριχολάβιον* to pluck out the hairs on the body, *παρατίλλεσθαι* and *παραλαίεισθαι*. This custom is said to have been first originated by the Tarentines. Athen. xii. p. 522: *Ταραντίνους δὲ φησι Κλέαρχος ἐν τετάρτῃ βίῳ...εἰς τοσούτον τρυφῆς προελθεῖν, ὥστε τὸν ὅλον χρώτα παραλαίεισθαι καὶ τῆς ψιλώσεως ταύτης τοῖς λοιποῖς κατάρξαι.* Cf. Poll. vii. 165.

the extinction of the old Attic κρώβυλος, little is known of the certainty concerning the particular modes of wearing the hair which were usual among the men. It is true that several *κοῖται* are mentioned by Pollux, ii. 29, as well as by other writers, but how many of them were in ordinary use, and in what several peculiarities consisted, is left chiefly to conjecture; the portraits in Visconti's *Iconographie Grecque* afford some certain information on the subject.

Black was probably the prevailing colour of the hair, though it is frequently mentioned. Thus even in Homer, ξανθαὶ ἄνθρωποι are said to be ὑακινθίνῳ ἄνθει ὅμοιοι. *Odys.* vi. 231. Blond colours could be produced artificially. Poll. ii. 35: ἐλεγον ἀνθίζεσθαι τὴν κόμην καὶ μελαίνεσθαι. καὶ μέλασμα τὸ τῆς ἀμέμμε. This was practised not only by women, but also by men, especially when the hair began to turn gray. *Ælian*, *hist.* vii. 20: Ἀνὴρ εἰς Λακεδαιμόνα ἀφίκετο Κεῖος γέροντα τὰ μὲν ἄλλα ἀλαζών, ἠδὲίτο δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ γήρῳ καὶ διὰ τὰντο ἅπαντα πολὺν οὖσαν ἐπειράτο βαφῇ ἀφανίζειν. According to *Plutarch*, *Apophth. Reg.* i. p. 709, this was done by Philip of

No less attention was lavished on the beard, which was not looked on as a troublesome incumbrance, but as a dignified ornament of maturity and old age. Lucian, *Cyn.* 14; Epictet. *Disser.* i. 16, 13. Hence the whiskers, *πώγων*, the moustachios, *μύσταξ*, *πάππος*, *ὑπήνη*, and the beard, *γένειον*, were allowed to grow (*πωγωνοτροφεῖν*). The words *πώγων*, *ὑπήνη*, and *γένειον* are often used for the hair on the face generally; but originally their meanings were restricted as above stated. Poll. ii. 80; Eubulos, ap. Id. x. 120.

None of these parts were shorn; but of course there were variations in the wear, according to race, abode, condition, and individual character. Compare, for instance, the busts of Solon and Lycurgus, Visconti, *Iconogr. Grecque*, Pl. 8 and 9; or those of Plato, Antisthenes, and Chrysippos: *Id.* Pl. 18, 22, 23.

In general a strong full beard, *πώγων βαθύς* or *λαστός*, was held to be a sign of manliness and power. Cf. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 31. Still it was never allowed to go untrimmed, the *κουρεὺς* attending to it, as well as to the hair of the head, though this may have been neglected by the sophists and others. Thus Plato is ridiculed for the opposite extreme by Ehippos, ap. Athen. xi. p. 509:

εὐ μὲν μαχαίρα ξύστ' ἔχων τριχώματα,
εὐ δ' ὑποκαθιεῖ ἄτομα πώγωνοι βάθῃ.

Cf. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 1072. Alexander brought shaving into fashion, but there can be no doubt that it was partially adopted at a much earlier period, though the practice was certainly regarded as contemptible. See Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 218. So too the courtiers of Philip are attacked by Theopompos, apud Athen. vi. p. 260: *τί γὰρ τῶν αἰσχυρῶν ἢ δεινῶν αὐτοῖς οὐ προσήν, ἢ τί τῶν καλῶν καὶ σπουδαίων οὐκ ἀπῆν; οὐχ οἱ μὲν ξυρούμενοι καὶ λεαινόμενοι διετέλουν ἄνδρες ὄντες, οἱ δ' ἀλλήλοις ἐτόλμων ἐπανίστασθαι πώγωνας ἔχουσι.* Cf. Chrysippos and Alexis, apud Athen. xiii. p. 565. Yet Chrysippos expressly states that this new custom of shaving, probably derived from the East or Egypt, was introduced by Alexander. *Τὸ ξύρεσθαι τὸν πώγωνα κατ' Ἀλέξανδρον προήκται, τῶν πρώτων οὐ χρωμένων αὐτῷ.* Plutarch, *Thes.* 5, asserts that Alexander caused his soldiers' beards to be shaved, from motives of strategical caution: *ὡς λαβὴν ταύτην ἐν ταῖς μάχαις οὖσαν προχειροτάτην.* Cf. Id. *Apophth. Reg.* i. p.

the kings of the Macedon
 There are a few exceptions,
 conti, *Iconogr.* Pl. 40,) as w
 celebrated Cameo-Gonzaga
bild. z. Kunstgesch. Pl. 14).
 busts of poets, as Menande
 Asclepiades; and even of
 all without beards. Viscont
 the most part, kept to the an
 the πώγων βαθὺς continued t
 logi: and so much did they
 than one proverb directed at
 πωγωνοτροφία φιλόσοφον οὐ
Osir. 3; Lucian, *Demon.* 13.

A pleasant picture of th
 Alciphron, *Epist.* iii. 66: ὡς γ
 βουλόμενος, ἀσμένως τε ἐδέξα
 σινδόνα καινὴν περιθεῖς πρᾶως ε
 ξυρόν, ἀποψιλῶν τὸ πύκνωμα
 ii. 2, 16; Böttiger, *Sabina*, ii. 1
 Concerning the enigmatical S
 ρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα, see Valck
 is still much difficult to

This observation will also apply to many varieties depicted on the terracottas found in Attic tombs, and in this case, moreover, we are ignorant of the period to which they belong. See Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hell.* Pl. 75—78. In by far the majority of cases the long and luxuriant hair is neither braided nor curled, but, if no other head-dress is worn, it is gathered together and tied behind or over the crown in a knot. The forehead, at the same time, is pretty well covered, as it was considered a beauty to have a *βραχὺ τῷ μετώπῳ μεταίχιμιον*. Cf. Hor. *Od.* i. 33, 5: *tenuis frons*. There are nevertheless instances of a more elaborate coiffure, for instance, in the busts of Aspasia, and of Berenice, wife of Ptolemæus Soter. See Visconti, *Iconogr.* Pl. 15 and 52. In both the head is encircled with a wreath of curiously twisted ringlets, which hang low down. Cf. Lucian, *Amor.* 40: *σιδηρὰ τε ὄργανα, πυρὸς ἀμβλεία φλογὶ χλιανθέντα βίᾳ τὴν ἐλίκων οὐλότητα διαπλέκει. καὶ περιέργοι μὲν αἱ μέχρι τῶν ὀφρύνων ἐφειλκυσμέναι κόμαι βραχὺ τῷ μετώπῳ μεταίχιμιον ἀφιαῖσι σοβαρῶς δὲ ἄχρι τῶν μεταφρένων οἱ ὀπισθεν ἐπισαλεύονται πλόκαμοι*. On the comic stage, long locks hanging down on both sides belonged to the costume of hetærae. Poll. iv. 153: *Τὸ δὲ τέλειον ἐταιρικὸν τῆς ψευδοκόρης ἐστὶν ἐρυθρότερον καὶ βοστρύχους ἔχει περὶ τὰ ὦτα*. Cf. Lucian, *Bis Accus.* 31: *τὰς τρίχας εὐθετίζουσιν εἰς τὸ ἐταιρικὸν καὶ φυκίον ἐντριβομένην, καὶ τὰ ὀφθαλμῷ ὑπογραφομένην*.

In vase-paintings we usually see the hair held together by variously formed bandeaus, by a cap-like kerchief, a net, or something of the kind. And first of these, stands the *σφενδόνη*, which, as the name indicates, was a sling-shaped band, i.e. broad over the forehead, and narrow at the sides. It was sometimes, perhaps, of metal, or merely of gilded leather; for of the somewhat similar *στλεγγίς*, we read in Pollux, vii. 179: *ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἑτερόν τι στλεγγίς, δέρμα κεχρυσωμένον, ὃ περὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν φοροῦσι*. Cf. Id. v. 96; Böttiger, *Vasengem.* iii. p. 225; and Gerhard, *Prodromus*, p. 20, sqq. This band was also worn on the back of the head, as an *ὀπισθοσφενδόνη*, and the two were often worn at the same time. Böttiger, *Kl. Schr.* iii. p. 108. The forms of these bandeaus are very numerous, and they were mostly ornamented in some way with gold, for Pollux, after enumerating their names, adds: *χρυσὰ καὶ ἐπίχρυσα πάντα*.



179. The σακχυφάνται mentio
p. 1170, are, it is true, said by
τοὺς πλέκοντας ταῖς γυναιξὶ τοι
nevertheless a wider significatio
on vase-paintings, but they m
cuted frescoes of Herculaneum
iv. 49; vi. 18; viii. 4; and fig
of gold threads, which agrees w

Reticulumque comis am

Cf. Petron. 97. They were als
ad Solim. p. 392), and of the co
(Pausan. vii. 21, 7,) as well as
chius: τρίχαπτον τὸ βομβύκιν
κεφαλῆς ἀπτόμενον. Cf. Photi
planation of the word is howev

, τρίχαπτον δέ φασι, πλέγμα ἐκ τρ

The σάκκοι or snoods, on the
stuff, and sometimes covered th

2

1



hung down on the neck like a pouch ; occasionally the front part was left bare ; and sometimes it was open behind, so as to allow a tuft of hair to hang out. See figs. 3 and 4 ; also Stackelberg, *Gräber der Hell.* Pl. 68, 75, 76. From the peak of the snood tassels sometimes depended. A head-dress of this kind is evidently intended by the κεφαλή περιθετος, in Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 257 :

ΕΥΡ. κεκρυφάλου δεῖ καὶ μίτρας. ΑΓ. ἡδὲ μὲν οὖν
κεφαλὴ περιθετος, ἣν ἐγὼ νύκτωρ φορῶ.

They were of divers materials—silk, byssus, and wool. See Poll. vii. 66. They usually were coloured, and often worked in patterns, like the kerchiefs. See Millingen, *Coghill*, Pl. 22 ; Millin, *Peint. des Vases Gr.* i. Pl. 36, 37, 41, 58, 59 ; ii. 43 ; Stackelberg, Pl. 33, 34. Bladders were also used for the purpose ; and the πομφόλυγας of Aristophanes are explained in the same manner by Mær. Attic. p. 222 : Πομφόλυγας, τὰ δερμάτια, ἃ ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν αἱ γυναῖκες ἔχουσιν. Ἀριστοφάνης Θεσμοφοριαζούσαις. Cf. Mart. viii. 33, 19 :

Fortior intortos servat vesica capillos.

A coloured kerchief was also wrapped round the hair, sometimes covering the entire head, at others only a part of it. This was doubtless the μίτρα, which originally signified only a band, and this must be its meaning in the above-quoted passage of Aristophanes, where the κεκρύφαλος is also mentioned. The band was by degrees worn broader and broader, till it at last merged into the kerchief, and from this originated the snood itself.

For further details, see Böttiger, *Aldobr. Hochz.* pp. 79, 150 ; *Kl. Sch.* ii. p. 245 ; *Sabina*, i. p. 143 ; also Junii *de Coma lib.* ; Hotoman, *de Barba*, in Pitisci *Lex.* ; Ferrarii *Electa*, ii. 12 ; Camill. Silvestr. ad Juven. iv. 103.

EXCURSUS TO SCENE XII.

THE WOMEN.

VARIETY of views have been entertained on the social position of the Greek women, and their estimation in the eyes of the men. The majority of scholars have described them as degraded in the opinion of the other sex, their life as a life of slavery, and the gynæconitis as a place of durance differing from the oriental harem ; while a few writers have contended for the historic emancipation of the fair sex among the Greeks. To the former class belong de Pauw, *Recherches sur les Grecs* ; Meiners, *Gesch. des Weibl. Geschl.* ; as well as Böttiger and Thöluck. This last writer was replied to by Jacobs, in *Tr. z. Gesch. d. Weibl. Geschl.* As usual the truth lies between the contending parties. The assertions of the former are manifestly exaggerated ; while Jacobs, without undertaking

may refer especially to Lenz, *Gesch. d. Weiber im Hero. Zeitalter*, and Helbig, *Die Sittlichen Zustände d. Griech. Heldenalters*.

We shall here strictly confine ourselves to the historic epoch. At this time, and in the very focus of civilization, the women were regarded as a lower order of beings, neglected by nature in comparison with man, both in point of intellect and heart; incapable of taking part in public life, naturally prone to evil, and fitted only for propagating the species and gratifying the sensual appetites of the men. Of course the invectives of the notorious misogynist Euripides, or the complaints of pestered husbands in the comedians, must not be adduced as proof; though, on the other hand, they cannot be entirely ignored. Passages such as that in the *Hippolytus* of Euripides, v. 615—621, are nothing but rhetorical exaggerations. See Athen. xiii. p. 557: Εἰπόντος Σοφοκλεῖ τινος, ὅτι μισογύνης ἐστὶν Εὐριπίδης, "὘ν γε ταῖς τραγωδαῖς, ἔφη ὁ Σοφοκλῆς· ἐπεὶ ἔν γε τῇ κλίνῃ φιλογύνης. So also the παιδῶν ἐραστῆς in Lucian, *Amor.* 38, praises this outburst of the poet; but this is only in keeping with his assigned character. Cf. Hipponax, ap. Stob. *Tit.* lxxviii. 8:

Δύ' ἡμέραι γυναικός εἰσιν ἡδισταί·
 ὅταν γάμῃ τις κάκφερῃ τεθυγκυῖαν.

Also Plaut. *Asin.* i. 1, 30; *Mil.* iii. 1, 91; Achill. Tat. i. 7. But such expressions prove nothing as to the general opinion. We may regard, however, as the deeply-rooted sentiment of Greek antiquity, the confession of Iphigenia in the *Iphigenia in Aulide* of Euripides, v. 1373:

εἰς γ' ἀνὴρ κρείσσω γυναικῶν μυρίων.

And the habit of regarding the wife as a necessary evil of the household is shewn by the words of Menander (p. 190, Mein.):

ἀνάγκη γάρ γυναικ' εἶναι κακόν,
 ἀλλ' εὐτυχῆς ἐστ' ὁ μετριώτατος λαβών.

A great number of such passages as the foregoing might be easily collected from the dramatists and others. But far greater weight should be attached to the voices of the most thoughtful, liberal, and unprejudiced philosophers of antiquity, who have, without any bitterness or comic exaggeration, deliberately pronounced that nature assigns to woman a place far beneath that of man. It is true that Aristotle considers the putting women

ves on an equality, as un-Hellenic; see *de Republ.* i. 2, and *ib.* 13, p. 1260: but he clearly enunciates his opinion, *ib.* 5, p. 1254, where he says: τὸ ἄρρὲν πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ ὁ μὲν κρεῖττον, τὸ δὲ χεῖρον, τὸ μὲν ἄρχον, τὸ δ' ἀρχό- Cf. *Hist. Anim.* ix. 1. Plato too, with all his mildness, and love of justice, says, *Leg.* vi. p. 781: λαθραιότερον καὶ ἐπικλοπώτερον ἔφν τὸ θῆλυ: and he proceeds to say that the women must be so much the more curbed, ὅσῳ ἡ φύσις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν χείρων τῆς τῶν ἀρρένων. See also *de Republ.* ii. 9, p. 1270; and *Id. Probl.* xxix. 11: Διὰ τὸν ἄνδρα γυναικὰ ἀποκτεῖναι ἢ ἄνδρα; καίτοι βέλτιον τὸ ἄρρὲν φύσει. Cf. *Stob. Tit.* lxxiii. 62. All this expresses a general notion; and the only ἀρετὴ of which woman was capable in that age differed but little from that of a slave. See Plato, *Meno*, p. 71.

In some cases, doubtless, a woman's virtues ensured her a share of affection; and, again, a great dower, or her own character, might occasionally give her the upper hand in the household; but the general notion mentioned above always

1183: καὶ ἄκυρά γε ταῦτα πάντα ἐνομοθέτησεν εἶναι Σόλων, ὅ,τι ἂν τις γυναικὶ πειθόμενος πράττῃ, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοιαύτῃ (πόρῃ). They were not allowed to conclude any bargain, or transaction of consequence, on their own account. Isæus, *de Aristarchi Hered.* p. 259: ὁ γὰρ νόμος διαρρήδην κωλύει, παιδὶ μὴ ἐξεῖναι συμβάλλειν μηδὲ γυναικὶ πέρα μεδίμνων κριθῶν. Plato, it is true, proposes that this concession should be made them, but this is only a notion of his own. See *Leg.* xi. p. 937.

Their education from early childhood corresponded to the rest of their treatment. As has been already stated, there were no educational institutions for girls, nor any private teachers at home. Their whole instruction was left to the mother and the nurses, through whose means they obtained, perhaps, a smattering ἐν γράμμασι, and were taught to spin and weave, and similar female avocations. This was certainly the case at Athens. How it was in other states does not appear, but it was probably much the same elsewhere, except at Sparta. Hence there were no scientific or even learned ladies, with the exception of the hetææ. See, however, Eurip. *Hippol.* 635. They were also almost entirely deprived of that most essential promoter of female culture, the society of the other sex. They were excluded from intercourse not only with strangers, but also with their nearest relations, and they saw but little even of their fathers or husbands; for the men lived more abroad than at home, and even when at home they inhabited their own apartments. Κεχωρισθαι ἄνδρας γυναικῶν was an established maxim, as Herodotus says, v. 18: and to this Plato also adheres, when desirous of introducing Syssitia of the women: see *Leg.* vii. p. 806. A more confidential intercourse would seem to be indicated by passages such as Demosth. in *Neær.* p. 1382; and Æschin. in *Timarch.* p. 178; but we cannot infer that anything like instructive and improving conversation took place.

Thus the gynæconitis, though not exactly a prison, nor yet an ever-locked harem, was still the confined abode allotted, for life, to the female portion of the household; and Plato rightly calls the women γένος εἰθισμένον δεδυκὸς καὶ σκοτεινὸν ζῆν. *Leg.* vi. p. 781. This applies especially to the maidens, who lived in the greatest seclusion till their marriage, and, so to speak, regularly under lock and key, κατάκλειστοι (Callim. *Fragm.* 118),

THE WOMEN.

[EXCURSUS.

μεναι, and φρουρούμεναι (Aristæn. ii. *Ep.* 5). See also
es, 203:

Παρθενικὴν δὲ φύλασσε πολυκλείστοις θαλάμοισι,
μηδὲ μιν ἄχρι γάμων πρό δόμων ὠφθῆναι ἐάσσει.

. *Iphig. in Aul.* 728 ; Sophocl. *Ædip. Colon.* 344. They
tted the shades of the παρθενῶν, except on special occasions,
be spectators of a festal procession, or to swell its pomp ;
ably it was on such opportunities that a tender passion
e ; as we see from the use made of such circumstances
omedians. But no παρθένος ἐλευθέρα ever takes part in
n of a comedy. No such instance occurs in the pieces
l to us by the Romans, except in the *Persa* of Plautus,
owever, the appearance of the parasite's daughter is owing
ther's pretended sale of her as a slave. In tragedy it
ved, though Euripides says, *Orest.* 108 :

ἐν ὄχλῳ ἔρπειν, παρθένοισιν οὐ καλόν.

erial of tragedy was taken from the domain of the epic,
ve learn from Homer, the virgins in his time enjoyed
erty.

t marriage these restrictions were mitigated at Athens.

Now first with regard to the *οἰκουρεῖν*, or continuous staying at home, we find this universally mentioned as a woman's first duty. See Eurip. *Troad.* 649:

πρῶτον μὲν, ἔνθα κὰν προσῇ, κὰν μὴ προσῇ
ψόγος γυναιξίν, αὐτὸ τοῦτ' ἐφέλκεται
κακῶς ἀκούειν, ἥτις οὐκ ἔνδον μένει,
τούτου πόθον παρεῖς, ἔμιμνον ἐν δόμοις.

Also Menand. *Fragm.* (p. 87, Mein.):

Τοὺς τῆς γαμετῆς ὄρους ὑπερβαίνεις, γυναί,
τὴν αὐλίαν· πέρας γάρ αἰλῖος θύρα
ἐλευθέρᾳ γυναικὶ νενόμιστ' οἰκίας.

These passages certainly express the universal opinion hereon, though their critical value may be called in question, on the ground that Euripides was a *μισογύνης*, and that Menander refers to a special case. No such objection however can be urged against the extract from the treatise *περὶ γυναικὸς σωφροσύνης* of Phintys the Pythagorean, which has been preserved by Stobæus, *Tit.* lxxiv. 61: "Ἰδία μὲν ἀνδρὸς τὸ στραταγὲν, τὸ πολιτεύεσθαι καὶ δαμαγορεῖν. ἴδια δὲ γυναικὸς τὸ οἰκουρεῖν καὶ ἔνδον μένειν, καὶ ἐκδέχεσθαι καὶ θεραπεύειν τὸν ἄνδρα. Further on she specifies the cases in which a wife might be permitted to go abroad. So also Aristophanes speaks of the wrath of the husbands when their wives leave the house unknown to them; nor is there the slightest ground for supposing him to exaggerate; *Thesmoph.* 793:

κὰν ἐξέλθῃ τὸ γύναιόν ποί, κᾶθ' εὐρηγ' αὐτὸ θύραισι,
μανίας μαινέσθ'.

See also *Pax*, 980. And hence when the news of the defeat of Chæroneia reached Athens, and we might have expected that the eager anxiety of the moment would have caused the women to leave the house, we find them only at the doors. Lycurg. in *Leocr.* p. 165: ὁρᾶν δ' ἦν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν θυρῶν γυναῖκας ἐλευθέρως περιφόβους, κατεπτηχίας καὶ πυνθανομένας, εἰ ζῶσι, τὰς μὲν ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ πατρὸς, τὰς δ' ὑπὲρ ἀδελφῶν, κ. τ. λ., and even this the orator calls ἀναξίως αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς πόλεως ὀρωμένας. Much the same took place at Thebes, after the overthrow of the foreign domination. Plutarch, *de Gen. Socr.* 33: Αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες, ὡς ἐκάστη περὶ τοῦ προσήκοντος ἤκουσεν, οὐκ ἐμμένουσαι τῶν Βοιωτῶν ἦθεσιν ἐξέτρεχον πρὸς ἀλλήλας καὶ διεπυνθάνοντο παρὰ τῶν ἀπαντῶντων....Οὐδεὶς δὲ ἐκόλυε. Cf. Xenoph. *Æcon.* vii. 30.

er females were not so straitly guarded as those of younger
 may be gathered from the words of Hyperides, *apud*
t. lxxiv. 33: Δεῖ τὴν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκπορευομένην ἐν τοι-
 αστάσει εἶναι τῆς ἡλικίας, ὥστε τοὺς ἀπαντῶντας πυνθά-
 ῃ τίνος ἐστὶ γυνή, ἀλλὰ τίνος μήτηρ. Cf. Eurip. *Androm.*
Trachid. 474; and Plato, *de Republ.* ix. p. 579, where it
 of tyrants: καταδεδυνκὸς ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὰ πολλὰ ὡς γυνή ζῇ.
 tly, the tortoise, on which the Aphrodite Urania of
 was supported, was considered as a symbol of this se-
 existence of the women. Plutarch, *de Iside et Osir.* 76:
 ἥς Ἀθηνᾶς (εἰκάσματι) τὸν δράκοντα Φειδίας παρέθηκε, τῇ
 φροδίτης ἐν Ἡλίδι χελώνην, ὥς τὰς μὲν παρθένους φυλακῆς
 ταῖς δὲ γαμεταῖς οἰκουρίαν καὶ σιωπὴν πρέπουσαν. Cf.
μυθ. Præc. 32; Pausan. vi. 25, 2.

regards going abroad, we may take in their full extent
 ds of Aristophanes, *Lysistr.* 16: χαλεπή τοι γυναικῶν
 Apart from the consideration of toilet and household
 ons, the women were detained at home by special restric-
 Thus Athenæus, xii. p. 521, informs us, on the authority of
 es, that a law was in force at Syracuse, which forbade

It is scarcely possible that, in accordance with the Syracusan law, women were never allowed to go out except by the permission of the gynæconomi, and doubtless this would not apply to excursions away from home. In the above-mentioned treatise of Phintys, *περὶ γυναικὸς σωφροσύνης*, the third place is taken by the ἐκ τῶν ἐξόδων τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οἰκίας. She thinks the occasions on which the women should be allowed to go out are, religious ceremonies, to be spectators of a festival, and to purchase household necessities. She says: Τὰς δὲ ἐξόδους ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ποιεῖσθαι τὰς γυναικας τὰς δαμοτελέας θυηπολούσας τῷ ἀρχαγέτῃ θεῷ τῆς πόλιος ὑπὲρ αὐτὰς καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ καὶ τῷ παντὶ οἴκῳ. ἔπειτα μὴτε ὀρφνᾶς ἀνισταμένας, μὴτε ἐσπέρας, ἀλλὰ πλαθούσας ἀγορᾶς καταφανέα γινομέναν τὴν ἐξοδὸν ποιεῖσθαι, θεωρίας ἕνεκά τινος, ἢ ἀγορασμῷ οἰκίῃ μετὰ θεραπαίνας μιᾶς, ἢ καττὸ πλεῖστον δύο εὐκόσμως χειραγωγουμένην. We are hardly justified in assuming that so much liberty was usually allowed, and our surprise is by no means lessened when we find that she goes on to recommend a walk for the improvement of the complexion, instead of the use of rouge. Whether this ever actually took place, or whether it is merely a theoretical suggestion of her own, we cannot determine; no mention ever occurs of such a thing, and at all events no such promenading was in vogue in Attica; and the γυναικεία ἀγορὰ at Athens would hardly be visited by respectable females, as has been shewn in the Excursus on *The Markets and Commerce*, p. 287. At those festivals, however, from which men were excluded, the women had an opportunity of seeing something of each other; and they enjoyed themselves all the more on account of their ordinary seclusion. Cf. Isæus, *de Pyrrhi Her.* p. 66; Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 795.

No respectable lady thought of going out without a female slave, as we see from the Syracusan law above quoted; and the husband always assigned one to his wife; and how indispensable such an attendant was thought, we see from the example of the ἀνελεύθερος, who hired a slave for the purpose, when wanted. Theophr. *Char.* 22: τῇ γυναικὶ μὴ πρίασθαι θεράπειαν, ἀλλὰ μισθοῦσθαι εἰς τὰς ἐξόδους παιδίον ἀκολουθήσον. At a later period the number of these attendants was greatly increased. Lucian, *Imag.* 2: θεραπεία δὲ πολλή καὶ ἄλλη περὶ αὐτὴν παρασκευὴ λαμπρὰ, καὶ εὐνούχων τι πλῆθος, καὶ ἄβραι πᾶν πολλαί, κ. τ. λ. Cf. Excursus on *The Slaves*, p. 362.

er such circumstances there could not have been much
age of visits, except among relatives, though they were
ly omitted. See Naumachios, apud Stob. *Tit.* lxxiv. 7:

μήτε γράυν ποτε σοῖσι κακὴν δέξαιο μελᾶθροισ·
πολλῶν γρῆες ἔπερσαν ἐὸκτιτα δώματα φάτταν.
μηδὲ μὲν ἀκριτόμυθον ἑταιρίσσαιο γυναῖκα·
κεδνὰ κακοὶ φθείρουσι γυναικῶν ἤθεα μῦθοι.

θεραι γυναῖκες cannot be meant; but they are in another
Euripides, *Androm.* 926. There is no doubt that elderly
rienced women used to visit and offer their assistance at
and in cases of illness. Quite different, however, from
ar Grecian custom was that prevalent at Alexandria.
crit. xv.

ee then that there were very severe restrictions on the
of the Greek women, with the exception of those of the
ass. Yet many writers have gone further, and have
that husbands often kept their wives under lock and
even placed their seals on the door of the gynæconitis,
like of additional security. Perhaps a jealous and sus-
an might now and then have ensured his wife's fidelity

ὅστις δὲ μοχλοῖς καὶ διὰ σφραγισμάτων
σώζει δάμαρτα, δρᾶν τι δὴ δοκῶν σοφόν,
μάταιός ἐστι καὶ φρονῶν οὐδὲν φρονεῖ.

But if we consider that these Euripido-Aristophanic inventions became almost proverbial, we shall hardly be disposed to argue as to facts from Menander's hypothetical expressions. Tholuck, moreover, is quite wrong in asserting that the gynæconitis was guarded by eunuchs, a notion which he may perhaps have culled from Barthelemy or Potter.

Such a method of treatment naturally had the effect of rendering the girls excessively bashful, and even prudish; but the proverbial modesty of the Attic virgins, which arose from this, stood in agreeable contrast to the wantonness of other Greek damsels, and the pert forwardness of those at Sparta. See the remarkable account of the Lydian girls given by Herodotus, i. 93: Τοῦ γὰρ δὴ Λυδῶν δήμου αἱ θυγατέρες πορνεύονται πᾶσαι, συλλέγουσαι σφίσι φερνὰς, ἐς ὃ ἂν συνοικήσωσι τοῦτο ποιέουσαι. ἐκιδόασι δὲ αὐταὶ ἐωντάς. Strabo, xi. 13, 16, relates the same thing of the Armenian damsels, and those of Tuscany did likewise. See Plaut. *Cist.* ii. 3, 20:

non enim hic, ubi ex Tusco modo
Tute tibi indigne dotem quaeras corpore.

It is especially noticeable that the Lydians and Tuscans, whose other customs were so similar as to lead to the inference of a common origin, should also resemble each other in this strange usage. Such enormities were quite unknown to the Greeks, and branding was the punishment inflicted in the few cases of the sort. But at Athens, and indeed in most other cities, the Spartan γύμνωσις and ἄνεσις must have been thought very repulsive. See the Excursus on *The Gymnasia*, p. 298, and the passage there quoted from Euripides, *Andromache*, 586. There was as great a diversity between the manners of the Spartan and Athenian virgin as between the χιτῶν σχιστός of the former, and the modest dress of the latter, which so carefully concealed the person. Even the married woman shrunk back and blushed if she chanced to be seen at the window by a man. Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 797. And thus the whole behaviour of the women, and not at Athens only, was most modest and retiring. Indeed it sometimes lapsed into a simplicity very amusing. See Plutarch, *de Cap. ex Inim. Util.* 7: 'Ο ἱέρων ὑπὸ τινος τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰς τὴν

THE WOMEN.

[EXCURSUS.

ἐλοιδορήθη τοῦ στόματος ἐλθὼν οὖν οἴκαδε πρὸς τὴν
Τί λέγεις, εἶπεν, οὐδὲ σύ μοι τοῦτο ἔφρασας; ἡ δὲ οὔσα
καὶ ἄκακος, Ωἴμην, εἶπεν, ὅτι τοιοῦτο πάντες ὄξουσιν οἱ
Cf. Id. *Apophth. Reg.* p. 695; *Conjug. Præc.* 29.

the other hand, the men were very careful as to their
ur, in the presence of women; though they were quite
s to those minute attentions which constitute the gallantry
moderns. On the other hand, the conjugal rights and
were carefully respected, and the men were ceremoniously
at of that etiquette which debarred them from the society
her sex. Thus it was considered a grievous infraction of
ts of a married couple, as well as a gross piece of vulga-
a man to enter an abode of women in the absence of the

We have a remarkable instance of the conscientious ob-
of this rule, in a case where a friend or relation who is
to give assistance, does not venture to cross the threshold.

mosth. in *Euerget.* p. 1157: προσελθὼν δὲ ὁ Ἀγνόφιλος προσ-
πὸ τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ Ἀνθεμίωνος, ὅς ἐστί μοι γείτων,
τὴν οἰκίαν οὐκ εἰσῆλθεν· οὐ γὰρ ἠγείτο δίκαιον εἶναι μὴ
Again in the same speech, the plaintiff

be. Besides which, even the strong current of popular opinion was not able to prevent frequent breaches of this custom.

Marriage, in reference to the procreation of children, was considered by the Greeks as a necessity enforced by their duties to the gods, to the state, and to their ancestors; and they also took into account the advantages which the wedded state possessed with regard to household arrangements. Aristot. *Ethic. Nic.* viii. 14, p. 1162: οἱ δ' ἄνθρωποι οὐ μόνον τῆς τεκνοποιίας χάριν συν-οικοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον. Until a very late period, at least, no higher considerations attached to matrimony, nor was strong attachment a frequent cause of marriage. Yet it would be too much to assert with Müller, *Dorians*, ii. p. 292, that there is no instance of an Athenian falling in love with a free-born woman, and marrying her from violent passion. Now, firstly, this is actually related of Callias, who, in order to obtain the sister of Cimon, paid the debt of her father. Plutarch, *Cim.* 4: ἐπεὶ δὲ Καλλίας, τῶν εὐπόρων τις Ἀθήνησιν, ἐρασθεὶς προσῆλθε, τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ πατρὸς καταδίκην ἐκτίνειν ἔτοιμος ὦν πρὸς τὸ δημόσιον. Cf. Demosth. *adv. Boeot.* ii. p. 1016. Secondly, how often do the comedians describe a youth desperately enamoured of a girl; and they surely would not have done so had not such a thing sometimes occurred. We may cite the instances of Charinus and Pamphilus in the *Andria* of Terence, of Antipho in the *Phormio*, and many others. And if we remember the Antigone and Hæmon of Sophocles, can we assert that the ἔρως ἀνίκατος μάχαν was at work for hetærae only? Still it must be admitted that sensuality was the soil from which such passion sprung, and none other than a sensual love was acknowledged between man and wife. This is very distinctly stated by Pausanias, in Plato, *Symp.* p. 181; cf. Plutarch, *Amat.* 4.

But in the greater number of cases there was no such previous inclination, as is shewn by the way in which marriages were usually arranged. The ordinary motives are laid down by Demosthenes, in *Neær.* p. 1386: τὰς μὲν γὰρ ἑταίρας ἡδονῆς ἕνεκ' ἔχομεν· τὰς δὲ παλλακὰς τῆς καθ' ἡμέραν θεραπείας τοῦ σώματος. τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας τοῦ παιδοποιεῖσθαι γυνσίως καὶ τῶν ἔνδον φύλακα πιστὴν ἔχειν. This agrees with Antipho, *de Venef.* p. 613, where the παλλακὴ follows Philoneos to the sacrifice, and waits upon him and his guests at table. In this case she was the

property of her master, as we see from *Il.* p. 611: καὶ παλλακὴ ἦν ὁ Φιλόνεως ἐπὶ πορνείῳ ἐμελλε καταστήσαι. es, however, the παλλακὴ occupied a higher position. seen from the law quoted by Demosthenes, in *Aristocr.* ἢ ἐπὶ δάμαρτι, ἢ ἐπὶ μητρὶ, ἢ ἐπ' ἀδελφῇ, ἢ ἐπὶ θυγατρὶ, παλλακῇ ἢν ἂν ἐπ' ἐλευθέροις παισὶν ἔχῃ. Here we should the distinction between ἐλεύθεροι and γνήσιοι. Cf. *Lysias*, *Eratosth.* p. 34. In the heroic age it was quite usual to παλλακὴ as well as the lawful wife; but there is no passage informing us whether this was subsequently allowable, it most likely was not, since we know that if a husband an hetæra into the house, it was a legal ground for separation. *Andocid. in Alcib.* p. 117. See also *Eurip. Androm.* 891. ed by *Diog. Laert.* ii. 26, and by *Athenæus*, xiii. p. 556, the time of Socrates a Psephisma made it lawful, γαμεῖν ἢν μίαν, παιδοποιεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἐτέρας. This assertion received with suspicion, in spite of the authorities adduced. The thing itself might no doubt sometimes occur. Cf. *Griech. Staatsalt.* p. 254. regular marriage, on the other hand, in which the wife as

posterity, nor were state-interests in this case the only motives.

There were three considerations by which the duty of marriage was enforced. First, respect to the gods; for it was considered to be incumbent on every one to leave behind him those who should continue to discharge his religious obligations. Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 773: αἰὲ τῷ θεῷ ὑπηρετάς ἀνθ' αὐτοῦ παραδιδόναι. Secondly, obligation to the state; since by generating descendants, its continuance was provided for. Entirely consonant with the Spartan institutions was such a subordination of individual inclination to the demands of the public weal. See Plutarch, *Lyc.* 15: οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀτιμίαν τινα προσέθηκε τοῖς ἀγάμοις. εἰργοντο γὰρ ἐν ταῖς γυμνοπαιδιαῖς τῆς θεας· τοῦ δὲ χειμῶνος οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντες αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευον ἐν κύκλῳ περιῖεναι τὴν ἀγορὰν, οἱ δὲ περιῖόντες ἦδον εἰς αὐτοὺς ᾧδὴν τινα πεποιημένην ὡς δίκαια πάσχοιεν, ὅτι τοῖς νόμοις ἀπειθοῦσι· τιμῆς δὲ καὶ θεραπείας, ἣν νέοι πρεσβυτέροισι παρεῖχον, ἐστέροντο. See Aristo, apud Stob. *Tit.* lxvii. 16; Poll. viii. 40; Clearch. apud Athen. xiii. p. 555. These passages relate to Sparta, but at Athens, and probably in all or most of the other states, there were no such express penalties on celibacy. Something of the kind, it is true, is hinted at by Plutarch, *de Amore Proh.* 2: Πρῶτον οὐκ ἀναμένει (τὰ ζῶα) νόμους ἀγάμον καὶ ὀφγιάμον, καθάπερ οἱ Λυκούργου πολῖται καὶ Σόλωνος. Pollux, also, not referring to Sparta, speaks of a γραφή ἀγάμον, though such a process does not appear to have been ever instituted. Laws of this kind, enforced by ἀτιμία, as well as fines, are no doubt recommended by Plato, *Leg.* iv. p. 721; and vi. p. 774. But here, as in many other instances, he leans more to the Spartan than to the Attic principles of legislation. Thus he says, p. 773: τὸν γὰρ τῇ πόλει δεῖ συμφέροντα μνηστεύειν γάμον ἕκαστον, οὐ τὸν ἥδιστον αὐτῷ. Of the same tendency was the regulation to the effect that the orators and generals should be married, as a pledge of their fidelity to the state; see Dinarch. in *Demosth.* p. 51. Nevertheless the number of bachelors seems to have been very considerable; and we see from the lengthy apologies for celibacy, (e. g. Antipho, ap. Stob. *Tit.* lxviii. 37; Plaut. *Mil.* iii. 1.) how many, to avoid the trouble of maintaining a wife and children, or from suspicion of the sex, remained single. Other causes also, are assigned by Fr. Schlegel, *Griechen und Römer*, p. 261.

third consideration which induced persons to marry was a
 for their own race and lineage; and this was not only from
 of seeing themselves perpetuated in the same, but was
 in reference to the continuance of the duties to the departed,
 as the belief in the beneficial perception of the offerings
 of love devoted to the manes, made obligatory the
 of the family. See Isocrates, *Plat.* 24. Hence those
 were childless sought, by means of adoption, to prevent
 of these usages. Isæus, *de Apollod. Her.* p. 179:
 γὰρ οἱ τελευτήσειν μέλλοντες πρόνοιαν ποιοῦνται σφῶν
 ὅπως μὴ ἐξερημώσωσι τοὺς σφετέρους αὐτῶν οἴκους, ἀλλ'
 καὶ ὁ ἐναγιῶν καὶ πάντα τὰ νομιζόμενα αὐτοῖς ποιή-
 κἂν ἄπαιδες τελευτήσωσιν, ἀλλ' οὖν ποιησάμενοι κατα-

In addition to these motives, considerations of an economical
 entered into the case; and many married chiefly in order
 in a trusty and skilful housekeeper. It is very rarely
 meet with even a hint of any higher considerations. See,
 the fragment of Musonius, apud Stob. *Tit.* lxxvii. 20.

and one perhaps whom the bridegroom had never seen. Terent. *Andr.* i. 5, 14. Marriage was often adopted by the father as an expedient for putting an end to the debaucheries of his son, who received the lady as a sort of penalty inflicted on him. Terent. *Heaut.* v. 5; Plaut. *Trin.* v. 2, 59: 'si pro peccatis centum ducat uxores, parum est.' Achill. Tat. i. 8: Γάμον, εἶπεν, ἥδη σοι δίδωσιν ὁ πατήρ; τί γὰρ ἠδίκησας, ἵνα καὶ πεδηθῇς;

Such arrangements were unfavourable to the existence of real affection, and we cannot be surprised at the frequent prevalence of coldness, indifference, or discontent. Plato thinks these consequences might be prevented, by giving the young people more frequent opportunities of seeing one another. See *Leg.* vi. p. 177. No such previous intercourse was possible at Athens, and therefore couples might often find themselves mutually disappointed. Love after marriage was of unfrequent occurrence, though an instance is to be found in the *Hecyra* of Terence. It was probably still more unusual for the lady's inclinations to be consulted. The hard fate of maidens who were thus consigned for life to an unknown master, is forcibly described in a fragment of the *Tereus* of Sophocles, apud Stob. *Tit.* lxxviii. 19. At first, as we might expect, there was an entire absence of confidence between the newly-married pair, and it was a long while before the shyness in the woman gave place to a more familiar tone. See the characteristic description Ischomachos gives of the behaviour of his wife soon after marriage. Xenoph. *Æcon.* 7, 10: ἐπεὶ ἤδη μοι χειροθήης ἦν καὶ ἐτίθασσενέτο, ὥστε διαλέγεσθαι, ἡρόμην αὐτὴν κ.τ.λ.

An essential consideration with the Attic burgher, ἀστὸς or Ἀθηναῖος, was that his bride should be also of that rank. For the children of such marriages only, were γνήσιοι, and marriage between an ἀστὸς and a ξενὴ was forbidden. The two laws on this subject are produced by Demosthenes, in *Neær.* pp. 1350, 1363. For further details see Wachsmuth, *Hellen. Alterthumsk.* i. 2, p. 205. These laws, however, appear to have been frequently infringed. See Demosth. *ibid.* p. 1385.

Relationship was, with trifling limitations, no hinderance to marriage, which could take place within all degrees of ἀγχιστεία or συγγένεια, though naturally not in the γένος itself. See Isæus, *de Cir. Her.* p. 217: Κίρωνος θυγάτηρ ἡ ἀδελφὸς ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ γένους ἐστί; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι θυγάτηρ. ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἐκείνου γέγο-

any enumerates all the grades daughters might marry, in case makes no mention of any but c Cf. *ib.* viii. p. 838. The force ever, sufficient to prevent the cases. Andocid. *de Myst.* p. 61 τούτῃ δὲ συνοικήσας οὐδ' ἐνιαυτὸν συνώκει ὁ πάντων σχετλιώτατος γατρί... καὶ εἶχεν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ c p. 534.

It is well known that widow was often in compliance with their husbands, as little regard b in the case of girls. See Isæus *Cir. Her.* p. 215; Demosth. *in* was of very ancient date, and it 8, that Gorgophone, the daughter who married again! The word at the most his own individual vi agree with the law of Charondas 40: Ὁ μητρυνιὸν ἐπιγαμὸν μὴ εὐδὸν οἰκείας διαστάσεως.

With regard to age there de

for men thirty-seven, or less. It may be assumed that virgins did not often marry before their fifteenth year, nor men before their twentieth. See Xenoph. *Æcon.* 7, 5. Some exceptions are, however, mentioned. See Demosth. *adv. Bæot.* προικ. p. 1009; Pausan. iv. 19, 4; though both these passages shew that it was unusual. Cf. Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 407.

Care was generally taken that the bride should be considerably the younger. See Eurip. apud Stob. *Tit.* lxxi. 3:

κακὸν γυναῖκα πρὸς νέαν ζεῦξαι νέον.
μακρὸν γὰρ ἰσχύς μαῖλλον ἀρρένων μένει,
θήλεια δ' ἥβη θάσσον ἐκλείπει δέμας.

Sappho, *Fragm.* 20: ἀλλ' ἐὼν φίλος ἀμὴν λέχος ἄρνησο νεώτερον. οὐ γὰρ τλάσομ' ἐγὼ ξυνοικεῖν οὔσα γερατέρα. Hence those girls who did not find a husband early were mostly fated not to marry at all. See Aristoph. *Lysist.* 597. Still it must not be concealed that there were other means, besides a father's aid, by which a husband might be procured. There appear to have been certain obliging dames who drove a trade in match-making, and were hence called προμνηστριαὶ or προμνηστρίδες. Xenoph. *Mem.* ii. 6, 36: ἔφη γὰρ (Ἀσπασία) τὰς ἀγαθὰς προμνηστρίδας μετὰ μὲν ἀληθείας τάγαθὰ διαγγελλούσας δεινὰς εἶναι συνάγειν ἀνθρώπους εἰς κηδεῖαν, ψευδομένας δ' οὐκ ὠφελεῖν ἐπαινούσας. τοὺς γὰρ ἐξαπατηθέντας ἅμα μισεῖν ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τὴν προμνησαμένην. Poll. iii. 31: καὶ προμνηστριαὶ μὲν αἱ συνάγουσαι τὸν γάμον. Cf. Lucian, *Deor. Dial.* xx. 16; Dio Chrysost. *Orat.* vii. p. 249. Sometimes confidential female slaves discharged such duties, as in the *Pharmaceutria* of Theocritus. Cf. Charit. i. 2. But as pandering in its worse sense might easily lurk behind, the whole trade was in no very good repute. See Plato, *Theæt.* p. 150; Xenoph. *Symp.* 4, 61.

The usages and formalities of marriage were numerous. The solemn affiancing, ἐγγύησις, which was legally necessary, in order to render the marriage complete and binding, will not be discussed here. The law itself is to be found in Demosthenes, in *Steph.* ii. p. 1134; see also Platner, *Beitr. z. Kenntn. d. Att. Rechts*, p. 109; Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 409; Hermann, *Staatsalterth.* p. 254; Wachsmuth, *Hell. Alterth.* ii. 1, p. 206. This public ratification must be carefully distinguished from the previous betrothal or consent of the bride. See Pindar, *Ol.* vii. 1;

THE WOMEN.

[EXCURSUS.]

αν ὥς εἴ τις ἀφνειὰς ἀπὸ χειρὸς ἐλῶν
ἀμπέλου καχλάζουσιν ὀρόσῃ
σεται

ἢ γαμβρῷ προπίνων οἴκοθεν οἴκαδε, πάγχρυσον κορυφαῖν κτεάνων
οἴου τε χάριν κᾶδος τε τιμάσαις ἐόν, ἐν δὲ φίλων
όντων θῆκε μιν ζαλωτὸν ὁμόφρονος εὐνᾶς.

In this passage Böckh assumes that it was a prevalent Greek custom to solemnize the affiancing at the banquet, by pledging the bride to her son-in-law; but this can hardly be borne out. The examples adduced from Athenæus, xiii. p. 575, are neither of this kind; and moreover, in each case, the girl, and not the bridegroom, links to the bridegroom, thus declaring her choice. All this is entirely opposed to Greek customs.

At the same time that the affiancing took place, the dowry, *ἡ φερνὴ*, was also settled upon the bride. This, however, was not so much of a legal requirement as the *ἐγγύη*, but rather was a customary usage, strictly complied with for the most part. See Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 415. It might be a matter of course so far as the *κύριος* of the bride was in some cases bound to provide with a dowry; but its neglect was certainly not

We are also told that Solon introduced a law to restrict the amount of the *φερνή* which the bride brought her husband. Plutarch, *Sol.* 20: τῶν δ' ἄλλων γάμων ἀφείλε τὰς φερνάς, ἱμάτια τρία, καὶ σκευὴ μικροῦ νομίσματος ἄξια κελεύσας, ἕτερον δὲ μηδὲν ἐπιφέρεισθαι τὴν γαμουμένην. οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο μισθοφόρον, οὐδ' ὄνιον εἶναι τὸν γάμον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεκνώσει καὶ χάριτι καὶ φιλότητι γίνεσθαι τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς συνοικισμόν. Some doubt, however, is thrown upon this statement by the fact that no such restriction is mentioned by any of the Attic orators. The most probable conjecture seems to be that adopted by Bunsen, *de Jure Hered. Athen.* p. 43, and other writers, who suppose that by the *φερνή* mentioned by Plutarch, is not meant the regular *προῖξ*, but certain additional wedding-presents. This supposition is not free from difficulties, for the dowry did not solely consist of money, but included clothes and ornaments, ἱμάτια καὶ χρυσία, as well as slaves. See Eurip. *Iphig. in Aul.* 46; Diog. Laert. v. 13. In support of his position, Bunsen quotes a passage in which these gifts are distinguished from the *προῖξ*. Demosth. *in Spud.* p. 1036: ἅπερ ἔπεμψέ μοι χωρὶς τῆς προίκος. But in Isæus, *de Cir. Her.* p. 199, things of this sort are not reckoned as separate presents, but are included in the dowry: ἐκείνων δὲ ἔτι ζώντων, ἐπεὶ συνοικεῖν εἶχεν ἡλικίαν, ἐκδίδωσιν αὐτὴν Ναυσιμένει, Χολαργεῖ, σὺν ἱματίοις καὶ χρυσίοις πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς ἐπιδούς. Most probably Solon's law was only directed against these presents, and its application was erroneously extended by Plutarch to the whole *προῖξ*.

The intention assigned by Plutarch to this law, is the maintenance of the husband's independence, which might have been endangered by the reception of too large a dowry with his wife. This object receives Plato's sanction, and he recommends that no dowry should be allowed to exceed fifty drachmæ in value, ἐσθῆτος χάριν. See *Leg.* vi. p. 774. In fact the Greek ladies must have presumed a good deal upon the strength of their fortunes; for not only are the comedians full of complaints on this head, but other authors repeat the warning. See Plutarch, *de Educ. Puor.* 19; *Amator.* 7. On the other hand, fathers thought it a burden to portion their daughters, and hence female infants were more frequently exposed. In support of this, a host of passages might be adduced. See, for instance, Menander (p. 14, Mein.):

χαλεπὸν γε θυγάτηρ κτῆμα καὶ δυσδιάθετον.

CHAR.

Id. p. 24:

εὐδαιμονία τοῦτ' ἐστὶν νίδε νοῦν ἔχων·
ἀλλὰ θυγάτηρ κτῆμ' ἐστὶν ἐργῶδες πατρί.

far the greater number of marriages seem to have taken place in winter. This is mentioned as the most suitable and usual time by Aristotle, *de Republ.* vii. 16. It is known also that the month Gamelion received its name from this circumstance. Certain months were considered more proper than others. The fourth month is named by Hesiod, *Opp.* 800, though it may be doubtful whether he means the fourth from the beginning. The words are:

πεφύλαξο δὲ θέμῳ
τετράδ' ἀλεύσθαι φθίνοντός θ' ἱσταμένου τε
ἄλγεα θυμοβορεῖν· μάλα τοι τετελεσμένον ἦμαρ.
ἐν δὲ τετάρτῃ μηνὸς ἄγεσθαι ἐς οἶκον ἀκοιτιν.

The Greeks reckoned their months from the new moon, or the appearance of the crescent, this is in tolerable accordance with Aristotle, *ad Hesiod.* *Opp.* 782: διὸ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς πρὸς συν-
έρας ἐξελέγοντο πρὸς γάμους καὶ τὰ Θεογάμια ἐτέλουν,
οὐ σικῶς εἶναι πρῶτον οἰόμενοι γάμον τῆς σελήνης οὔσης πρὸς

ἡμέραν ὀνομάζουσιν, ἐν ᾗ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τὴν γαμουμένην παρ-
θένον ἄγουσιν οἱ γονεῖς ὡς τὴν θεὸν καὶ θυσίαν ἐπιτελοῦσιν. Here
ἡ θεὸς probably means Artemis, who, as well as Athene, had a
temple on the Acropolis. So Pollux, iii. 38: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ Ἥρα
τελεία ἡ ζυγία. ταύτη γὰρ τοῖς προτελείοις προτέλουν τὰς κό-
ρας καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Μοῖραις. And this does not apply to Athens
alone, but also to Boeotia and Locris, as we are told by Plutarch,
Aristid. 20. Cf. Eurip. *Hippol.* 1414; Lucian, *de Syr. Dea*, 60.

The ἀρκετεῖσθαι seems to have been an expiatory sacrifice
offered to Artemis Munychia or Brauronia, but at an earlier age,
perhaps in the tenth year. See Schol. ad Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 645;
also Harpocration, and Suidas. We learn too that the προτέλεια
were also offered to various local deities, θεοῖς ἐγχωρίοις. Plu-
tarch, *Amat. Narr.* 1: ἕως ἡ κόρη κατὰ τὰ πάτρια ἐπὶ τὴν Κισ-
σόεσσαν καλουμένην κρήνην κατῆι ταῖς Νύμφαις τὰ προτέλεια
θύσουσα. But the offering to Aphrodite did not belong to the
προτέλεια, but took place either on the wedding-day, (Plutarch,
Amator. 26,) or was an after-offering made by the νεωστὶ γεγα-
μημένοι, as in Æschin. *Epist.* 10, p. 681.

A second ceremony which appears to have been universally
observed, was the bath, which both bride and bridegroom took on
the wedding-day, in the water of a certain fountain or river. At
Athens it was the fountain Callirrhoë, called also, after the altera-
tions of Peisistratos, Ἐννεάκρουνος, from which was fetched the
water for this λουτρὸν νυμφικόν. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 378. See
Thucyd. ii. 15: καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτω
σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνης καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν
πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὀνομασμένη, ἐκείνῃ τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ
πλείστον ἀξία ἐχρῶντο. καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε
γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. Cf.
Poll. iii. 43. Harpocration says that the water was brought by
a boy, the nearest relation of the bridegroom, and that he was
called λουτροφόρος. The passage is as follows: "Ἔθος ἦν τοῖς
γαμοῦσι λουτρὰ μεταπέμπεσθαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γάμου ἡμέραν. ἔπεμ-
πον δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἐγγυτάτῳ γένους παῖδα ἄρρῆνα, καὶ οὗτοι
ἐλουτροφόρουν. ἔθος δὲ ἦν καὶ τοῖς ἀγάμοις ἀποθανοῦσι λουτροφο-
ρεῖν καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ μνήμα ἐφίστασθαι (λουτροφόρον ἐπὶ τὸ μν.?).
τοῦτο δὲ ἦν παῖς ὑδρίαν ἔχων. λέγει περὶ τούτων Δεῖναρχος ἐν
τε τῷ κατὰ Θεοδότου καὶ ἐν τῷ κατὰ Καλλισθένου εἰσαγγελίᾳ.

and Photius say exactly the same. This express account not excite much attention, were it not contradicted by other passages. Thus Pollux, iii. 43, makes no mention of a girl, but says: καὶ λουτρά τις κομίζουσα, λουτροφόρος. To reconcile these conflicting accounts, we might assume that a girl carried water for the bride, and a boy for the bridegroom; and of these suppositions is supported by existing antiques, but the latter there is no corroborating evidence of any kind. Condemned, moreover, by the well-known passage in Demetrius, in *Leochar.* p. 1086, from which we learn that it was the custom to place some figure referring to water-carrying on the tomb of one who had died single, as a symbol of celibacy. We read: οὐ πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον...ἠρρώσθησεν ὁ Ἀρχιὰς καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἀπόντος τοῦ Μειδουλίδου ἄγαμος ὢν. οὐ σημεῖον; λουτροφόρος ἐφέστηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀρχιᾶδου. That a girl is here intended, is seen from p. 1089, where Demetrius expressly says: καὶ ἡ λουτροφόρος ἐφέστηκεν ἐπὶ Ἀρχιᾶδου μνήματι. We are elsewhere informed that the vessel was merely a vessel for carrying water, in fact a black

mentioned as prevalent in Troas. It was there usual for virgins to bathe in the Scamander before their marriage, and thus symbolically dedicate their virginity to the god, see p. 680: *νερόμισται δὲ ἐν τῇ Τρωάδι γῇ, τὰς γαμουμένας παρθένους ἐπὶ τὸν Σκάμανδρον ἔρχεσθαι καὶ λουσαμένας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔπος τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἱερόν τι ἐπιλέγειν* Λάβε μου, Σκάμανδρε, τὴν παρθενίαν.

In Sparta the marriage was solemnized in a manner very different from that usual in Attica, and probably in the other states. As is well known, the bridegroom, of course with the parents' consent, carried off the bride by force. Plutarch, *Lyc.* 15; Müller, *Dorians*, ii. p. 293. A scene of the kind is very frequently represented on vases, but it is extremely doubtful whether these paintings refer to the usage in question. Many of them are intended for the rape of Thetis, and similar subjects. See also Achill. Tat. ii. 13: *Νόμον γὰρ ὄντος Βυζαντίοις, εἴ τις ἀρκάσας παρθένον φθάσας ποιήσει γυναῖκα, γάμον ἔχειν τὴν βίαν, προσεῖχε τούτῃ τῇ νόμῳ.*

The bride was usually fetched away towards evening by the bridegroom, in a carriage, ἐφ' ἀμάξης. This was drawn by mules or oxen, and probably by horses also, and the bride sat between the bridegroom and *παράνυμφος*, who was a near relation or intimate friend, and was also called *πάροχος*. The most detailed account is that given by Harpocration: *ζεύγος ἡμιονικὸν ἢ βοεικὸν ζεύξαντες τὴν λεγομένην κλινίδα, ἣ ἐστὶν ὁμοία διέδρω, τὴν τῆς νύμφης μέθοδον ποιοῦνται. Παραλαβόντες δὲ αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς πατρῶας ἐστίας ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμαξαν ἄγουσιν ἐς τὰ τοῦ γαμοῦντος ἐσπέρας ἱκανῆς. Κάθηνται δὲ τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἀμάξης· μέση μὲν ἡ νύμφη, ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ ὁ τε νυμφίος, καὶ ὁ πάροχος. οὗτος δὲ ἐστὶ φίλος ἢ συγγενὴς ὅτι μάλιστα τιμώμενος καὶ ἀγαπώμενος. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ἄμαξα ὄχημα ἐλέγετο, ὁ ἐκ τρίτου ὁ παροχούμενος πάροχος ἐκλήθη. Καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς συνηθείας, κἂν πεζοὶ μετίωσί τινες κόρην, ὁ τρίτος συμπαρὼν πάροχος λέγεται.* See also Poll. iii. 40, and x. 33; Schol. ad Aristoph. *Aves*, 1735. We find a team of oxen mentioned by Pausanias, ix. 3, 1; but horses are expressly named by Euripides, *Helen*. 723:

καὶ λαμπάδων μεμνήμεθ', αἷς τετραόροις
ἵπποις τροχάχων παρέφερον· σὺ δ' ἐν δίφροισι
σὺν τῷδε νύμφῃ δῶμ' ἔλειπες ὄλβιον.

In many places a symbolical custom prevailed of burning the

the carriage on their arrival. Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 29: παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ καίονσι πρὸ τῆς θύρας τὸν ἄξονα ἔξως, ἐμφαίνοντες δεῖν τὴν νύμφην ἐμμένειν ὡς ἀνηρημένου ξοντος. The bridegroom is carried by bearers in Aris-
ax, 1341; but this was doubtless a deviation from the stage-convenience. The bridegroom escorted home in
anner his first wife only. If he married again, the lady
ught to him by a relative or friend, who was then called
ογός. See Poll. iii. 40; Hesychius says: Νυμφαγωγός
χόμενος ἐτέρῳ νύμφην καὶ ἄγων ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκίας ἢ
ον γεγαμηκότι οὐκ ἔξεστι μετελθεῖν· διὸ ἀποστέλλουσι τῶν
ινάς. κ. τ. λ.

train, which was probably numerous, was preceded by
δαῖδες νυμφικαί; but by whom they were borne is not

That the mother lighted the nuptial torch is seen from
es, *Iphig. in Aul.* 722; and *Phœniss.* 344:

ἐγὼ δ' οὔτε σοι πυρὸς ἀνῆψα φῶς νόμιμον ἐν γάμοις,
ὡς πρέπει ματέρι μακαρίᾳ.

passage the Scholiast says: ἔθος ἦν τὴν νύμφην ὑπὸ τῆς

Tat. ii. 11: 'Εὐνήτο δὲ τῇ κόρῃ τὰ πρὸς τὸν γάμον περιδέραιον μὲν λίθων ποικίλων ἐσθῆτα δὲ τὸ πᾶν μὲν πορφυρᾶν· ἐνθα δὲ ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐσθῆσιν ἡ χώρα τῆς πορφύρας ἐκεῖ χρυσὸς ἦν. But this was certainly not the usual Greek custom, and with regard to the bridegroom the question is still more doubtful. The male part of the escort, at all events, went in white. Plutarch, *Amat.* 26: καὶ νῦν ἐκὼν στέφανον καὶ λευκὸν ἱμάτιον λαβὼν οἷός ἐστιν ἡγεῖσθαι δι' ἀγορᾶς πρὸς τὸν θεόν. The ἱμάτιον νυμφικόν, (*ibid.* 10,) is only mentioned in contradistinction to the chlamys, with which Bacchus had come out of the gymnasium; but there is no reference to any particular colour. See also Pollux, iv. 119: οἱ δὲ παράσιτοι μελαίνῃ ἢ φαῖᾳ (χρῶνται) πλὴν ἐν Σικυνωῖν λευκῇ, ὅτε μέλλει γαμεῖν ὁ παράσιτος. At any rate the dress must have differed in some way from the daily one, for Chariton, i. 6, says of the corpse of Callirrhoe: κατέκειτο μὲν Καλλιρρόῃ νυμφικὴν ἐσθῆτα περιεμένη.

Chaplets were certainly worn both by bride and bridegroom. Böttiger, *Kunstmyth.* p. 253; Schol. ad Aristoph. *Pax*, 869. The same was also the case with the attendants, according to Plutarch, *supra*. Also the doors of both the houses were ornamented with festive garlands. Plutarch, *Amat.* 10: ἀνέστεφον ἐλαίᾳ καὶ δάφνῃ τὰς θύρας, κ. τ. λ. Perfumed ointment, μύρον, was a part of the bride's κόσμος. Xenoph. *Symp.* ii. 3; Aristoph. *Plut.* 529. Her head also was covered by a long veil, which will be spoken of presently.

In this manner the procession moved along to the song of Hymenæus with the accompaniment of flutes, towards the house of the bridegroom, whilst those who met it would pour forth congratulations and good wishes. See Aristoph. *Pax*, 1318; Chariton, i. 1; v. 5; Heliodor. *Æthiop.* x. 41. On arriving at the house they were saluted with a shower of sweetmeats, καταχύσματα, as was the custom also at Rome. Schol. ad Aristoph. *Plut.* 768: καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ νυμφίου περὶ τὴν ἐστίαν τὰ τραγήματα κατέχεον εἰς σημεῖον εὐπορίας, ὡς καὶ Θεόπομπός φησιν ἐν 'Ηδν-χάρει 'φέρε σὺ τὰ καταχύσματα ταχέως κατάχει τοῦ νυμφίου καὶ τῆς κόρης.' Cf. Theopompus, ap. Harpocr. and Phot. p. 145.

Then followed the wedding-feast, γάμος, θοῖνῃ γαμικῇ. It was usually, though not always, held at the house of the bridegroom or of his parents. The most decisive passage, although of

riod, is in Lucian, *Conviv. s. Lapithæ*, 5. Little weight is attached to the *Aulularia* of Plautus, as we do not know which is to be attributed to the influence of Roman habits. The banquet was not a mere matter of form, but was in itself an attestation of the ceremony; it being desirable, in such cases, to have as many witnesses as possible of the marriage, such were the guests. Demosth. in *Onet.* i. p. 869: οἱ τοιούτων ἕνεκα καὶ γάμους ποιοῦμεν καὶ τοὺς ἀναγκαῖοι παρακαλοῦμεν, ὅτι οὐ πάρεργον, ἀλλ' ἀδελφῶν καὶ θυγατέρων ἐγχειρίζομεν, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰς ἀσφαλείας μάλιστα σκοποῦμεν. p. 185: ὡς νενομίσται ἄγειν συμπόσια περὶ τοὺς γάμους ἡμιγλήϊων θεῶν ἕνεκα, καὶ τῆς οἰονεῖ μαρτυρίας. And, in judicial proof that the wife was actually γαμετῇ, was from the ἐστιᾶσαι γάμους. Isæus, *de Cir. Hered.* pp. 17, 208. Plutarch, *Symposiac.* iv. 3, adduces additional proof for the banquet, though this simple one is quite sufficient. In this feast, contrary to the custom in other cases, the women also were allowed to be present. Plato, *Leg.* vi. pp. 775, 776. But in Lucian, *Conviv.* 8, they occupy a particular table, and the bride remains veiled: Δέον δὲ πρὶν καταλύσθαι ἀπόπαινον

xy. 77: ἐνδοὶ πᾶσαι, ὁ τὰν νὸν εἶπ' ἀποκλάξαι. At Athens it was enjoined by a law of Solon, that the bride should eat beforehand a quince, μῆλον κυδάνιον. Plutarch, *Sol.* 20; *Quæst. Rom.* 65; *Conjug. Præc.* 1. Before the door of the thalamos the epithalamium was sung by a chorus of maidens. Theocr. *Id.* xviii.:

πρόσθε νεογρόπτῳ θαλάμῳ χορὸν ἐστάσαντο
δῶδεκα ται πρᾶται πόλιος, μέγα χρῆμα Λακαινῶν—
'Αειδὸν δ' ἄρα πᾶσαι, ἐς ἐν μέλος ἐγκροτέοισαι
ποσοὶ περιπλέκτοισ' περὶ δ' ἴαχε δῶμ' ὑμεναίῳ.

On this the Scholiast observes: τῶν δ' ἐπιθαλαμίων τινὰ μὲν ᾄδεται ἐσπέρας, ἃ λέγεται κατακοιμητικά, ἄτινα ἕως μέσης νυκτὸς ᾄδουσι. τινὰ δ' ὄρθρια, ἃ καὶ προσαγορεύεται διεγερτικά. τὸν ἐπιθαλάμιον ᾄδουσιν αἱ παρθέναι πρὸ τοῦ θαλάμου, ἵνα τῆς παρθένου βιαζομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἡ φωνὴ μὴ ἐξακούηται, λανθάνη δὲ κρυπτομένη διὰ τῆς τῶν παρθένων φωνῆς. According to Pollux the door was guarded by a friend of the bridegroom's, εἵρων τὰς γυναῖκας βοηθεῖν τῇ νύμφῃ βοώσῃ. But it is questionable how many of these customs, heaped together at random by the grammarians, will apply to Athens.

After the νύξ μυστικὴ (*Charit.* iv. 4,) the lady received presents from her husband, and both of them from their relations and friends. Since the bride now for the first time shewed herself without a veil, these gifts were called ἀνακαλυπτήρια, ὀπτήρια, and so forth; but on what day they were given is not very clear. Hesychius mentions the third day: 'Ανακαλυπτήριον, ὅτε τὴν νύμφην πρῶτον ἐξάγουσι τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ. He also says: 'Ἐπαύλια' ἡ δευτέρα τῶν γάμων ἡμέρα οὕτως καλεῖται, ἐν ᾗ κομίζουσι δῶρα οἱ οἰκεῖοι τῇ γεγαμηκότῃ καὶ τῇ νύμφῃ. These latter presents were also called ἀνακαλυπτήρια, for Harpocration says: 'Ανακαλυπτήρια, δῶρα διδόμενα ταῖς νύμφαις....ὅταν τὸ πρῶτον ἀνακαλύπτωνται...καλεῖται δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ ἐπαύλια. These passages then are openly at variance, and we have the additional evidence of Pollux, iii. 39, that ἐπαύλια (ἡμέρα) means the day after the marriage. The same author also mentions another usage, which may throw some light on the subject. He says: καὶ ἀπαύλια δὲ, ἐν ᾗ ὁ νυμφίος εἰς τοῦ πενθεροῦ ἀπὸ τῆς νύμφης ἀπαυλίζεται. οἱ δὲ τὰ διδόμενα δῶρα τῇ νύμφῃ καλοῦσιν ἀπαύλια. ἡ δὲ ἀπαυλιστηρία χλαυκὴ ἀπὸ τῆς νύμφης τῇ νυμφίῳ ἐν τοῖς ἀπαυλίοις πέμπεται. We may perhaps reconcile these accounts by supposing that the day after the marriage was the ἐπαύλια ἡμέρα, and that

On the second day the ἀπαύλια were presented, the ἀνα-
 α not being given till the third day, when the bride
 was unveiled. And then the only error would be in
 the account of Harpocration. Cf. Pausanias, apud Eustath. *ad*
iv. 29. The gifts presented by relations and friends
 were called προσφοραί. See Theophrastus, *Char.* 30; where
 one of the characteristics of a mean person is to leave town for
 the marriage of a friend, or of a friend's daughter:
 προσπέμψη προσφοράν. Certain antiquities referring to these
 scenes are given by Müller, *Handb. d. Archäol.* p. 693.

From this time forward the gynæconitis was the woman's
 abode, except that she shared with her husband the
 dining-room, which might occasionally be quite detached from the
 apartments. See Excursus on *The Grecian House*, p.
 12. The description of the household arrangements given in
 the *Cœde Eratosth.* p. 13, affords us some insight into this
 sort of domestic life. Euphiletos, who has been accused
 of murder, explains that he inhabits a house of two stories,
 the upper was occupied by himself, and the lower by
 his wife and children. The wife, however, sleeps above stairs,

Plato, who, on this subject, rather approaches the Spartan principles, assigns as the sole occupation of the women, *θεραπεία, ταμεία, παιδοτροφία*. *Leg.* vii. p. 805; cf. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 17. In consequence of the great inexperience of young wives, who had been brought up in almost monastic seclusion, matters were often managed very awkwardly at first. See the account given of his wife by Ischomachos; Xenoph. *Æcon.* 7, 4: καὶ τί ἂν ἐπισταμένην αὐτὴν παρέλαβον, ἥ ἔτη μὲν οὐπω πεντεκαίδεκα γεγονῶτα ἦλθε πρὸς ἐμέ, τὸν δ' ἔμπροσθεν χρόνον ἔζη ὑπὸ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας, ὅπως ὡς ἐλάχιστα μὲν ὄψοιτο, ἐλάχιστα δ' ἀκούσοιτο, ἐλάχιστα δ' ἔροιτο; Cf. *ibid.* § 14.

It may perhaps not be amiss if we attempt to describe the wife's occupations somewhat more in detail. The methods of nursery management have already been treated of in the Excursus on *Education*. Next to the care of her children her attention was principally directed to that which went by the comprehensive term *ταμεία*. To this belonged, firstly, the superintendence of all the moveable effects appertaining to the house, the furniture and utensils, the clothes, stores, and slaves. Occasionally she was not trusted to this extent. See Aristoph. *Thesmoph.* 418. Also from Lysias, *de Cæde Eratosth.* p. 10, we find that Euphiletos did not entrust the whole of his domestic concerns to his wife till she had borne him a son, which he considered sufficient security for her behaviour. Aristophanes calls wives the *ἐπίτροποι* and *ταμίαι* of the household. *Eccles.* 212; *Lysistr.* 495. Among the higher classes, and in large establishments, the lady had a *ταμία* to assist her. Xenoph. *Æcon.* 9, 11.

Another chief duty of the wife consisted in the superintendence of the slaves and the assignment of their several domestic duties. Xenoph. *Æcon.* 7, 33. Hence Plato requires that she should rise the first thing in the morning, as a pattern to others. *Leg.* vii. p. 808. Cf. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 18. The labours of the female slaves, such as spinning, weaving, and so forth, required particular attention. Xenoph. *Æcon.* 7, 6. When Theano was asked how she intended to become renowned, (πῶς ἐνδοξος ἔσται;) she answered with the Homeric line:

ἰστὸν ἐποιχομένη καὶ ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιώσσω.

Stob. *Tif.* lxxiv. 32. Cf. Plutarch, *Mul. Virt.* 19. The wife superintended the kitchen. In a Grecian house there was seldom

essional cook ; one being hired when occasion required. Men usually cared for all the requirements of the meal, and of the house was not idle. Plato, *de Republ.* v. p. 455: *οργῶμεν τὴν τε ὑφαντικὴν λέγοντες καὶ τὴν τῶν ποπᾶνων ἡμαίων θεραπείαν; ἐν οἷς δὴ τι δοκεῖ τὸ γυναικεῖον γένος καὶ καταγελαστότατόν ἐστι πάντων ἡττώμενον.* Hence a crowd of useless consumers was expelled from Plataea, that one hundred and ten *γυναῖκες σιτοποιοὶ* were re- Thucyd. ii. 78.

es this, another momentous occupation devolved exclusively on the women ; the nursing of the sick, not only of their husbands and children, but also of the slaves. Xenoph. *Æcon.* *τε δὲ ἂν κάμνη τῶν οἰκετῶν, τούτων σοι ἐπιμελετέον πάντων ἡμετέρων θεραπείῃ.* Cf. Demosth. in *Neer.* p. 1364.

The foregoing description is intended to apply to the household of the wealthy burgher of the higher class. The women of the lower classes, having no slaves, had of course to discharge duties which were otherwise deemed unworthy of free women.

It was not considered unbecoming to fetch water from the well in the morning ; nay, in the earliest times, this was

notion of ἀσχημονεῖν extended, and how careful the husband was to behave as an ἐλεύθερος on all occasions, is clear from Demosthenes, in *Androt.* p. 609. Although we gather from this that there was a certain distance maintained between married persons, and that cordial familiarity was sacrificed to σεμνότης, still there would be modifications corresponding to differences of character and education; and thus we find man and wife joking pretty freely in Lysias, *de Code Eratosth.* p. 14, where, when Euphiletos sends his wife down into the gynæconitis to quiet the child, she pretends to refuse, and says: ἵνα σύ γε πειρᾷς ἐνταῦθα τὴν παιδίσκην καὶ πρότερον δὲ μεθύων εἴλκες αὐτήν. Καγὼ μὲν ἐγέλων. ἐκείνη δὲ ἀναστᾶσα καὶ ἀπιούσα προστιθῆσι τὴν θύραν, προσποιουμένη παίζειν, καὶ τὴν κλείν ἐφέλκεται.

Still it is an unquestionable fact that in many cases the wife was in reality the ruling power in the house, whether from her mental superiority, domineering disposition, or amount of dower. Aristot. *Ethic. Nic.* viii. 12, p. 1161: ἐνίοτε δὲ ἄρχουσιν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐπὶ κληροῖ οὔσαι. In Sparta, where the men were accounted ὑπήκοοι τῶν γυναικῶν (Plutarch, *Agis.* 7), and where the women, who were called δέσποιαι, even by the men, (*Id. Lyc.* 14,) were accustomed to rule over the house, (τῶν οἰκῶν ἄρχουσαι κατὰ κράτος,) perhaps the domestic tyranny of the women was rarer than at Athens. Plutarch, speaking of Themistocles, says, *Apophth. Reg.* 10, and *Themist.* 18: Τὸν δ' υἱὸν ἐντρυνφῶντα τῇ μητρὶ καὶ δι' ἐκείνην αὐτῷ σκώπτων ἔλεγε πλείστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων δύνασθαι τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἕλλησιν ἐπιτάττειν Ἀθηναίους, Ἀθηναίους δ' αὐτὸν, αὐτῷ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μητέρα, τῇ μητρὶ δ' ἐκείνον. This must not perhaps be taken too strictly, yet not to speak of the πολυθρύλητος Ξανθίππη, instances are not wanting where wives are designated as Λάμια and Ἐμπουσα. See a fragment of Menander, p. 144, Mein. Some wives indeed maintained their rights with their slippers in a most objectionable manner. Brunck, *Anal.* ii. p. 409:

Εἰ δ', οὐ σανδαλίῳ, φῆς, τόπτομαι, οὐδ' ἀκολάστον
οὔσης μοι γαμετῆς, χρὴ με μύσαντα φέρειν.

See also Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 657:

ἄρα γυνεκτὸν ἐστὶν ὑμῖν; εἰ δὲ λυπήσεις τί με,
τῷδέ γ' ἀψήκτω πατάξω τῷ κοθόρνῳ τὴν γυνάθον.

The men might, at all events, console themselves with the reflec-

Hercules was served no better by Omphale. Lucian, *l.* xiii. 2 : παιόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς Ὀμφάλης χρωσῶ σανδάλω. rh. ad Terent. *Eun.* vii. 8, 4 ; Menander, fragm. p. 68,

now imposed the duty of continence in a very unequal manner. Whilst the husband required from his wife the strictest and severely visited any dereliction on her part, he frequently allow himself to have intercourse with hetærae. Adultery, though it was not exactly approved of, yet did not incur with any marked censure, much less was it considered a transgression of matrimonial rights. The passage in Isocrates, *l.* 42, must be regarded as a protest against the general principle which was indirectly countenanced even by the law. The transgression of the wife was heavily visited, as being an injury done to the husband ; but when he was the guilty party, no process was instituted unless the circumstances had been peculiarly aggravated, and *atimia* was most certainly not incurred in any case. The following passage refers without doubt to the same life, and a multitude of instances might be adduced to confirm the correctness of the picture it presents. Plaut. *Merc.*

Lyc. 15 ; *Apophth. Lac.* i. p. 909. This piece of braggadocio is thus justly criticised by Limburg-Brower, in his *Hist. de la Civil. Mor. et Relig. d. Gr.* iv. p. 165 : 'C'est comme qui diroit que dans une bande de brigands il n'y avoit pas un seul voleur.' But this was only intended by Plutarch to refer to the very ancient times, for he names Geradatas as τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν τινα, and contrasts with that period the εὐχέρεια of the Spartan women at a later date. Cf. *De Tranq. An.* 6.

It is evident from Lysias, *de Cæde Eratosth.* p. 23, that the female slaves were open to corruption, and that they had generally a good deal to do with the peccadilloes of their mistress ; and indeed the artifices the adulterer employed to get into a house could not have succeeded without the connivance of some of its inmates. See the fragment of Xenarchos, apud Athen. xiii. p. 569 :

μη κλίμακ' αἰτησάμενον εἰσβῆναι λάθρα,
μηδ' δι' ὅπῃς κάτωθεν ἐκδύναί στέγης,
μηδ' ἐν ἀχύροισιν εἰσενεχθῆναι τέχνη.

Actual bribery is moreover mentioned by Dio Chrysost. *Or.* vii. p. 272 : καὶ ἡ Δία ἀργυρίου στάζοντος κατ' ὀλίγον οὐδ' εἰς τοὺς τῶν παρθένων κόλπους μόνους, ἀλλ' εἰς τε μητέρων, καὶ τροφῶν, καὶ παιδαγωγῶν, καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν καὶ καλῶν δώρων· τῶν μὲν κρύφα εἰσιόντων διὰ τῶν στεγῶν, ἔστι δ' οὐ φανερώς κατ' αὐτάς που τὰς κλισίας. There was a special law directed against προαγωγεία, which appears to have been extensively carried on by persons who made it a regular profession. See Anaxandrides, apud Stob. *Tit.* lxvii. 1. The main passage about the προαγωγοὶ is in Æschines, in *Timarch.* p. 177 : καὶ τοὺς προαγωγοὺς γράφεσθαι κελεύει, κἂν ἀλῶσι, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦν, ὅτι τῶν ἐξαμαρτάνειν ἐπιθυμούντων, ὀκνούντων καὶ αἰσχυνομένων ἀλλήλοις ἐντυγχάνειν, αὐτοὶ τὴν ἀναίδειαν παρασχόντες ἐπὶ μισθῷ τὸ πρᾶγμα εἰς διάπειραν καὶ λόγον κατέστησαν. Cf. *Ib.* p. 40 ; Xenoph. *Symp.* 4, 61 ; Plato, *Theæt.* p. 150. These people not only arranged assignations, but also offered their own abodes as places of rendezvous. Hence ἀγωγεία (προαγωγεία ?) are mentioned among places of evil repute by Pollux, ix. 48. And probably the ματρυλεῖα were not very different. Cf. *Id.* vii. 201. Such was the house of Orsilochos. Aristoph. *Lysistr.* 725. These things were occasionally done without any attempt at concealment, as we see from Demosth. in *Steph.* i. p. 1125 : τίνος γυναῖκα διέφθαρκα, ὥσπερ

THE WOMEN.

[EXCURSUS.]

πολλαῖς ἄλλαις ταύτην, ἢ τὸ μνημα ῥυπαροῦσιν ὁ θεὸς
 ὅτος πλησίον τοῦ τῆς δεσποίνης ἀνηλωκὼς πλέον ἢ τά-
 ρος ; καὶ οὐκ ἠσθάνετο, ὅτι οὐχὶ τοῦ τάφου μνημεῖον ἔσται
 ῥυπαρὸν, τοιοῦτον οὐκ, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀδικίας, ἢ καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα
 ἐκείνη διὰ τοῦτον. The husband was not always entirely
 of what was going on ; and sometimes a pretty woman
 married by way of speculation. See Demosth. in
 p. 1358, 1367 ; cf. Plutarch, *de Aud. Poet.* 8.
 Law left the punishment of the adulterer to the injured
 who was allowed to kill the offender if caught in the
 act, *de Cæde Eratosth.* p. 31 : διαρρήδην εἴρηται τοῦτον μὴ
 ὥσκειν φόνον, ὅς ἂν ἐπὶ δάμαρτι τῇ ἑαυτοῦ μοιχὸν λαβὼν
 ἦν τιμωρίαν ποιήσεται. Cf. Demosth. in *Aristocr.* p.
 Plutarch, *Sol.* 23. This law has been only partially pre-
 served, though we are probably acquainted with its most im-
 portant provisions. Thus we have a few words of it in Lucian,
 p. 10 : καὶ μοιχὸς ἐάλω ποτέ, ὡς ὁ ἄξων φησὶν, ἄρθρα ἐν
 ἡμέρᾳ. A more important fragment, which refers to the
 punishment inflicted on the woman, may be found in Demosthenes,
 p. 1374 : Ἐπειδὴν δὲ ἔλη τὸν μοιχὸν, μὴ ἐξέσται τῇ

The wife was made infamous, as we see from the fragment of the law quoted above. A more detailed account is given by *Æschines in Timarch.* 176: τὴν γὰρ γυναῖκα, ἐφ' ἣ ἂν ἀλῶ μοιχὸς, οὐκ ἐᾷ κοσμεῖσθαι, οὐδὲ εἰς τὰ δημοτελῆ ἱερὰ εἰσιέναι, ἵνα μὴ τὰς ἀναμαρτήτους τῶν γυναικῶν ἀναμιγνυμένη διαφθείρῃ· ἐὰν δ' εἰσὶν ἣ κοσμήται, τὸν ἐντυχόντα κελεύει καταβρῆγγναι τὰ ἱμάτια καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, καὶ τύπτειν, εἰργόμενον θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ἀνὰ-πυρρον ποιῆσαι. The adulteress was never punished with death; and Heliodorus makes a mistake when he supposes this possible at Athens. See *Æthiop.* i. 11. The man who received her to wife was also punished with *atimia*.

A peculiar penalty was inflicted on the adulteress at Cymæ, according to Plutarch, *Quæst. Græc.* 2. He tells us that the woman, after having been set up on a stone in the forum, was then mounted on an ass, and having been led round the town, was brought back to the stone: καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἄτιμον διατελεῖν, Ὀνοβάτιν προσαγορευομένην. Cf. *Ælian, Var. Hist.* xii. 12: ὅτι ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐν Γορτύνῃ μοιχὸς ἀλούς ἤγετο ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐστεφανοῦτο ἐρίφ' ἐλεγχθεὶς. See also *id.* xiii. 24: Ζάλευκος ὁ Λοκρῶν νομοθέτης προσέταξε τὸν μοιχὸν ἀλόντα ἐκκόπτεσθαι τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. Cf. the law of Charondas, *apud Stob. Tit.* xliv. 40.

In all these cases the law commanded the marriage to be annulled. Separations were also of frequent occurrence, though unaccompanied by any formalities. The husband rejects the wife, *ἐκπέμπει*; or the wife leaves the husband, *ἀπολείπει*. The procedure in this latter case has been discussed in a most satisfactory manner by Meier and Schömann, *Att. Proc.* p. 413. It may be questioned, however, whether the husband could send back his wife to her former *κύριος*, against her will, at least without some special reason. The theoretical recommendations of Plato, *Leg.* vi. p. 784, and xi. p. 930, will of course prove nothing as to the actual state of the case. See however a fragment of *Amphis*, *ap. Athen.* xiii. p. 559:

Εἰτ' οὐ γυναικὸς ἐστὶν εὐνοϊκώτερον
γαμετῆς ἐταῖρα; πολὺ γε καὶ μάλ' εἰκότως.
ἢ μὲν νόμφ γὰρ καταφρονοῦς ἔνδον μένει,
ἢ δ' οἶδεν ὅτι ἢ τοῖς τρόποις ὠνητέος
ἀνθρωπὸς ἐστὶν, ἢ πρὸς ἄλλον ἀπιτέον.

Hence it would appear that there were some legal restrictions on the husband's arbitrary power in getting rid of his wife. It is

THE WOMEN.

[EXCURSUS.

barrenness was a frequent cause of separation, for we see by Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* xv. p. 447, that childless women procured supposititious children: βουλομένη κατασχεῖν τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἑαυτῆς. However, the ἔκπεμψις and ἑκπεμψις were always held more or less disgraceful for the woman, as we see from a fragment of Anaxandrides, apud Stob. *Eccl.* i. 1. The simple ἀπόλειψις is occasionally viewed with dis-
 difference, as in Terence, *Andr.* iii. 3, 35, where the ἀπόλειψις seems, is to be taken on trial. So too the story told of Crates by Diogenes Laertius, vi. 95: καὶ θυγατέρ' ἐξέδωκε αὐτοῦ, ἐκείνοισ ἐπὶ πείρᾳ δὸς τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας.

INDEX.

NOTE.—The Index has been arranged according to the English alphabet;
i. e. χ under C, η under E, ω under O, φ and ψ under P, and θ under T.

Abacus, 232
ἀβάκιον, dice-board, 355
 Abuse, terms of, 40, n. 42
ἀχίτων, 299; 417, 418
 Actors, treatment of, 411
 Adonis, festival of, when celebrated,
 53, n. 31
 Adultery, 494; how punished, 496
 Advertising, methods of, 197, n. 4
 Æsop, fables of, 225
ἀγαμίου, *ὄψιγαμίου*, *κακογαμίου* νό-
 μοι, 475; 477
ἀγαμοί, very numerous, 475
ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος, libation, 329
ἀγχουσα, 174, n. 42
ἀγορὰ ἀρχαία, 277
 — *πληθουσα*, 278
 — *γυναικεία*, 287
ἀγοραῖος, 283
ἀγορανόμοι, 291
ἀγορᾶς διάλυσσις, 278
ἀγοραστής, 287; 364
Ἀγυιεύς, 260
ἀγύρται, 144, n. 20
αἰνίγματα, 97, sqq.; 348
Ἀκκώ and *Ἀλφειώ*, 224
ἄκλητος, 315
ἀκολουθοί, 321; 407
ἀκράτισμα, 312
ἄκρατος οἶνος, never drunk, 337
ἀκρόδρυς, 331
ἀκροθώραξ, 105, n. 26
ἀκταῖζειν, 315
ἀλειπτήριον, 149, n. 23
ἄλευρα, 323
ἄλεξιφάρμακα, 144, n. 20; 382
ἀλλᾶντες, 323
ἀλφειτᾶς, 323

Altar in the αὐλή, 254
ἀμοργός, 432
ἀμπεχόνη or *ἀμπεχόνιον*, 428
ἀμφίδουλοι, 360
ἀμφιδρόμια, 217, 218
ἀμφιθάλαμος, 254; 266
ἀμφιμάσχαλος, 415
 Amulets, 191, n. 32
 Amusements at the Symposia, 344
ἀναβαθμοί, 260; 267
ἀναβολή, 419
ἀναγκάζεσθαι, ἐξ ἀνάγκης πίνειν,
 343
ἀνακαλυπτήρια, 489
ἀναθήματα, 70, n. 23
ἀναθέσθαι τὴν ψῆφον, 353
 Ancestry, pride of, 7, n. 14
ἀνδρείκελον, 175, n. 42
 Andronitis, 252, sqq.
ἀνδρῶνες, 265
 Animals, names of, used as terms of
 abuse, 40, n. 42
ἀνθεμα, a dance, 103, n. 23
ἀνθράκια, 140, n. 11; 271
ἀνυποδησία, 445
ἀπαύλια, 489
ἀπελεύθεροι, 372
ἀφρῖτις, 324
ἀφύαι, 324
ἀπνευστί, or *ἀμυστί πίνειν*, 343
ἀπόδεσμος, 427
ἀποδυτήριον in the baths, 149, n. 23
ἀπόλειψις ἀνδρός, 497
ἀπομάττεσθαι, *ἀπομαγαλία*, 321
ἀπονίζειν, 318
ἀπονίψασθαι, 329
ἀποφράδες ἡμέραι, 400
ἀποτροπιασμός, 134, n. 4

INDEX.

ns, fear of, 164, n. 16
 written, a declaration of love,
 36
 ps, used as a love-oracle,
 30
 in the theatre, 410
 ων, 408
 ασιλεὺς) τῆς πόσεως, 341
 ὕδατος ὄστρακον, 164, n. 15;
 κίβδηλον, 292
 τοι, 358
 312, 313
 ic, how taught, 232; use of
 ib.
 θαι, 483
 ε, 354
 social position of, 85, n. 17
 εδες, 289; 323
 or ἀρύβαλλος, in the baths,
 23
 392; 434
 174, n. 42
 139, n. 8
 148, n. 12

Baths amongst the Greeks, 147, n. 23;
 public and private, *ib.*; usual pay-
 ments, 148; arrangement of the
 baths, *ib.*; vapour bath, 149; baths
 for women, 150; hour of bathing,
 151; marriage-bath, 483
 βάθροι, in schools, 230
 βατράχοις οἰνοχοεῖν, 338
 βαυκαλήματα, 222
 βαυκίδες, 451
 Beard, 457, sqq.; considered a digni-
 fied ornament, 457; fashion of shav-
 ing introduced by Alexander, *ib.*;
 sophists continued to wear it long,
 458
 Beds and bedsteads, different parts
 fully described, 136, n. 8; beds of
 the poor, 139
 Betrothal, 479
 βιβλία, book-market, 273
 βιβλιογράφος and βιβλιοπωλῆς, 273
 βίβλος, Nile-paper, 162, n. 12
 Bigamy, 474
 Birds taught to talk, 77, n. 5
 Black, *ib.*

considered very holy, 384; order of funeral ceremonies, 385, sqq.; discussion as to whether the corpse was buried or burnt, 390; coffins, 392; tombs, 393, sqq.; inscriptions, 396; funeral feast, 397; mourning dresses, 399; cases in which burial was omitted, 401
 Burning and burying practised simultaneously, 390, sqq.
 Byssus, whether flax or cotton, 430; yellow byssus, 431; Elean, *ib.*
 Caps, 141, n. 17; 443
 Carriages of the Greeks, 2, n. 6; not common, thought a mark of effeminacy, 126, n. 26; carriage used for fetching bride, 485; its axle burnt, 486
 Ceiling ornaments, 268
 Celibacy, prevalence of, 475
 χαῖρα, 142, n. 18
 χαλκῇ μυῖα, blind-man's buff, 224
 χαλκισμός, 75, n. 4; 351
 χαμεύνη, or χαμεύνιον, 139, n. 8
 Chaplets, handed round at the conclusion of the meal, 329; 94, n. 10; generally made of myrtle, *ib.*; favourite flowers for, *ib.*; occasionally worn on the breast, 104, n. 25; sold in market, 289; 61, n. 3; worn at weddings, 487
 χάραξ, used in playing the cottabos, 349
 χάρτης, single leaf of paper, 162, n. 12; 273
 Cheese, celebrated kinds of, 331
 χειρόμακτρον, 321
 χειρόσοφοι and χειρονόμοι, 102, n. 23
 χηνίσκος of a ship, 112, n. 4
 χέρνιψ, 320
 Chimneys, 271
 Chiton of the men, 413, sqq.; Doric and Ionic varieties, 414; 421, 422; worn without any under-garment, 416; chiton of the women, 298; 421; 428; how put on, 425
 χιτῶν ἀμφιμάσχαλοι and ἑτερομάσχαλοι, 415
 — δασύτ, or ἀμφιμαλλος, 429

χιτῶν κατὰστικτος, 440
 — ὀρθοστάδιος, 427
 — σχιστός, 421; 427
 — στολιδωτός, 427
 — συρτός, 427
 χιτῶνιον, 428
 χιτωνίσκος, 417
 χλαῖνα and χλανίς, 421; 430
 Chlamys, 420, 421
 χοαί, 400
 χοῖνιξ, 369
 χῶραι on the κλίση, 318; squares on the board for πεττεία, 353
 χορδαί, 323
 χρυσώνητοι, 358
 χύτραι, crockery-mart, 290
 Citrons placed among clothes, 206, n. 16
 Cleonæ, 1, n. 1
 Coñn robes, 434
 Cock-fighting, 77, n. 6; 239
 Coffins, materials and form, 392
 Coining, capital offence, 292
 Coins, current, 291
 Colours of dresses, 434, sqq.
 Commerce, 26; 277; 281; 291
 Consanguinity, no bar to marriage, 478
 Corinth, its situation favourable to commerce, 22, n. 1
 Cork, used for soles of sandals, 447; 452
 Cottabos, 349
 Cotton, date of its introduction, 431
 Cradles, 221
 Crying goods for sale, 284; things lost or stolen, 197, n. 4
 Curiosities, collections of, 52, n. 29
 δᾶδες νυμφικαί, 486
 δαῖτες, 314
 δανάκη, ὀβολοὶ νεκροῦ, 385
 Dancing amongst the Greeks, very expressive, 102, n. 23; not considered a dignified amusement, 103
 δανείζειν ἐπὶ σώματι, 360
 Δείγμα, 43, n. 2; 284
 δείγματα, samples, 283
 δειπνον, 312; usual hour of, 313; 211, n. 3

INDEX.

- πὸ σπυρίδος, 315
 εἶν or ἐστὶν, 219
 32, n. 12
 78, 488
 Athens, 17, n. 30
 given to children as γνωρί-
 222
 morbos, 132, n. 3
 τράπεζαι, 326; 330
 μούντες οὐ μετήσαν τὴν
 , 486
 ισμός, 353
 εἴματα, 434
 α, 409
 εἶα, 306
 τερῶν, 266
 178, n. 1; 179, n. 5
 442
 ιπλοῖδιον, 425
 ο, 380
 197
 374, sqq.; their position in
 better than at Rome, 375;
 ons on which they were per-
- Drinking vessels, forms of, 106, n. 31;
 materials of, 145, n. 22
 δροῖται, 391
 δρομάμφιον ἡμαρ, 217
 δρύφακτοι, 260
 Earrings, 200, n. 6
 Education, 217, sqq.; conducted by a
 pedagogue, 226; at school, 227;
 principal studies, 231; reading and
 writing, 232; music, 233; vacations,
 234; education of the girls, 236;
 education at Sparta, 239
 ἔγχουσα, pigment, 174, n. 42
 ἐγχυτρισμός, 195, n. 1
 ἐγγύησις, 479
 ἔγκυκλον, 426; 440
 εἶρην, 239
 εἰς ὕδωρ, or εἰς τέφραν γράφειν, 196,
 n. 3
 εἰσφέρειν and ἀφαιρεῖν τὰς τραπέ-
 ζας, 326
 ἑκπεψις γυναικός, 497
 ἐκφορά, 389

ἐπιδέξια, 343
 ἐπὶ δεξιά ἀναβαλλεσθαι, 418
 ἐπὶ δις τὸν ἡβῆσαι, 239
 ἐπιδόρπια, or ἐπιδειπνα, 331
 ἐπὶ κλιντρον, 136, n. 8
 ἐπὶ λουτρον, bathing fee, 148, n. 23
 ἐπίπαστα, 330
 ἐπισημαίνειν, 410
 ἐπισκυθίζειν, 338
 ἐπισπαστήρες on the doors, 54, n. 32; 269
 Epithalamium, 489
 ἐπίθημα, 395
 ἐπίτροκος, 363
 ἐπῳδαί, 382
 ἐπωμίς, 425
 ἔρανος, 40, n. 40; 315
 ἐργαστήρια, λατρεῖα, 378
 ————— πορνεία, 283; 244
 ————— συκοφαντῶν, 44, n. 6
 ἐργάζεσθαι τῷ σώματι, or ἀφ' ὧρα, 244
 ἐσχάρα, an ordeal, 184, n. 12; a brazier, 271
 ἐσθῆτες Μηδικαί, 433
 εὐκοσμία, 236
 εὐνή, 136, n. 8
 εὖ πράττειν, greeting, 142, n. 18
 Eunuchs, 365; 471
 Euripides, a μισογύνης, 463
 Exposure of children, 218
 ἐξέραι in the house, 265; in the gymnasium, 303
 ἐξωμίς, 415
 Eyebrows, painted, 174, n. 42

 Fairs, annual, 292
 Fastenings to doors, 270
 Fees of schoolmasters, 230; of Sophists and Rhetoricians, 235; of physicians, 377
 Feet washed before meals, 318, 319
 Felt socks, 451
 Fish, not mentioned as an article of diet in Homer, 323; various sorts, 324
 Fishmongers and fishmarket, 288
 Floors in dwelling-house, 208
 Flute, disuse of, 234; at the symposia, 330; 344

Forgery of seals, 159, n. 6
 Forks, not used, 320
 Freed-men, 169, n. 29; 372
 Frigidarium, 303
 Fullers' earth, 151, n. 23
 Funeral procession, 389
 Funeral feast, 397
 Funeral sacrifices, 398
 Furs, not worn, 434

 Games, 348, sqq.; the two sorts of cottabos, 349; other games of skill, 351; games depending on chance, 354; games of children, 222
 γαμετή, 474
 γάμος, 487
 Gardening, art of, neglected by the Greeks, 203, n. 9
 Garlands worn across the breast, 275
 γεισιποδίσματα, 267
 γελωτοποιοί, 92, n. 8
 γένειον, beard, 457
 γενέσια, 400
 γενέθλια, 314
 γέβρα, in the market-place, 286
 Girdle worn by women, 427
 Girls not sent to school, 236
 Glass, invention of, 145, n. 22; vessels of, *ib.*
 γλῶσσα, ligula, 320
 Gnomon, 210, n. 3; 313
 γνωρίσματα of exposed children, 222
 γοητεία, 381
 γράμματα, 231; comprehended reading, writing, and arithmetic, 232
 γραμματεῖον, 162, n. 12
 γραμματίδιον, bill of fare, 322
 γραῶν μῦθοι, 225
 γραφή ὑβρεως, 366
 γραφεῖον, 163, n. 13
 Grave-clothes, white, 385
 Graves, 392
 γριφοί, 97, sqq.; 348
 γυμνός, of those wearing the chiton, 243; 298
 γύμνασιε παρθένων in Sparta, 297
 γυναικεία ἀγορά, 287
 γυναικονόμοι, 468
 Gymnasia, 293, sqq.; condemned by

INDEX.

mans, 293; distinction between Gymnasium and Palæstra, not frequented by women in the Greek states, 296; Spartans allowed to contend in 297; plan of a Gymnasium, 300; visited by old men for exercise, 308; were favourite resorts of poets and rhetoricians, 309
 Customs of the women, 297, sqq.
 Chitonis, not *generally* above 255, 256; usually lay behind Pelionitis, 258
 Chiton, 400
 Chiton, sqq.; how worn at Sparta, first cut at Athens on entering of an ephebus, 454; dyed, how worn by the women, 459; as a sign of grief, 398
 Chiton, 330
 Chiton, 7, n. 13
 Chiton, 222

ἱμαντελιγμός, 351
 ἱματιοκλέπται in the baths, 149, n. 23
 ἱμάτιον, 418; 428
 ὁδοὶ λιθόστρωτοι, 285
 Homer, taught in schools, 233; 273
 ὁμομήτριοι not allowed to marry, 478
 Horse-shoes, 20, n. 34
 Horses, breeds of, 76, n. 5; prices, and favourite colours, *ib.*
 Hospitality, 27, n. 14; 48, n. 17
 House, the Grecian, 251 sqq.; changes subsequent to the time of Homer, 252; Vitruvius' account of, 252, sqq.; mostly faced the south, 259; plan of a large one, 263
 House-doors, 260; usually opened inwards, 269; mode of locking, 270
 ὕαλος ὀρωρυγμένη, 145, n. 22
 ὕδωρ ὄρκιον, 184, n. 12
 — κατὰ χειρός, 320
 ὕδροβαφές, 439
 ὕδροφόρος, 364
 ὑπαιθρον, 253
 ὑπήνη, 457

ἴσον ἴσφ, 338
 Ivory baskets, 92, n. 7
 Jewellery worn by women, 200, n. 6
 κάλαμοι γραφεῖν, 162, n. 13
 καλόπουνε, a last, 447
 καλῶς ἔχε (νοσοῦντι), 142, n. 18
 κανθῆλαι, 156, n. 5
 κάνθαρος, 106, n. 31
 καπηλεῖα, considered disreputable places, 281
 κάπηλοι, 290
 καπνοδόκη, not a regular chimney, 271
 καρβάτιναι, 450
 καρχῆσιον, 106, n. 31
 Κάριναι, hired mourners, 389
 κάρνα, 331
 καταβαυκαλίσεις, 222
 καταλλαγή, κόλλυβος, Agio, 291
 καταλύσεις, inns, 27, n. 14
 κατ᾽στεγοὶ δρόμοι, 308
 κατατομαί, κερκίδες, 409
 καταχύσματα νεωνήτων, 368; at weddings, 487
 καταγωγή, 27, n. 14
 κατωνάκη, 442
 κατορύττειν, 391
 κάττυμα, 452
 καυσία, 443
 καῦστρον, 392
 κείρεσθαι ἐπὶ πένθει, 398
 κειρία, 137, n. 8
 κεκρύφαλος, 460
 κέλευσμα, 109, n. 1
 κελυστής, 109, n. 1
 κηπαία θύρα, 265
 κεράμεια, 145, n. 22
 κέρας, drinking-horn, 106, n. 31
 κεραυνωθέντες, how buried, 401
 κηροπλάστης, κηροπλαστική, 223; 52, n. 31
 κίχλαι, 329
 Κιμωλία γῆ, fullers' earth, 151, n. 23
 κινεῖν τὸν δφ' ἱερᾶν, 352
 κίονες, 395
 κλειψύδρα, 212, n. 4
 κλιμακίδες, 93, n. 8

CHAR.

κλῖναι, at meals, 318
 κλίση, 136, n. 8; 290
 ——— for a corpse, 387
 κλοιός, 370
 κναφεύειν, or γναφεύειν, 205, n. 15
 κνέφαλον, 137, n. 8
 Knives, not used at meals, 320
 κοχλιώρυχον, 320
 κώδεια, 212, n. 4
 κώδια, on the beds, 138, n. 8; 442
 κόγχη, 159, n. 7
 κοιτῶνες, 265
 κόλακες, 92, n. 8
 κολακίδες, 93, n. 8
 κολωνίτης, 373
 κόλπος, 427
 κομμώτριαι, lady's maids, 364
 κονία, 151, n. 23
 κονίαμα, 268
 Κοντοπορία, 1, n. 2
 κοππατίας, 76, n. 5
 κόπτειν τὴν θύραν, κρούειν, and κρο-
 τεῖν, in opposition to ψοφεῖν, 54, n. 32; 269
 κόραι, dolls, 223
 κόραξ, door-knocker, 55, n. 32
 Κορινθία κόρη, 246
 κορινθιδζεσθαι, 246
 κοροπλάθοι, κοροπλάσται, 223
 κόθορνοι, 451
 κοτταβεῖον, 350
 κότταβος κατακτός, 349
 ——— δι' ὄξυβάφων, 350
 κουρεῖα, 279; 455
 κουρεύς, 455
 κράββατος, 139, n. 8
 Κράνειον at Corinth, 24, n. 6
 κραστήρια, 136, n. 8
 κρατήρ, 338
 κρεῖσσον διδόναι, 353
 κρηπίς, 447, 448
 κροκωτός, 438
 κρόμμον, 323
 κροσσοί, fringes, 440
 κύαμοι, 323
 κύαθος, 341
 κυβεία, 354
 κυβεῖα, gambling-houses, 355

22

INDEX.

- εἰς μαχαίρας, 186, n. 17
 εν, 101, n. 22; 186, n. 17
 35; 359
 , 378
 6, n. 31
 70
 895
 ι, 449
 ν, λακωνισταί, 63, n. 8;
 24
 56, n. 5
 e-painting, neglect of, 46,
 153, n. 1
 κυπαρίσσειναι, 392
 λατάγη, 351
 chitons, 434
 ληδάριον, 430
 αι, 70, n. 23
 λίδες, 287
 sold in the market, 61, n. 2
 μαχαίρας καταπίνειν, 186, n. 20
 μαγειρεῖα, 290
 μαγευτική, 381
 -μαγγανεία, 381
 Magic arts, 192, n. 35; 382
 μάλαχη, 323
 μάλθη, 162, n. 12
 Maidens, presence of, at the Olympic
 games, 296; at gymnastic exercises
 in Sparta, 297
 Malt liquors, 334
 Manumission of slaves, 372; 169, n.
 29
 Market-place, 277, sqq.; topography
 of, 278; when most frequented, *ib.*;
 used as a lounging-place, 279; the
 κύκλοι, 285; fish-market, 288
 Marriage, 473, sqq.; regarded as a
 duty, 475; between relatives, 477;
 usual age, 478; dowry, 480; usual
 time of year, 482; preliminary so-
 lemnities, *ib.*; marriage-bath, 483;
 fetching home the bride, 485;
 marriage-feast, 488

μισθαρνία, 280
 μισθωτοί, 373
 μίτρα, 427; 461
 μνήματα, μνημεῖα, 393
 μόνα καὶ ζυγά, 354
 Money lent on pledges, 122, n. 21
 Monkeys, kept as pets, 77, n. 5;
 taught to dance, 187, n. 24
 μονοχίτων, 417, 418
 μονόπελμα, 449
 Monopolies, 284
 Μορμέ, μορμουλκεῖα, 225
 Mourning, duration of, 398; in what
 it consisted, *ib.*; mourning gar-
 ments, 399
 Μουσεία, school-festival, 234
 Mules, use of, 127, n. 26
 Music, study of, 233
 μύσταξ, 457
 μυστίλη, μύστρον, 320
 μῦθοι γραῶν καὶ τιτθῶν, 225
 Myrtle-market, 289; 94, n. 10

 ναῖδια, 394
 Nails worn in shoes, 452
 Names of children, when given, 219
 ναῦλον, 385
 Negro slaves, 365
 νεκροθάπται, 389
 νεκύσια, 400
 νέοι, took no part in public affairs,
 237; their pursuits and amusements,
 74, n. 1; 76, n. 5; 239
 νευρόσπαστα, Marionettes, 185, n.
 15
 Nicknames, 40, n. 42; 220; of hetæreæ,
 249
 Night-lights, use of, 35, n. 28
 νικητήρια, 314
 νίτρον, 151, n. 23
 Nudity in the Gymnasia, 298
 νυμφαγωγός, 486
 νύμφαι, dolls, 223
 Nurses, were often free women, 221;
 Spartan nurses, *ib.*

 Oaths, frequent in conversation, 82,
 n. 12
 όβελισκολόχιον, 157, n. 5

όβολός νεκρού, 385
 όβολοστάται, 71, n. 25
 όχθοιβοι, 440
 οικήματα, πορνεία, 244
 οἰκοί τρίκλινοι, έπτάκλινοι, 265
 οικονόμοι, 364
 οικότριβες, οικότρίβαιοι, 360
 Ολνιστήρια, 454
 οίνοχόη, 341
 οίνοχόοι, 342
 οίνοπώλης, 284
 οἶνε τόν οἶνον έξελαύνειν, 105, n.
 29
 οἶνος. See Wine.
 οινούττα, 322
 Olympian games, presence of women
 at, 296
 όνειρόπολοι, όνειροκρίται, 133, n. 4
 όφθαλμός of a ship, 111, n. 2
 όφθαλμός βάσκανος, 189, n. 28
 όψον, fish-market, 288
 όπτά κάρυα, 331
 Ordeals, 183, n. 12
 όρίγανος, 387
 Ornaments worn by women, 200,
 n. 6
 όρτυγοκοπία, 78, n. 6

 παχεῖς, 295
 παιδαγωγείον, school-room, 226
 παιδαγωγείν συμπόσιον, 341
 παιδαγωγός, 226
 παιδεία, 217, sqq.
 παιδέρως, pigment, 174, n. 42
 παιδίον and παιδάριον, 222
 παιδισκεῖα, πορνεία, 244
 παιδονόμοι, 225; 229
 παιδοποιεῖσθαι γνησίως, 474
 παλαιόστρα, 294
 παλιγκάπηλοι, 280
 παλίμψηστον, 162, n. 12
 παλλακή, 360; 473, 474
 Palm-wine, 334
 πανδοκία, despised, 28, n. 14
 πανδοκεῖον, 27, n. 14
 πανηγύρεις, 292
 Paper of the ancients, 161, n. 12;
 its price, 162
 πάπποι, 457

INDEX.

- 162, n. 12
 άττειν, 292
 αι, 151, n. 23
 ος, ring-finger, 200, n. 6
 φος, or πάροχος, 210, n. 2;
 υ, 440
 άσματα, 269
 ον, 110, n. 2
 , three classes of, 92, n. 8
 125, n. 24
 υ, παστάς, προστάς, 254; 266
 κατάκλειστοι, and θαλα-
 ναι, 465
 , 440
 money, 43, n. 1
 , 9, n. 17
 , όνομάζεσθαι, 220
 of dresses, 439, 440
 t of the streets, 285
 9
 , 488
 ίζειν, 354
 428
- φιάλη, 106, n. 31
 φιλοτησίαι, healths, 343
 φλόμος, 157, n. 5
 φορείον, litter, 124, n. 23
 φορμός, 139, n. 8; 442
 φῦκος, a pigment, 174, n. 42
 Picnics, 315
 Picturesque, sense of, 46, n. 11
 Pigeon-fancying, 77, n. 5
 Pigments, 174, n. 42
 πιλίδιον, 141, n. 17; a shoe, 451
 πῖλος, 443; 451
 πίνακες γραφικοί, 162, n. 12
 πινάκια, 144, n. 20
 πίνος, 334
 πίθηκος, used as a term of abuse,
 40, n. 42
 Placards on the walls, 197, n. 4
 πλακοῦς, 332
 πλαταγαί, 222
 πλαταγώνιον, 190, n. 29
 Playthings of children, 222
 Pledges, left in pawn, 122, n. 21
 πλύνεσθαι άγνοά, at what hour, 278

προπέμπειν, 83, n. 14
 προφράγματα of the houses, 260
 προπίνειν φιλοτησίας, 343
 πρόπομα, 312; 325
 πρόσηβος, 238
 προσκεφάλαιον, 137, n. 8; 140, n. 12;
 319; 407
 προστάει, 254; 266
 πρόστοον, 265
 προτέλεια γάμων, 482
 πρόθεσις, 386
 πρόσθρα, 260
 ψηφισματοπωλῆς, 273
 ψῆφοι, set in rings, 199, n. 6; used
 for reckoning, 232
 ψηφοκλέπται, ψηφοπαίκται, 187, n.
 22
 ψίαθος, 189, n. 8
 ψιμίθιον, a pigment, 174, n. 42
 ψωμίζειν, 221
 ψοφείν τὴν θύραν, 54, n. 32; 269
 ψυχραὶ τράπεζαι, 326
 πτερὰ or πτέρυγες, 421
 πτερωτὰ and πτιλωτὰ προσκεφάλαια, 138, n. 8
 πτόειν εἰς κόλπον, 132, n. 3
 πύελοι, bathing tubs, 149, n. 28; coffins,
 391; 396
 πυλών, 253
 Puppet-shows, 185, n. 15
 πύργος, for alaves, 266
 πυρία, 149, n. 23
 πυξίδες, 378
 πυξίον, 162, n. 13

Quail-fighting, 78, n. 6; 239

ράβδοι, stripes on the garments, 440
 ραβδοφόροι or ραβδοῦχοι in the theatre, 409
 ραῖδια, 447
 ράφανος, 217; 323
 Rattles for children, 222
 Reading, how taught, 232
 Reclining at meals, 317; 319
 ρινᾶν, ρινός ἔλκειν, 68, n. 17
 Rings, use of, 199, n. 6; δψηφοι, *ib.*;
 worn as amulets, 191, n. 32

ρόμβος, 224
 Roofs of houses, 267
 ρόπτρα on the doors, 55, n. 32
 Rouge, use of, 174, n. 42
 ρύμμα, 151, n. 23
 ῥύπος, 163, n. 14
 ῥυτοὶ λαεῖν, 285
 ῥυτόν, 106, n. 31
 σάκκος, 460
 Salutation, forms of, 142, n. 18
 σαμφόρας, 76, n. 5
 σανδάλια, worn only by women,
 447
 Sandals, 446; taken off before meals,
 318
 σαρδῶες, 199, n. 6
 Sausages, 323
 σχιστός, 421
 Schoolmasters, pay of, 230
 Schools, 227, sqq.; not supported at
 the public expense, 228; hour at
 which they opened in the morning,
 231; vacations, 234
 Seals, affixed to documents, 159, n. 8;
 to doors, 270; forgery of, 159, n. 6;
 secured by capsules, 159, n. 7
 Sealing-earth, 163, n. 14
 σηκίδες, 365
 σέλιον, 135, n. 7; 386
 σήματα, 393
 σηρικὰ, 433
 Sesame cakes at weddings, 488
 Shaving, 458
 Ships, figure-heads of, 110, n. 2; names
 of, 111, n. 2; burden of, 112, n. 5
 Shoes, 445, sqq.; only worn out of
 doors, 445; the various kinds, 446,
 sqq.; women's shoes, 450; materials,
 451; colour, 452
 Signet-rings, 199, n. 6
 Silk-manufacture, 432, 433
 Silver utensils, 5, n. 12
 σινδών, 431
 σισύρα, 138, n. 8; 442
 σιτίζειν, 221
 σκάφη, cradle, 221
 σκηναί, 28, n. 14; 285

INDEX.

- 125, n. 24
 sun-dial, 211, n. 3
 139, n. 8
 355
 348
 451
 sqq.; origin of slavery, 358;
 slaves, 169, n. 30; prices of
 59; number of slaves, 361;
 employed as artisans, 362, 363;
 slaves, 364; 474; 495; treat-
 slaves, 365; usual punish-
 369; character, 371; manu-
 of slaves, 169, n. 29; 372;
 of, in the theatre, 407
 ket, 285; 359
 σμῆμα, 329; 151, n. 23
 w disposed of, 271
 into wine, 337
 and Rhetoricians in the
 ia, 309; their fees, 235
 97, n. 4
 , 217
 Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, 183, n. 12
 Suicides, how interred, 401
 συκάμινον, a pigment, 174, n. 42
 συλλαβίζειν, 232
 σύλλογοι, 74, n. 1
 σύμβολα, 9, n. 17
 συμβολαί, ἀπὸ συμβολῶν δειπνεῖν, 314
 συμμετρία χιτῶν, 427
 συμποσίαρχος, 341
 Sun-dials, 210, n. 3
 Surgery, state of, 380
 σπρίττειν and κλώζειν, signs of dis-
 approbation in the theatre, 410
 Surnames, 220
 Sytrophants, 66, n. 13
 Symposia, 333 sqq.; of Plato, Xeno-
 phon, and Plutarch, contrasted, 333;
 different wines at, 335; the Sympo-
 siarch, 342; the τρόπος τῆς πό-
 σεως, 343; conversation and amuse-
 ments, 344
 ταινία, 427
 ταινοπωλίδες, 289

θέρμοι, 323
 θερμόν ὕδωρ, 336
 θέσθαι τὴν ψῆφον, 353
 Thimble-rigging, 187, n. 22
 θοίνη γαμική, 487
 θορυβεῖν, 410
 θρηνηφοί, 389
 θρίδαξ, 323
 θρυαλλίς, 157, n. 5
 θύρα, 260; 269; 54, n. 32
 — αὐλείος, 253
 — κηπαία, 37, n. 32; 265
 — μέσαντος and μέταυτος, 257: 265
 θυρίδες, 270
 θυρών, θυρωρεῖον, 253
 θυρωρόν, 261
 θύσανοι, 440
 τίτθη, 221
 τοκισμός, 280
 Tombs, where placed, 393; family-
 tombs, 394; usual forms of, 395;
 inscriptions on, 396
 Tombstones, 395
 τόνος, 137, n. 8
 Torches, 153, n. 1; at weddings, 486
 Toys of children, 222; 224
 Trade, respectability of, 281
 τραγήματα, 331
 τράπεζαι, 140, n. 10
 — grave-stones, 394, 395
 — of the money-changers, 67,
 n. 16; 69, n. 20; 71, n. 25; 72,
 n. 27; 290
 — πρῶται and δεύτεραι, 326;
 330, 331
 — αἶρειν τὰς τράπεζας, 329
 τραπεζοποιός, 322
 Travelling, 3, n. 8; restrictions on, 9,
 n. 17
 Τρητόν, pass near Cleonæ, 1, n. 2
 τριακάδες, 398
 τριβων, or τριβώνιον, 419
 τρίχακτον, 460
 τριχολάβιον, 455
 τριηράλης, 109, n. 1
 τρίμμα, 336
 Trinkets, 200, n. 6; false, 188, n. 27
 τρίτα, 397

τροχόν, 370; τῶν θαυματοποιῶν, 101,
 n. 22; game, 224
 τροφή, 221
 τρόπος τῆς πόσεως, 343
 τυλείον, or τύλη, 187, n. 8
 τύμβοι, 394
 τύμπανα, 370

 Vacations in schools, 234
 Vases in tombs, 396
 Veneering, 136, n. 8
 Virginity, test of, 183, n. 12
 Visits, made early in the morning,
 57, n. 37; of the women, 469, 470

 Wages, daily, for manual labour, 29,
 n. 18
 Walking-sticks, 87, n. 18; 156, n. 4
 Walls, decoration of, 268
 Warming houses, method of, 271
 Washing clothes, 205, n. 15
 Watering-places, 123, n. 22
 Waxwork, artificial flowers, fruits, &c.,
 53, n. 31
 Wax-candles, 156, n. 5
 Waxed writing-tablets, 163, n. 13
 Widows, married again, 478; 167, n. 20
 Wills, when opened, 165, n. 17; wit-
 nesses to, 166, n. 18; form of, 167,
 n. 19; duplicates of, 171, n. 37
 Windows, 270
 Wine, 334, sqq.; its cheapness, 334;
 various kinds, 335; various pre-
 parations of, 336; age, *ib.*; mixed
 with hot or cold water, 337; mixed
 with snow, *ib.*; proportions of the
 mixture, 338; not drunk during
 meals, 333; sale of, 280; 284
 Women, 462, sqq.; their social posi-
 tion, 463; education, 465; 236; treat-
 ment before and after marriage, 466,
 sqq.; seclusion, 468; gymnastics of,
 at Sparta, 297; presence in the the-
 atre, 403, sq.; marriage, 473; consi-
 derations which induced it, 475; its
 usages and forms, 479; dowries, 481;
 solemnities at marriages, 483, sq.;
 occupations of married women, 491;

INDEX.

hment of infidelity, 494; fre-
 ey of divorce, 497
 g, how taught, 232

τρίχες, 456
 48, n. 17
 ε, 267
 ριφεῖν, 294

ξύλον, 370
 ξυστίς, 441
 ξυστοὶ δρόμοι, 308

ζατρίκιον, 352
 Ζεῦ σώσον, 205, n. 14
 ζώνιον, 427
 ζυγός, 446

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